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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

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HARDING and WRIGHT, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A
COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

SELECTED FROM THE

LIBRARY OF EDWARD HARLEY,

SECOND EARL OF OXFORD.

INTERSPERSED WITH

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL ANNOTATIONS,

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM-OLDYS, ESQ.

AND

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY

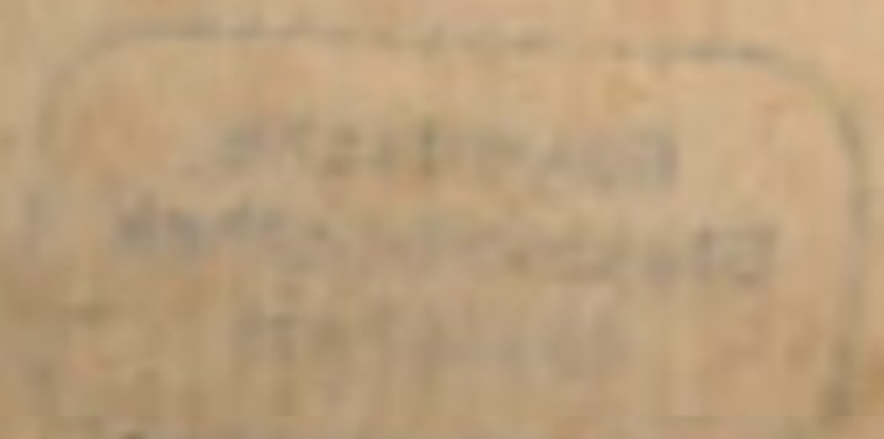
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CONTENTS

PARLIAMENTARY MISCELLANY

VOLUME VII

A Relation of the Carriage of the ...	1
and the ...	2
well to the ...	3
A good ...	4
of ...	5
The ...	6
... in ...	7
A ...	8
... against ...	9
... to ...	10
The ...	11
The ...	12
The ...	13
The ...	14
The ...	15
The ...	16
The ...	17
The ...	18
The ...	19
The ...	20
The ...	21
The ...	22
The ...	23
The ...	24
The ...	25
The ...	26
The ...	27
The ...	28
The ...	29
The ...	30
The ...	31
The ...	32
The ...	33
The ...	34
The ...	35
The ...	36
The ...	37
The ...	38
The ...	39
The ...	40
The ...	41
The ...	42
The ...	43
The ...	44
The ...	45
The ...	46
The ...	47
The ...	48
The ...	49
The ...	50
The ...	51
The ...	52
The ...	53
The ...	54
The ...	55
The ...	56
The ...	57
The ...	58
The ...	59
The ...	60
The ...	61
The ...	62
The ...	63
The ...	64
The ...	65
The ...	66
The ...	67
The ...	68
The ...	69
The ...	70
The ...	71
The ...	72
The ...	73
The ...	74
The ...	75
The ...	76
The ...	77
The ...	78
The ...	79
The ...	80
The ...	81
The ...	82
The ...	83
The ...	84
The ...	85
The ...	86
The ...	87
The ...	88
The ...	89
The ...	90
The ...	91
The ...	92
The ...	93
The ...	94
The ...	95
The ...	96
The ...	97
The ...	98
The ...	99
The ...	100

CONTENTS

OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

VOLUME VIII.

	PAGE
A Relation of the Carriage of the Marriages that should have been made between the Prince of England, and the Infanta Major, and also after with the younger Infanta of Spain. Written by Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Lord Digby.....	1
A good Expedient for Innocence and Peace. Being an Essay concerning the great Usefulness and Advantage of laying aside public Oaths. Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, 1704.....	10
The Honour and Courage of our English Parliaments, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, of ever blessed Memory, in defending of her, and the Protestant Religion. Expressed in some of the Preambles of the Acts for Subsidies, granted to that famous Princess. London, printed for John Wickins, at the White-Hart against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street, 1681.....	17
King James's Speech to his first Parliament, Monday, the Nineteenth of March, 1603.....	27
The Marquis of Argyle's last Will and Testament, with his Character.	28
The Mirrour of Worldly Fame. Composed by I. H. Æ. London, printed for James Shaw, and are to be sold at his Shop near Ludgate, 1603.....	33
The Vindication of the Parliament, and their Proceedings: Or, their Military Design proved loyal and legal. A Treatise, wherein these Things are ingenuously and sincerely handled; to wit,	
1. That the Militia, as settled by the Parliament, is lawful.	
2. That it is lawful for us to obey it, so settled by them.	
3. That the Parliament is not by us to be deserted.	
4. That in aiding the Parliament, the King is not opposed.	
5. That the Parliament, as the Case stands, may not confide in the King.	
6. That this necessary Defensive War of theirs is indubitably justifiable.	
London, printed in the Year 1642.....	47
The Summarie of certaine Reasons, which have moved Quene Elizabeth to procede in Reformations of her base and course Monies, and to reduce them to their Values, in Sorte, as they may be turned to fine Monies. Appointed to be declared by her Majestie, by Order of her Proclamation, in her Citie of London. Black Letter.	63
<i>Bibliotheca Fanatica</i> : Or, The Fanatick Library. Being a Catalogue of such Books as have been lately made, and, by the Authors, presented to the College of Bedlam. Printed in the Year 1660.....	71
The old Pharisee, with the new Phylacteries of Presbytery.....	74
A short, legal, medicinal, useful, safe, and easy Prescription to recover our Kingdom, Church, and Nation, from their present dangerous, distractive, destructive Confusion, and worse than Bedlam Madness; seriously recommended to all English Freemen, who desire Peace, Safety, Liberty, Settlement. By William Pryune, Esq.; a Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn. Printed at London, and are to be sold by Edward Thomas, at the Adam and Eve, in Little-Britain, 1659.....	82
Nennius, a worthy Briton, the very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject, encountering with Julius Cæsar, at his first coming into this Island, was by him Death-wounded: yet nevertheless he got Cæsar's Sword, put him to Flight, slew therewith Labienus, a Tribune of the Romans, endured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days after: and now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and usurping Enemies. About the Year before Christ, 52.....	87
St. Edward's Ghost, or, Anti-Normanism: being a pathetical Complaint and Motion, in the Behalf of our English Nation, against her grand, yet neglected Grievance, Normanism. London, printed for Richard Wodenothe, at the Star, under Peter's Church in Cornhill, 1647.....	94
Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the speedy Demolishing of all Organs, Images, and all Manner of superstitious Monuments in all Cathedral or Parish Churches and Chapels, throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales; the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun, and to remove all Offences and Things illegal in the Worship of God.	
<i>Die Jovis, 9 Maii, 1644.</i>	
Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that these Ordinances shall be forthwith printed and published,	
Jo. Brown, Cler. <i>Parliamentorum.</i>	
London, printed for John Wright in the Old Baily, May 11, 1644.....	107

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A Diary of the Siege of Luxembourg, by the French King's Forces, under the Command of the Marshal de Crequi; containing a full Account of all that passed in the Siege and Surrendry of the Town. London, printed by J. G. for D. Brown, at the Black-Swan, without Temple-Bar; and are to be sold by W. D. in Amen Corner, 1684.	110
A Justification of the present War against the United Netherlands. Wherein the Declaration of his Majesty is vindicated, and the War proved to be just, honourable, and necessary; the Dominion of the Sea explained, and his Majesty's Rights thereunto asserted; the Obligations of the Dutch to England, and their continual Ingratitude: in Answer to a Dutch Treatise, intituled, 'Considerations upon the present State of the United Netherlands.' By an Englishman. London, printed for Henry Hills and John Starkey, and are to be sold at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Mitre within Temple-Bar, 1672.	128
Camilton's Discovery of the devilish Designs, and killing Projects, of the Society of Jesuits, of late Years projected, and, by them, hitherto acted, in Germany, intended, but graciously prevented, in England. Translated out of the Latin Copy. Dedicated to the High-Court of Parliament, by W. F. X. B. Minister of Christ's Gospel. London, printed by T. Fawcet, dwelling in Grub-street, 1641.	172
Division our Destruction: Or, a short History of the French Faction in England. London, printed, and sold by John Nutt, near Stationers'-hall, 1702.	183
The last Confession, Prayers, and Meditations of Lieutenant John Stern, delivered by him on the Cart immediately before his Execution, to Dr. Burnet: together with the last Confession of George Borosky, signed by him in the Prison, and sealed up in the Lieutenant's Packet. With which an Account is given of their Deportment both in the Prison and at the Place of their Execution, which was in the Pall-Mall, on the Tenth of March, in the same Place in which they had murdered Thomas Thynn, Esq.; the Twelfth of February before, 1681-2. Written by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. and Anthony Horneck, D. D. London: printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1682.	191
A Conference between the two great Monarchs of France and Spain, concerning these our present Proceedings in England. Wherein is discoursed of the Being of our Runaways under their Dominions, with a Consideration of their Dangers past, in the Wars betwixt England and them. Printed in the Year 1641.	218
The Character of a certain great Duchess deceased, by a certain great Poet lately deceased.	220
The Conclusion of the Travels of Three English Gentlemen, &c.	221
England's Tears, for the present Wars; which, for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of Strength, the Diversity of Battles, Skirmishes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in so short a Compass of Time, cannot be paralleled by any precedent Age. Printed at London, according to Order, by Richard Heron, 1644.	249
Mock-Majesty: Or, the Siege of Munster; being a true Story of those fine Things, wherewith King John Becock, at first a Botcher of Leyden by Profession, and his Companions the Anabaptists, pleased themselves, after they were become Masters of that City. You shall here likewise have the Issue of the whole Mock-show. ELEUTHEROPOLI, ANNO 'ANABAΠTISTOMANI'ΑΣ, C. XIIIX. <i>Imprimatur</i> , James Cranford. London, printed for J. S. and L. C. 1644.	258
The grand Designs of the Papists, in the Reign of our late Sovereign Charles the First; and now carried on against his present Majesty, his Government, and the Protestant Religion. <i>Imprimatur</i> , Guil. Jane, Nov. 2, 1678. London, printed by Henry Hills, Anno 1678.	275
An authentic Relation of the many Hardships and Sufferings of a Dutch Sailor, who was put on Shore on the uninhabited Isle of Ascension, by Order of the Commodore of a Squadron of Dutch Ships. With a remarkable Account of his Converse with Apparitions, and evils Spirits, during his Residence on the Island. And a particular Diary of his Transactions from the Fifth of May, to the Fourteenth of October, on which Day he perished in a miserable Condition. Taken from the original Journal found in his Tent by some Sailors, who landed from on Board the Compton, Captain Morson, Commander, in January 1725-6.	295
A true Narrative of the Occasions and Causes of the late Lord General Cromwell's Anger and Indignation against Lieutenant Colonel George Joyce (sometimes Cornet Joyce, who secured the King at Holmby) and his Proceedings against him to cashier him from the Army, and imprison and destroy him in his Estate.	304
Day Fatality: Or, some Observations of Days Lucky and Unlucky; concluding with some Remarks upon the Fouteenth of October, the auspicious Birth-day of his Royal Highness James Duke of York. <i>Atavis qui Regibus editus,</i> <i>Augustissimo CAROLO proximus. NUM. XXVII. 8, 9.</i> <i>In hoc Die tuo. 'In this thy Day.' LUC. XIX. 42.</i> Printed in 1679.	307
An Essay towards Carrying on the present War against France, and other public Occasions: As also, for Paying off all Debts contracted in the same, or otherwise: And new Coining of all our Monies, without Charge; to the great Increase of the Honour, Strength, and Wealth of the Nation. Humbly proposed for the Parliament's Consideration, and submitted to their great Wisdom, and Love to their Country, &c. To which is added an Appendix.	315

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Queen's Wells : That is, a Treatise of the Nature and Virtues of Tunbridge-Water. Together with an Enumeration of the chiefest Diseases, which it is good for ; and against which, it may be used ; and the Manner and Order of taking it. By Lodowick Rowzee, Doctor of Physick, practising at Ashford, in Kent. London, printed for Robert Boulter, at the Turk's Head, in Bishopsgate-street, 1670.....	328
A View of St. Helena, an Island in the Ethiopian Ocean, in America ; now in Possession of the honourable East India Company, where their Ships usually refresh in their Indian Voyages. With an Account of the admirable Voyage of Domingo Gonsales, the little Spaniard, to the World in the Moon, by the Help of several Gansas, or large Geese. An ingenious Fancy, written by a late learned Bishop.....	344
Sir Thomas Overbury's Observations in his Travels, upon the State of the Seventeen Provinces, as they stood, <i>Anno Domini</i> 1609 ; the Treaty of Peace being then on Foot. Printed 1626.	362
Reasons for settling Admiralty-Jurisdiction, and giving Encouragement to Merchants, Owners, Commanders, Masters of Ships, Material-Men, and Mariners. Humbly offered to the Consideration of his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament. Printed in the Year 1690.	371
Theeves falling out, True-men come by their Goods : Or, The Bel-man wanted a clapper. A Peale of new Villanies rung out : Being musically to all Gentlemen, Lawyers, Farmers, and all Sorts of People that come up to the Tearme : Shewing, that the Villanies of lewd Women doe, by many Degrees, excell those of Men. By Robert Greene. London, printed for Henry and Moses Bell, 1637. In Black Letter.	382
A true Declaration of the Arrival of Cornelius Haga (with others that accompanied him) Ambassador for the General States of the United Netherlands, at the great City of Constantinople. Together with the Entertainment unto them given by the Turk, when they came to his Palace ; and what Privileges were, by him, granted unto the said United Provinces. And, also, the Copy of certain Letters, sent unto the said States of the Netherlands, from Constantinople. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch Copy. London, printed for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his Shop in Pope's-head Palace, 1613.	403
Reasons humbly offered to both Houses of Parliament, for Passing a Bill for Preventing Delays and Expences, in Suits in Law and Equity. London, printed ; and are to be sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1707.	414
The Pretences of the French Invasion examined, for the Information of the People of England. London, printed for R. Clavel, at the Peacock, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1692.	422
Some Observations on the Trial of Spencer Cowper, J. Marson, E. Stevens, and W. Rogers, that were tried at Hertford, about the Murder of Sarah Stout, together with other Things relating thereunto.....	429
The Nine Worthies of London : Explaining the honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable Attempts of Magnanimous Minds ; pleasaunt for Gentlemen, not unseemely for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. Compiled by Ric. Johnson. Imprinted at London, by Tho. Orwin, for Humf. Lownes, and are to be sold at his Shop at the West Doore of Paules. 1592. In Black Letter.....	437
A Discourse, setting forth the unhappy Condition of the Practice of Physick in London, and offering some Means to put it into a better ; for the Interests of Patients, no less, or rather much more, than of Physicians. By Jonathan Goddard, Doctor of Physick, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and of the Royal Society, and a Professor of Physick in Gresham-College. London, printed by John Martyn and James Allestry, Printers to the Royal Society, 1670.	462
A Cry against a Crying Sin : Or, a just Complaint to the Magistrates, against them who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by Killing of Men merely for Theft. Manifested in a Petition long since presented to the Common-Council of the City of London, on the Behalf of Transgressors. Together with certain Proposals, presented by Colonel Pride, to the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army, and the Committee, appointed by the Parliament of England, to consider of the Inconveniencies, Mischiefs, Chargeableness, and Irregularities in their Law. Printed at London, for Samuel Chidley, dwelling in Bow-Lane, at the Sign of the Chequer, 1652.	477
The Earl of Glamorgan's Negotiations, and colourable Commitment in Ireland demonstrated ; Or, The Irish Plot, for bringing Ten-thousand Men and Arms into England, whereof Three-hundred to be for Prince Charles's Life-guard. Discovered in several Letters, taken in a Pacquet-boat by Sir Thomas Fairfax's Forces at Padstow in Cornwall. Which Letters were cast into the Sea, and by the Sea coming in, afterwards regained ; and were read in the Honourable House of Commons. Together with divers other Letters, taken by Captain Moulton, at Sea, near Milford-Haven, coming out of Ireland, concerning the same Plot and Negotiation.	
Ordered, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that these Letters be forthwith printed and published. H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.'	
London, printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons. March 17, 1645.	490
A Letter to a Country-Gentleman : Setting forth the Cause of the Decay and Ruin of Trade. To which is annexed a List of the Names of some Gentlemen who were Members of the Last Parliament, and now are (or lately were) in Public Employments. London, printed in 1698.	506
Taxes no Charge : In a Letter from a Gentleman to a Person of Quality : shewing the Nature, Use, and Benefit of Taxes in this Kingdom, and compared with the Impositions of foreign States ; together with their Improvement of Trade in Time of War. Licensed, Nov. 11, 1689. London, printed for R. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1690.....	513

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
A Disputation: Proving, That it is not convenient to grant unto Ministers Secular Jurisdiction; and to make them Lords and Statesman in Parliament. London, printed in the Year 1679.	527
The grand Concern of England explained; in several Proposals offered to the Consideration of the Parliament.—1. For Payment of Public Debts.—2. For Advancement and Encouragement of Trade.—3. For Raising the Rents of Lands.	
In Order whereunto, it is proved necessary,	
I. That a Stop be put to further Buildings in and about London.	
II. That the Gentry be obliged to live, some Part of the Year, in the Country.	
III. That Registers be settled in every County.	
IV. That an Act for Naturalizing all foreign Protestants, and Indulging them, and his Majesty's Subjects at Home, in Matters of Conscience, may be passed.	
V. That the Act, prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle, may be repealed.	
VI. That Brandy, Coffee, Mum, Tea, and Chocolate, may be prohibited.	
VII. That the Multitude of Stage-Coaches and Caravans may be suppressed.	
VIII. That no Leather may be exported unmanufactured.	
IX. That a Court of Conscience be settled for Westminster, and all the Suburbs of London; and in every City and Corporation of England.	
X. That the extravagant Habits and Expence of all Persons may be curbed, the excessive Wages of Servants and Handicrafts-men may be reduced, and all foreign Manufactures may be prohibited.	
XI. That it may be made lawful to assign Bills, Bonds, and other Securities; and that a Course be taken, to prevent the Knavery of Bankrupts.	
XII. That the Newcastle-Trade for Coals may be managed by Commissioners; to the Ease of the Subjects, and great Advantage of the Publick.	
XIII. That the Fishing-Trade may be vigorously prosecuted, all poor People set at Work to make Fishing-tackle, and be paid out of the Money collected every Year, for the Poor, in the several Parishes in England. By a Lover of his Country, and Well-wisher to the Prosperity both of the King and Kingdoms. London, printed in the Year 1673.	547
Let me speak too: Or, Eleven Queries, humbly proposed to the Officers of the Army, concerning the late Alteration of Government. 'The last Testimony amongst Men, both Greeks and Barbarians, 'which no Time will abolish, is that which, by Oath, calleth the Gods to be Sureties of their Covenants.' Procopius. London, printed 1659.	583
A Letter to the Lord Fairfax, and his Council of War, with divers Questions to the Lawyers and Ministers: Proving it an undeniable Equity, That the common People ought to dig, plow, plant, and dwell upon the Commons, without hiring them, or paying Rent to any. Delivered to the General and the chief Officers, on Saturday, June 9. By Jerrard Winstanly, in the Behalf of those who have begun to dig upon George-hill in Surrey. London: printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-Spread-Eagle, at the West End of Paul's, 1649.	586
An humble Declaration of the Apprentices and other young Men of the City of London, who were Petitioners for Peace; shewing the Causes of their Petitioning, and the Passages concerning it. Together with a true Copy of their Petition, as it was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, disclaiming those in print, which were without their Knowledge. Printed at London, 1642.	593
The Earl of Strafford's Letter to the King, to pass the Bill occasioned by the Tumult of the Apprentices. Taken from the Original Copy. London, printed for Thomas Burrell, 1680.	593
The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech: Or, his Funeral Sermon, preached by himself on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, on Friday the Tenth of January, 1644, upon Hebrews xii. 1, 2. Also, the Prayers which he used at the same Time and Place, before his Execution. All faithfully written by John Hinde, whom the Archbishop beseeched that he would not let any Wrong be done him by any Phrase in false Copies. Licensed and Entered according to Order. London, printed by Peter Cole, at the Sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhill, near the Royal-Exchange, over-against Pope's-Head-Alley, 1644.	599
A brief Relation containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, against the Government of this Nation, by a King or a single Person; to convince Men of the Danger and Inconveniency thereof. Urged by him to many of the Army, at St. Albans, Windsor, and Whitehall, a little before the King was beheaded, and at several other Places. Published for the Good and Information of Parliament, Army, and People. Printed, January, 1658.	604
A Copie of a Letter lately sent by a Gentleman, Student in the Lawes of the Realme, to a Frende of his, concernyng D. Storie. Black Letter.	608
A short View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, late Provost of Eaton College. London, printed for William Sheares, 1642.	613
A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord General Monk. London, printed in the Year 1660.	625
The Chancellor's Examination and Preparation for a Trial. Printed for W. Cademan, 1689.	627
A brief Discourse concerning the Power of the Peers and Commons of Parliament, in Point of Judicature. Written by a learned Antiquary, at the Request of a Peer of this Realm. Printed in the Year 1640. ...	629



THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

A Relation of the Carriage of the Marriages that should have been made between the Prince of England, and the Infanta Major, and also after with the younger Infanta of Spain. Written by Sir Charles Cornwallis¹ to the Lord Digby. [MS.]

SIR,
THE charge I hold having so necessary relation and dependency on that place, to which your wisdom and deserts have moved his majesty to call you; I have thought it fit, in a matter of no less consequence, than a treaty of marriage for the prince's highness, with a daughter of the king of Spain, (because I know you shall receive the carriage thereof severally and differently related from many princes, his majesty's allies, and from his majesty's public ministers residing abroad) to set down, truly and exactly, the original, course, and issue of the business; to the end that you (who, under his majesty, are like hereafter to direct) may be fully acquainted with what formerly passed: and for that it is likely, that the manner of this treaty shall not only be given out, but censured, according to the diversity of men's affections; and unto you (as to the center where all advertisements meet) these contrarieties will come. I therefore desired to arm you with this truth, which, as I affirm unto yourself, so I am ready to justify it to the world, if you shall have occasion, or that your wisdom shall think it fit to make more public use of this discourse; which containeth in it so much truth, that I care not what eye sees it, for that I know no man can

¹ [Sir Charles Cornwallis was younger brother of sir William, father of Frederick, first lord Cornwallis. His abilities were of considerable repute in the reign of king James I. who knighted him, and employed him as ambassador-liege at the court of Spain, whither he accompanied the pompous retinue of the earl of Nottingham, ambassador-extraordinary, in March, 1605. The *pro* and *con* about the Spanish match, has (as the editor of the Hardwicke State-Papers observes) been sufficiently discussed by the historians. It will therefore be enough to say that the occasion of this letter was the sending of John lord Digby (afterwards created earl of Bristol) into Spain in the year 1622, to conclude the marriage-treaty, jointly with sir Walter Aston. 'Sir Charles Cornwallis, having been many years at the Spanish court, seems to have furnished lord Digby with this view of the preliminary negotiations, that he might arrive at Madrid completely master of the subject of his journey.' (Vide Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 492, edit. W. Scott, esq.)

Digby upon his arrival in Spain, was strangely neglected: (vide Wilson, p. 749:) and it is perhaps scarcely necessary to inform the reader, that the sequel was equally unsatisfactory and discreditable to both courts. Voluminous accounts of the proceedings may be found in Rushworth, Wilson, &c. and many original letters, to and from the parties concerned, are collected in the first volume of the Hardwicke State-Papers.]

contradict it. I shall therefore refer it to your honour to make such use thereof, as shall best please you, either to inform others of these proceedings, or for your own private satisfaction, to which I chiefly intend it.

To set down unto your honour perfectly, as well the introduction, and beginning of this business, as the course and issue to which it is brought, I must crave leave to take it a little higher than my own time; yet dare affirm what I shall say therein, to contain as exactly the truth, as that which hath passed by myself; for that I have received it from his majesty's own mouth, and often from my lord-treasurer, and have found it acknowledged by the principal ministers here.

Not long after the concluding of the peace betwixt his majesty and the king of Spain, there fell out many causes of expostulation betwixt them, for divers wrongs offered to his majesty's subjects, contrary to the articles of treaty; as also for the readiness which was perceived in the king of Spain, to receive and favour persons ill affected to his majesty and the state; and, thereupon, his majesty was content, that it should be plainly told unto the king's ambassador residing in England, that he observed so strange a proceeding upon the new amity, as he had cause to suspect that the former alienation was rather disguised for the contriving of some future ends, than so extinguished, as he might be able to build upon such a friendship. Whereupon, many arguments being used by divers of the king's ministers, in excuse of what had passed; imputing some to the slow stile of their proceeding in Spain, and some others to the concurrence in matter of conscience, with those persons which made their retreat into this king's dominion.

And, for the better expressing and intimating of this king's clear and sincere affections towards his majesty, both the conde de Villa Mediana in his time, and don Pedro de Zuniga since, declared and protested to know so much of the king their master's good intents unto his majesty, as, if he would be pleased, according to nature and custom, (by both which the man is to speak first,) to begin a motion for a marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and the infanta; the same should be so well heard, as it should appear, that their king desired not only to continue in amity, but to unite himself by nearest alliance to his majesty. To all which, though his majesty could not but return kind and thankful answers in general; yet, for many respects, it pleased his majesty to pass over all these occasions given him by these invitements, without making any particular answer, until the time of don Alonzo de Velasco, yet leiger there: who renewing these former overtures, his majesty could no longer have remained in silence, but he must have given just occasion to retort that opinion of coldness upon himself, for which he had, formerly, challenged the king of Spain. And here I can enter to speak of the sequel of the business upon my own knowledge.

In March, 1611, the duke of Savoy sent an ambassage unto his majesty, in which he gave commission to his ambassador to make offer of the prince of Piedmont, for the lady Elizabeth's grace; with insinuation likewise, "how glad the duke of Savoy would be, if the prince of Wales would dispose himself to like of his eldest daughter."

To the first, his majesty made answer, "That he would not refuse to treat thereof upon the duke's own motion, if it were propounded singly, as it had formerly been moved by the ambassador of Spain; but if it came accompanied with the condition of reciprocal marriage for the prince, his majesty could herein give no answer, as not being yet resolved about the bestowing of him." At the same time that the Spanish ambassador made the first overture for the prince of Piedmont (for the motion thereof came from him as so directed by the king of Spain, as he affirmed and shewed in writing) he said, that "in case his majesty should be pleased to make the like overture to the king his master, for the prince of Wales, to match with the infanta, he did assure himself, that his majesty should receive a kind and an honourable answer;" intimating, indeed, that the intent of this match with Savoy was to be as a forerunner of the match desired, betwixt the prince and the infanta, by which all difficulties in matters of religion might be facilitated, that the other might find the less stays and hindrances, when it should come to be negotiated.

Myself, at the same time, being appointed to come as his majesty's leiger-ambassador in

Spain, to supply the place which had been two years vacant, with charge to procure some better satisfaction in the merchants' businesses, than they had yet received; and being so near my departure, that I had my instructions ready drawn and perfected, and had also taken my leave of his majesty; thinking, within very few days, to have begun my journey: my lord-treasurer, upon this new invitation of this ambassador, sent me down to Royston unto his majesty, to make him acquainted therewith; whereupon his majesty was pleased to give me order how to behave myself in the business, and caused particular directions to be added and adjoined to my former instructions; wherein before there was no kind of mention for any such motion: an evident argument that the overtures of the ambassador, and the assurance he gave his majesty, that the proposition should have all kind acceptance, were the only motives which caused his majesty to propound this match; this being the very true form in which this business was, by the ambassador, revived, and by which his majesty and this king have proceeded.

At my arrival here in Spain, having procured audience of the king; after I had presented unto him his majesty's kind and affectionate salutations with all princely offers of love and friendship, I gave particular notice unto him of the overture made by don Alonzo, his ambassador; and, in his majesty's name, gave him thanks for yielding so clear and apparent a testimony of his affection. And then I declared the extraordinary value and estimation his majesty made of the person and fortune of the infanta in every respect; and that to shew his willingness to maintain the amity, and increase the alliance betwixt them, he was willing to lay hold on that which the ambassador had intimated unto him, and therefore had given me instructions to propound a marriage unto him, for the prince of Wales, his majesty's son and heir, with the infanta, his eldest daughter.

The king hereunto made answer, "That these testimonies of his majesty's love were very acceptable unto him;" and told me, concerning this business, the duke of Lerma should have orders to treat with me.

Within two or three days the duke of Lerma came home unto me, to my house; to whom, when I had signified how grateful it was to his majesty to understand of his good inclination towards him, and his estate; I declared as much unto him as before I did unto the king; and told him, that herein the king had referred me to negotiate and treat with himself. The duke then began, with a great deal of protestation, to declare "how much he desired as great a strictness and nearness of amity and alliance as might be betwixt the crowns of England and Spain; and that, by his means, this proposition had been divers times handled, both by the conde de Villa Mediana, and since by don Pedro de Zuniga, as also by don Alonzo, now resident in England; and that he well knew of how great consequence it was, both for the good of Spain and of England, to be so nearly and firmly united. One thing there was, which he apprehended as the greatest and only difficulty, which was, the disparity of religion; for the accommodating whereof, he would make no precise judgment, being a thing depending on the pope; and in which, neither the king, nor the state here, could make any certain determination."

I then made him answer, "That the king, my master, would, herein, have to do with no others but the king and his ministers; and that I supposed, that if the pope's inclination had not already been tried herein, and that there might be a probability of his giving way unto the match; I should have thought, there would not have been given commission to don Alonzo de Velasco, to give such encouragements to the king, my master, for the propounding of it; and that, if I was not much mistaken, I had heard don Alonzo say, that the match with Savoy had been already propounded to the pope, and that he should seem not to be much averse thereunto; which match, I conceived, had been a preparation and a way-maker to this other."

To this the duke replied, that "the king dependeth on none but the pope; and that depending he could not, nor must not deny; neither could he proceed therein, without the pope's approbation. And as for the matter of Savoy, though the pope should give way unto it, yet there would be great difference in their cases, in regard that there might be great hopes of the lady Elizabeth's conversion, being matched to a catholic prince, and being come to live in a catholic country: whereas, contrariwise, there might be great

danger of the infanta's perversion; she being to be matched, and so to be governed by a prince that was not a catholick; the which if the king should suppose, he could not, nor would not do, though it were for the saving of his kingdom."

I, seeing the duke stand upon so strict terms, desired him "not to mistake my manner of proposition, which was with these conditions and restrictions, that if this motion should not be received with full as much forwardness of disposition from the king of Spain, as by the king my master, in his desires to have it effected, this business would quickly be at an end; for that I had no commission to treat, until I should be assured, both that the proposition in general was very welcome unto them, and that they would undertake the clearing of such difficulties as on their side might arise. So that, unless this by them might be undergone, the issue of this business, I conceived, was like to be no other, but that the king, my master, had expressed a willingness to lay hold of any intimation, that this king should make of working a greater nearness and strictness between them."

The duke then seemed to be a little altered with this my directness, and began to qualify his manner of speech; telling me, "he well knew the good and great happiness that might arise, not only to these crowns, but to the Christian world in general, if this match might take effect; and that what he now had said, was not by way of answer, but by way of proposition of the only difficulties he foresaw: but that the king had herein given him order, that shortly I should receive answer, the care whereof he would undertake; willing me to assure myself, that it should be such as should be agreeable, both to the king my master's honour, and full satisfaction." Upon these terms we parted.

I then suffered them to take the leisure of a month or six weeks, without using any new instance; until their stay was such, as I held it expedient to press them for their answer, and to make means for a new access unto the king; on whom I was commanded to wait at the Escorial. My audience with him was very short, being again referred by him to the duke of Lerma; whom I then found very sick in bed of a fever, and so offered to have attended him some day or hour of his better disposition.

But he entreated me to sit down by him, and told me, he would briefly signify unto me the substance of the king's answer, which should be more at large declared unto me, by don John des Idiaques, who was there present.

He then willed me to signify to the king my master, "that this proposition, which he had made, was very welcome and grateful unto this king; taking it as an assured testimony of his affection and good-will unto him; and as he had found from the king a worthy and direct proceeding in the propounding of it, so would he use much sincerity and directness in the answer: for that the truth was, that before this overture made by me in the king's name, for the prince of Wales, with the infanta, the lady Anna, the king was elsewhere engaged; and that the reason, why my answer had been so long delayed, was to see how other treaties (which were already on foot) proceeded; to the end that, if the king should have found himself free of such engagements and promises, as he had formerly made, he might have given that acceptance which he desired to his proposition; the which he could not now do, on the behalf of the eldest daughter, the lady Anna; because the promises and engagements, which he formerly had made, were proceeded in with great likelihood of taking effect. But such was his particular desire of giving satisfaction to the king; that having other daughters, born of the same father and mother, and of equal dearness and esteem unto him; that if for either of them it should please the king to make a motion, for the prince of Wales, (if that the king did think the matter of religion might be accommodated, and without danger of his king's daughter to be altered and perverted from her religion) the king here would be very willing unto it, and would, upon his majesty's answer herein (which he wished me to procure) give order for the negotiating herein, to the king's full content."

He then told me, "what he then said should be more amply delivered unto me by don John des Idiaques, to whom I might likewise say any thing I had to speak; for that his indisposition was such, that with much pain he had forced himself to say thus much;" and so I was accompanied to my chamber by don John des Idiaques and don Roderigo Calderon. From don John I received the same answer, in effect, that I had done from the duke

of Lerma, though somewhat more enlarged : with whom, though I held it to little purpose to argue or expostulate ; yet, when they urged the king's former engagement to be long before my overture, I replied, " That I much wondered at that, since the motives, that had incited the king my master to this overture, had proceeded from don Alonzo, their ambassador, now resident in England ; who had not only formerly assured the king, my master, that if he should be pleased to make this motion, it should receive a kind acceptance, and an honourable answer ; but likewise of late, upon the instant of my departure, he confirmed, that he was newly instructed from his king, that in case the alliance with the prince was then spoken of, not only not to refuse it, but to embrace it as a matter that should be most agreeable to his king, if matter of religion might be accommodated."

Don Roderigo suddenly and peremptorily denied his having any such directions from hence, saying, " It could not be, for that this treaty had been many months in speech ;" but don John des Idiaques seemed to qualify, or rather, wittily to excuse it, by taking hold of the general word ' alliance ;' saying, " It might be, that he might have directions, in case the alliance of the prince with Spain should be spoken of, he should not refuse it ; for that it then was, and is still desired, though not particularly with the king's eldest daughter ; concerning whom, the king had been already, many months, engaged by promise."

They seemed much to desire, that the king might rest satisfied with this answer ; telling me, that there was little advantage (in the main) with daughters that the king much esteemed, and would do as much for the younger, as for the elder. I told them, " I knew not how the king, my master, might herewith rest satisfied ; yet I could not but conceive many differences between the younger and the eldest daughters : first, that kingdoms could not come into division ; and then, that a prince of nine years of age should be married to a lady elder than himself, and another of eighteen should be moved to tarry for an infanta of six years."

And this is the effect of that which passed at that time ; of which I presently gave an account unto his majesty, and thereupon received directions to make unto them this reply : " That the king, my master, had found their answer to contain in it so many incongruities, and unexpected passages, that he had held it fit to call this king's ambassador to a conference, with the lords of his council, for the justifying of what had passed from him ; and had likewise commanded me, to understand from this king the reason of these proceedings, which he found both unsuitable to his expectation, and no way to answer the promises of the ambassador ; for that he had not only, in former times, assured the king, my master, that if he should be pleased to propound a match for the prince of Wales with the infanta, the king's eldest daughter, he should receive a kind and an honourable answer ; but also, a very few days before my departure, he confirmed his former speeches in his king's name, acknowledging, ' that by a late direction from hence, he was newly instructed, that in case the alliance of the prince of Wales were spoken of in England, that he should not only not refuse it, but embrace it as a thing that should be most agreeable to his majesty, if matter of religion might be accommodated.' Now the king, my master, seeing these encouragements given by the ambassador, so contrary to what he found here : for having, but two months before, received assurance, that if he should propound the match, for the prince with the infanta major, it should find kind acceptance ; that he should now receive answer, that she was already disposed of ! his majesty could not but judge, that either this king's proceedings were not with that clearness that he expected ; or that the ambassador, whom the king, my master, had cause in all things to believe (he having the public faith and credence of his king) had herein much exceeded. Wherein his majesty desired first to receive satisfaction ; for that he was advertised from myself, that some of the king's principal ministers here absolutely denied to me, that any such direction or commission was given to the said ambassador. His majesty, therefore, thought it fit, to have this point cleared, ' Whether he had any warrant from his king to speak what he had said, or not ?' for that whensoever it should appear, that any public minister should so much forget himself, as to deliver that, in the person of his master, which is but his own ; or, having

spoken the truth, should afterward be disavowed by those that employed him; one of these two things must follow, that he is either become unworthy of the place he holdeth, by his own act, or made unworthy by his master."

Having delivered this, both to the king, and to the duke of Lerma; from the duke, in the king's name, I received this answer: "That it was true, that his majesty had great reason to take exceptions, and to be displeased with this manner of proceeding, if their ambassador had, in this sort, dealt with his majesty; but that he herein must absolutely clear the king, whose proceedings were, and ever should be found, with much love and sincerity unto his majesty, and that the blame and fault hereof must light upon the ambassador, who had received no such commission nor directions from hence:" telling me, "that it was justice, first, to hear their ambassador, before they should proceed against him: but in case he should not clear himself, but that he had proceeded in the manner which I had set down; the course which his king would take with his ambassador, should both fully give his majesty satisfaction, and sufficiently witness, that the king had given him no such commission." He then desired to know the particulars, which, I alleged, the ambassador had said to his majesty, which I repeated unto him, in this manner:

"First, That upon the motion of the match with Savoy, he told his majesty, that in case he would be pleased to make the like overture to the king his master, for the prince's highness with the infanta, his king's daughter, he did assure himself, that his majesty should receive a kind and an honourable answer.

"Secondly, In April, 1611, he confirmed his former speeches, in the king his master's name, acknowledging to be newly instructed from Spain: that in case the alliance for the prince's highness were spoken of in England, he should not refuse it, but embrace it; as a thing that should be most agreeable to his king, if matter of religion might be accommodated.

"Thirdly and lastly, He confirmed in a conference, with the lords of his majesty's privy-council, that he was warranted and authorized to hear and embrace any overture, for the prince's highness, concerning the infanta major; and that upon just and reasonable conditions, so that means might be made for the accommodating of matter of religion."

All which conjunction, without allowing some and disallowing the rest, the duke of Lerma, in his king's name, absolutely disavowed; denying, that any such commission had been given unto him.

The duke then seemed much to labour to express his king's affection, and good intents to his majesty, alleging, "that indeed it was true, there had been formerly some speech of the conveniency of this match; but, seeing it in no kind proceeded in, the king had taken this resolution, which was now likely to take effect, for the bestowing his eldest daughter upon the king of France; but that all other means of entering into alliance with his majesty, by bestowing any other of his daughters upon the prince, his king had willingly offered, and was ready to perform, if matter of religion could be accommodated, asking me, Whether I had no answer concerning this offer, which his king had made unto him?" I told him, "I had therein, as yet, received no direction at all." And thus, for this time, we concluded and parted: this being in the middle of September, 1611.

In the beginning of February next following, I having occasion, for many businesses of the merchants, to repair unto the duke: after long discourse therein, he expressing an extraordinary desire, that all things might be carried with much love and kindness betwixt their majesties, and that a greater nearness might be wrought betwixt them, if it were possible, asked me, "Whether I had yet no directions concerning his king's last proffer?" I told him, "Not." Then falling into many discourses of having England and Spain united; he telling me, "there were very few kings' daughters now left in Christendom; and that, in the matches of great princes, there were commonly greater inconveniences, than the disproportion of some few years; and urging me to speak what I conceived thereof." I told him, "That out of the confidence I had in him, and for the expressing of my own good inclination, of doing all good offices betwixt their majesties, (whom I conceived were both well inclined to unite themselves more nearly, if fit means could be

found for them,) I would tell him, both what I thought in this particular, and what should be the most probable means of working such an effect."

I then said, "That the king, my master, having only two sons, I supposed he would regard no one thing so much in the match of the prince, as the hope of a speedy and plentiful issue, and the prince being already at man's estate, and his king's youngest daughter, not past six years of age, he should be forced to the attendance of many years, and the prime of his youth be spent, before there could be hope of any issue by him. Which consideration, I apprehended, was the cause, which made his majesty take so much deliberation, in giving answer unto the proffer. But that, if he would give me leave, merely as a private gentleman, as having no other commission, but the warrant dormant (which all leiger-ambassadors have) to propound, and discourse of all things, which they think may tend to the increasing of amity and good correspondence betwixt the princes, where they are employed, I should be glad to express my good intentions and desires in this kind, by declaring unto him all the most likely and probable ways, which I could foresee, for the producing of such an effect." And so, among other things, told him, "I supposed, that a daughter of Savoy, being so suitable in years, and so near in blood to his king, might, by being taken into his care, and being as it were adopted a daughter of his, and made fit by him, in regard of her fortune, as she was in all things else, to be a wife unto the prince, she might very well prove a fitting subject to set the mutual desires at work, which I conceived were in both their majesties, of uniting themselves."

The duke thanked me very much, for the free proceeding with him, and for the good inclination which I expressed of working a greater nearness betwixt their majesties; telling me, "he would consider of what I had said, (seeming much to approve it,) and shortly would again send for me, that we might confer further thereof."

I earnestly entreated him, "because this was a mere project and proposition of my own, without any kind of authority, or direction, that it might pass with much stillness and secrecy: and that, if it should appear (upon better consideration) not convenient to be further proceeded in, that it might die betwixt us two; lest otherwise my good intentions might perhaps turn to my prejudice:" the which he was pleased not only to promise, but very solemnly to swear unto me.

Within some few days the duke sent to call me unto him, and then signified unto me, "how well my good intents and desire of doing all good offices were accepted; and particularly, my last discourse that I had with him; and that he would requite my kind proceeding, with a real freeness: for that though the business of Savoy (whereof I had spoken) might have, in his opinion, any probability of taking effect; yet as the case now stood, he thought the present no fit time to deal in it. For in regard his king had made an offer of his own daughter, to which his majesty had yet given no answer; he held it convenient, that this or any other proposition of this nature might be respited, and suspended, until the business of his king's own daughter were fully cleared; in which he conceived his majesty had now taken much leisure, and therefore desired me, herein to require his majesty's resolution."

Thereupon, I wrote unto his majesty, that in a late conference betwixt the duke and myself, (in which many discourses passed betwixt us,) and I uttering my private thoughts of such things as I held probable to produce a greater amity and nearness betwixt their majesties; the duke declared unto me, "that the king his master was in expectation to receive from his majesty a direct and certain answer, concerning the overture for a match betwixt the prince of Wales and this king's second daughter." I write unto you this passage, though it were a thing merely of my own, without any kind of instruction from his majesty, for these two regards: first, For that I am so desirous herein to set down the truth, that I would not conceal so essential a circumstance, though I were certain to incur great blame by it. Secondly, For that this occasion drew from his majesty his answer to this king's offer of his younger daughter: whereby the business, being again revived, hath been brought to that final issue, where, I conceive, it is like to stay.

His majesty, upon this instance of mine for his answer, first directed me to allege the

reasons, which had hitherto detained him from making any reply, and then to answer in this manner: "That in the offer made by this king of his younger daughters, both as it was delivered unto myself, and likewise as it was confirmed by this king's ambassador there, his majesty still found this clause and condition inserted, 'That this king would be 'most willing to entertain a motion for a match betwixt the prince of Wales and any of 'his younger daughters, if matter of religion might be accommodated.' And therefore, to the end that all proceedings betwixt them might be with much clearness, he commanded me to move this king, that he would be pleased to declare the intent of this clause, and what was meant and expected, in the accommodating of matter of religion, and why that difficulty was so often represented."

Thus much I delivered unto the king, and to the duke of Lerma, from whom, after the deliberation of two months, I received this reply: "That the king, his master, out of the desire he had to make alliance with his majesty, had consulted with the pope, and other grave persons, requisite for so weighty a business; and if that, for the accommodating of matter of religion, the prince would become a Roman-catholick, he would willingly embrace and esteem him as his own dear son."

I told him, "That in such treaties and negotiations betwixt princes, there was a great difference betwixt what might be wished and desired, and what was resolutely demanded; and that I conceived, the king rather expressed herein what he would be glad might be, than what he expected should be: but that my directions were to entreat this king, that he would be pleased to declare, not what he could wish, but what he would demand."

The duke then answered, "That without the prince's being a Roman-catholick, it was not possible, but that the perversion of the king's daughter must needs be hazarded; which, for the world, he would neither be the direct nor indirect cause of."

Hereupon I signified to the duke, "That the king, my master, had given me directions and instructions how to behave myself, according to the answer which I should receive; and therefore I entreated him, for a day or two, to give me leave to confer this answer with my directions; and that he would give me access, and procure me audience with the king, for the further proceeding in this business, as the king my master had commanded me."

Within two or three days after, I was appointed to return again unto the duke; to whom at first I made repetition of the answer, which the last day I had received from him; the which he likewise then confirmed again. I then "desired him to consider some few grounds which I should lay before him;" the which being presupposed, I conceived he could not but think that the reply, which the king, my master, had directed me to make, was grounded upon much equity and honour.

"The first thing, I desired this king should consider, was, that when his majesty dealt with him and his ministers, he presumed so much, of the equity of this king's judgment, and promised himself so much of his affections and respect unto him, as he should never hear from him any demand unworthy of him; or which this king would not judge fitting to be propounded to himself, were the king my master's case his own.

"The second thing, which I desired that this king should know and believe, was, that there was no prince whatsoever more confident and certain in the truth of his religion, than the king, my master, was in his; in which he was not only resolved to live and die, but for the protection and defence thereof, had by several means declared himself as far; and would ever be ready to adventure as much for the maintenance thereof, as any prince living should do.

"Thirdly, I desired it might be remembered, that though it be true, that the king my master caused the proposition, for the prince, with the infanta major, to be made; yet he was first moved and invited thereunto, by the assurance which this king's ambassador gave unto him, how welcome this motion would be to his master. And for that which hath now passed in this of the second daughter, it hath been likewise only stirred and moved from hence, by the offer of her made by this king: and to this offer, thus accompanied with these demands and conditions, I was out of these grounds, by the direction of the king my master, to make this answer: 'That whereas it is demanded that, to

‘ match with this king’s second daughter, the prince should become a Roman-catholick, the king, my master, desires to refer it to this king’s own judgment; what censure that king should deserve, both from the hands of God and the world, that having so many ways expressed his constancy and love to the faith and religion which he professeth, should show himself so full of impiety and dishonour, to persuade his son to make a change of his soul for a wife, or any earthly fortune whatsoever.’

“ And if this king would not for a world, as he professed, be either the direct or indirect cause of the hazard of his daughter’s perversion: the king may be pleased to consider, that if he be therein so exact, as befitteth a king, in point of religion and honour, the king, my master, is likewise so, in no degree less: and therefore hath commanded me, plainly to declare, ‘ That though he could not but make a kind and princely construction of the offer, which this king made of his daughter, as judging her most worthy of any prince whatsoever; yet, for this demand of the prince’s becoming a Roman-catholick, the king, my master, holdeth it unworthy of him, and would absolutely refuse to bestow the prince, his son, upon these conditions, were the person offered the sole heir of the monarchy of the whole world.’

Hereunto the duke made little answer; not expecting, as I conceive, so direct and conclusive a proceeding; only said, “ That his king did suppose, that God might have been pleased to have made this the means for the reducing of the prince, and England, to the catholick religion.”

And so from the duke I went unto the king; (with whom I was appointed at that time to have audience;) unto whom I made an ample and full relation of the whole course of the business, and particularly signified unto him the answers, which, in his name, I had received from the duke of Lerma, and likewise, his majesty’s reply.

He told me, “ The duke of Lerma had in all things proceeded as he directed him; and therefore he would only confirm those answers, which I had already received from him.”

Thus having made unto you a true and exact relation, how this business hath hitherto been carried, I will refer the judgment thereof to your own wisdom: only these passages I shall recommend unto you, as most remarkable.

First, That his majesty’s proposition, for the king of Spain’s eldest daughter, was from the several invitations of the Spanish ambassadors: neither can the dishonour of their indirect proceedings be removed, but that another will necessarily fall upon them. For if princes shall not give credit and belief to the ambassadors, and public ministers, one of another; all means of negotiating betwixt them will be taken away. Herein they pretend, that, for the giving his majesty satisfaction, they have rejected their ambassador; and, likewise, sent don Pedro de Zuniga, in the interim, until the coming of don Diego Sarmiento d’Acuna, whom they have nominated for that employment.

Secondly, In this business, concerning the second daughter, it never was, in any kind, any motion of his majesty’s, but merely an offer of the king of Spain; which God, I conceive, appointed, as a fitting and a worthy means, for his majesty to make declaration, both to them here, and to the world, of his constancy and resolution, in the professing and protesting of his religion.

So that I must conclude, that if any thing hath passed herein less honourable, or less sincere, than befitted the greatness of two such mighty princes; there cannot so much as any reflection of it light upon his majesty; whose proceedings clear throughout have been with all directness. Whereas they, if they do not justly incur the censure of some falsehood, yet it cannot but be a great unluckiness to them, in a matter of so great consequence, to be forced to renounce their ambassador. Neither have they any advantage in point of honour, that a daughter, whose sex giveth ever the privilege to be sought, being offered, hath not been accepted.

A good Expedient for Innocence and Peace. Being an Essay concerning the great Usefulness and Advantage of laying aside Publick Oaths.

Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, 1704.

[Quarto ; containing sixteen pages.]

IT is agreed to on all hands, that nothing does so much contribute to the ruin of kingdoms and societies, as the abounding of vice and immorality. Wickedness, where it becomes outrageous, challenges Heaven to vindicate its own authority, and arms God for vengeance against a people; and the more spreading and universal it grows, the greater mass of wrath is thence treasured up, and destruction thereby the more infallibly ascertained. And then, what overflowing inundations of fury may justly be apprehended, beyond whatever this poor land has hitherto smarted by, from those monstrous heights of gigantic vice, which has swelled to degrees, that scarcely our very fears could have probably suggested? Witness all sorts of the most licentious villainies, that refuse to know any bounds or restraints! We have now beheld atheism so bold, that it no more skulks in corners, but outfaces the sun and men. We have lived to see religion openly scoffed down, and exposed as the only befitting quality of the more phlegmatic melancholy kind of people; swearing and drunkenness, the genteel fashionable form of behaviour; lust and whoredom, the ordinary topicks of discourse; adultery and viler uncleanness, brought to be the mode; perfidy and murder authorized. Finally, a contempt of all that is sacred and serious: and then, it can be no wonder if we shall find 'iniquity become our ruin.'

And now, that matters are brought to so dreadful, so desperate an issue; the land groaning under such an intolerable load of sins and calamities; what man is so hard-hearted, so regardless of God, so unconcerned for the public good of his native country, so void of all sense of his own, and his neighbour's danger, in their highest and dearest concerns, as will not contribute the utmost that in him lies, to put the most effectual stop to these common national sins, that otherwise will make the kindlings of the Divine anger break out and consume all?

Did we live in an age that shewed any tolerable measure of respect to the Divine laws, it might be hoped, that whatever were made to appear to be sinful, should instantly be abandoned; whatever were understood to be a crime, would be accordingly avoided; and then the plain detecting a vice would go a great way towards its cure; but so far is it otherwise, that most men seem so utterly to have divested themselves of all fear of God, that they can defy their own convictions, charge through all kinds of sins, and own no further difference of good and evil, than their present worldly interests, or viler appetites suggest, or prompt them to; and then, what success can be promised from any attempt for our cure?

But yet no wickedness, how general soever, ought to supersede endeavours of a recovery; but the more prevalent and universal vice grows, the more strenuous labours should be employed to controul it.

It is, sure, one of the best offices a person can undertake, in days of general back-sliding, to draw the notorious reigning sins of the land in their just colours, to paint them in their true and horrid shapes, that men, by beholding the natural ugliness and deformity of them, and by considering what they will end in, may be cautioned to forsake them, and so may 'flee from the wrath to come.'

It were a vast work to attack all. I shall single out one of the first magnitude, *viz.* the swearing of inconsistent oaths; which, I presume, will, by all, be confessed to be an impiety of the greatest size; and to have a most powerful energy in drawing on all those woes and calamities we have been so deeply plunged into.

It will be readily acknowledged by all the wrangling factions amongst us, that the land has been involved in no less than the horrid guilt of perjury: as, indeed, where there has been so much swearing and counterswearing, how could it possibly escape? Every new turn of affairs must be accompanied with new modelled oaths, adapted to the circumstances of the prevailing party, right or wrong; and then all must to pot, who cannot swear and sign these, how flatly soever contradictory to those others that preceded them, without the least regard paid to the former obligations, though as solemn as any latter that can be substituted in their room. I need not give instances; the 'Solemn League,' and 'Declaration,' the 'Tender,' the 'Test,' &c. are too notorious pregnant instances to be denied; and the crime, upon an ordinary examination of the terms, thence too apparent: than which there can be no higher contempt put upon the tremendous Majesty of God, nor any wickedness which raises a louder cry at the tribunal of Heaven for vengeance; and if men can once be habituated to, and harden themselves in such courses, there is an end of all that is holy and heavenly, tender and apprehensive in human nature; and all those storms and tempests of the Divine indignation to be expected which result from the justice of an affronted, sin-revenging God!

Now, can there be any man so devoted to all that is execrable and accursed, such a lover of mischief, as that he would not heartily wish for a proper remedy of so great an evil? And here it may be proposed to consideration, what might be the most expedient mean, to prevent such gross commissions in this particular, as, if not obviated, must needs overwhelm and confound all, sink and ruin the nation and ourselves? And whether, considering that faith has so sensibly failed from amongst men, it were not, at present, advisable, (for saving the land from farther heights of sin, and so to ward off the most formidable judgments, that otherwise threaten us;) whether, I say, considering these things, it were not advisable to forbear the imposing of those customary obligations, and to dispense with all public oaths, the swearing of which, in the present depravation of men's manners, can afford no possible security to the publick; but only tend to inflame our guilt, and more highly to incense God to pour out his fiercest anger upon us.

It cannot, indeed, be denied, but that the custom of binding subjects, by oaths of allegiance, to the supreme powers, hath been very universal, and spread itself, far and nigh, all the world over. It was ever judged reasonable to provide the most effectually for the common safety, and to guard most carefully against all disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity; and to make sure of this, nothing was so promising, as to put men under the most sacred ties of restraint; that having invoked God as judge and avenger, they might be kept back from whatever tended to embroil or confound affairs; that, however any bold incendiaries might hope for impunity from human power, they might still be awed by the unconquerable dread of the omnipotent justice, that would unavoidably pursue the violation of their holy vows: but then all this was to suppose, that men made conscience of performing what they had undertaken, and were heartily resolved, with an unshaken constancy, firmly on all hazards, to stand by what they had so solemnly engaged to, as they should answer to God on the contrary. But now, that there has such degeneracy and corruption of manners sprung up amongst us, and there seem to be no longer any impressions of religion or morality left on the minds of men; but they can as easily burst asunder all the most sacred bonds of allegiance, as if they were only threads of cobweb; no other fruit of their oaths being discernible, but the horrid guilt of breaking them: while matters are brought to this pass, it ought sadly to be laid to heart, whether, out of pure respect to the honour of God, and holy reverence to his Name, it be not the far safer course to lay aside the imposing, or swearing of those oaths, which do so notoriously tend to the farther debauching of men's minds, and sear-

ing their consciences? And to incline men to favour this overture, these few obvious considerations may be briefly insisted on.

I. That no party sooner gets the ascendant over their opponents, but their utmost invention is stretched, all art employed to secure themselves in the possession of what, it may be, only their force and violence has wrested; and quite to suppress and bear down all that cannot justify their proceedings, and applaud, like enough, the groundless fictions of their distempered brains: and then oaths must be devised with particular respect to their own, and their adversaries' tenets; that such as have different sentiments of matters from them, may be brought either to disclaim what they have formerly professed to believe, or exposed to all the hardships and calamities, that their persecuting insulting foes have the power to inflict upon them. And these obligations being countenanced by the authority in being, at the time when they are imposed, are cried up by all the abettors thereof, as religious and necessary; and all that refuse them, branded with the most odious names their spite can load them with. And though nothing be less intended than the welfare of the community, or the advancement of religion; yea, let religion suffer the most mortal wounds their artifices can give her, and the strengthening the faction be the only aim of their contrivances; yet, O profane mockery! God is intitled to the faction, their fiery violence is christened zeal, and the standing or falling of religion must straight be made to depend on the interest they have espoused; and he that comes short of their bitter fury is lukewarm, and all non-compliance is downright enmity to the Gospel. And then their way being necessary, nothing less can suffice, than the interposing the most solemn oaths to support and perpetuate the cause; but when the fulsome hypocrisy becomes abominable, and God (for the transgressions of a land, or in pity to the miseries of it,) sends another change; no sooner is the scene shifted, but, as the sure concomitant of that, there succeeds a new revolution of oaths, and these again framed in the plainest contradictory terms to those that went before; so as, to be sure, the former shall be openly abjured by the latter; and when the oppressed get from under the rod of their persecutors, they reckon the severest treatment they can repay, but a just retaliation; their resentments grow more stubborn than can be easily appeased, and the heap of injuries they have sustained is too great for all their charity to pardon. Thus, as the scales turn, there is nothing but swearing backward and forward; and what we are now required to abjure, shall, by the next change of affairs, be imposed as indispensable necessary duty. Now I would desire any sober man, in God's name, to tell me, whether he thinks there can be a more dreadful sin than such a desultory playing with oaths? What greater contempt can possibly be put upon the glorious Majesty of God? What can more expose the gravity and wisdom, the piety and probity of the nation? Or prepare sadder plagues, and a more certain intolerable ruin? Sure I am, such as have the power in their hands to prevent so great an evil, are concerned to lay it sadly to heart: for they that can hinder a sin, and do it not, are highly accountable to God for it. And in this respect it may seem reasonable to dispense with oaths: especially if we farther,

II. Consider, what small reckoning men have now unhappily learned to make of them. Public bonds for money, and public oaths, are reputed mere matters of form, that lay no obligation upon the conscience; and there are but a few that judge themselves any longer bound by them, than a fair occasion offers of emancipating them. Whatever the importance of their most solemn promises have been, they make no difficulty, on the first temptation, of engaging themselves to the other side of the contradiction. A guilt this is, of such an atrocious nature, as must needs utterly lay waste the conscience, and render it insensible and callous: it is not the opinions we take up, that can alter the nature of our duty; the heinousness of perjury is nothing abated by the stubborn confidence of our fancies; the Divine sanctions cannot be altered by any power of our imaginations; all our belief can have no efficacy towards the making that venial, which God has made

damning: sin will retain its native venom, its own proper deadly nature, whatever slight perfunctory notions we force ourselves to entertain concerning it. Would men, therefore, summon up their serious attention, and in God's fear deliberately weigh what is to be done; it is fairly supposable, they would utterly abolish a practice, whereby, because of men's wild mistaken notions, they do unwarily deceive their own souls; and most palpably provoke and dishonour that all-powerful and just Judge, to whom vengeance doth belong. It is proper here to remember, that the swearing *pro* and *con*, in the contests betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster, was so heinous a transgression, as could, it seems, be expiated by no less sacrifice, than of a hundred-thousand lives: for no fewer were slain, in that quarrel.

III. Let it be considered, that these oaths are a plain force and violence to most, even of those that swear them. Some men, for worldly advantage, are tempted to take them, though with reluctant consciences. A great many stand condemned by the sentence of their own hearts, in the very moment of the solemnity. Interest is the great deity, that has by far the most votaries; there is nothing so hazardous, which the prospect of gain will not make men adventure on; there are but few such virtuous souls, as are able to resist a temptation of getting. For a piece of money, one will struggle hard with, and worst his own conscience; and defy present convictions, in the very instant of his grossest commissions. And then it is obvious, that the annexing oaths to lucrative places, is one of the most dangerous snares possible: profit is a bait, that will make any hook be swallowed down. Now, sure, hereby comes evil, that all the benefit that can be pretended on the other side, can never preponderate.

IV. And as an unavoidable consequent of this, the unspeakable damage, that accrues to the publick, by the frequent revolutions and interfering of oaths: for, by this means, the best and most useful men are often kept back from places of trust, and such thrust in, as are the plague and reproach of mankind. He that regards God and himself, fears an oath, and will not swear any thing, but what he is fully satisfied does plainly consist with his strict duty, and all the former obligations, that have, at any time, passed upon him: thence he is barred those stations, wherein he might be a blessing to his country. Whereas, on the other hand, the vicious man, that by his lewd conversation has numbed and stifled his conscience, and blotted out all sense of virtue in his soul, will boggle at nothing; but, at all rates, will climb up to these posts of advantage or authority, that his covetousness or ambition beckon him to: let him have money and honour, and he shall never enquire on what terms he comes by them! And what is to be expected from the advancing such to rule and dignity? Will they respect equity, or faithfully administer justice? Will they dispense the law with candour, and equally maintain truth, between man and man? Nay, will they not notoriously pervert judgment, and have their eyes blinded with bribes; and make the saddest jumble and medley of affairs, from which nothing, but general confusion and mischief, shall ensue? For, when the wicked bear rule, the city mourneth; and the most dreadful comets do not so certainly presage future calamities, as the preferring vicious men to places of eminence and government. And yet this mischief is caused by nothing more visibly, than the frequent varying the terms of getting into employment; which is a grievance, that calls loudly for redress.

V. Another mischief of vast consideration, that the imposing of oaths effects, is, that they do exceedingly tend to the farther widening of these woeful differences, already far too notorious. When the prejudices of discording parties are heightened by the intervention of an oath, what hope is there left remaining of the possibility of a reconciliation? This fixes a μέγα χάσμα, an unpassable gulf, betwixt them; and the breaches that might have been cemented before, are hereby rendered irreparable. This is a compendious way to shut the door against all peace, and to make our wranglings and contentions endless. Even the more moderate and cooler tempers are hereby inflamed to the height of bigotry; and their alienations wax so inveterate, that they can no longer listen to any proposals of a pacification: so that it may, with great probability, be averred, that it is the bandying of oaths to and fro, to which we owe all the bitter contests, that have been

managed with such implacable hatred: it may confidently be affirmed, they had, at least, otherways never been so fierce. For, with whatever indifference, persons may respect the opposite parties, before they be engaged; yet when once they are drawn in, by a solemn stipulation, the support of the faction is made the object of their zeal; and it stands them on their reputation, to assert the necessity, just or unjust, of what they are sworn to maintain. And then, at all rates, down with their adversaries; and nothing short of slaughter and destruction, is breathed out against all that shall dare to question the certainty of the articles, they have embraced; however doubtful these propositions sometimes appeared to themselves. And then, what more seasonable charity, than to abstract the foment from these accursed divisions; by prohibiting those oaths, that add fuel to our flames, and perpetuate our janglings? For so it might be hoped, that, in a little time, our unnatural heats would die out, and more of mutual forbearance and brotherly kindness should spring up amongst us: our animosities would gradually decay, when so great a cause of distinction were removed; and men, by becoming more disinterested, would be more impartial in their disquisitions for truth; and, prejudices being laid aside, they would, with greater freedom of spirit, embrace that, wherever they found it. Thus, the mists of error might be dispelled and vanish; and that pure and undefiled religion, which is peaceable, full of mercy, and good fruits, and without partiality, should shine in its true glory; and our Zion might yet rise in her native beauty and splendour, become a peaceable and prosperous habitation, the joy and praise of the whole earth! Let me here but briefly mention, that these distinguishing oaths do often make fatal rebounds upon the authors of them. Amilcar made Hannibal swear at the altar of his gods, that he should never make peace with the Romans; and his wars, at last, terminated in the final overthrow, the utter excision of Carthage.

VI. The dispensing with public oaths would go a wondrous incredible length towards the removing of those commotions and disturbances, that are of such pernicious consequence to human societies, and to instate us in the blissful possession of the profoundest peace: there can be no greater security to any government, than its being easy and gentle; this takes off the asperity of men's minds, drives out whatever grudges, and cuts off all pretensions for sullen murmurs and complaints. It has a sweet force, sufficient to conquer any resistance, to reconcile all tractable generous tempers, and carries a power in it able to charm the most obstinate. When there is nothing left for men to object; what fears or jealousies can be entertained of plots or conspiracies, to undermine that settlement, that every body enjoys such desired contentment under? It creates mutual confidence and assurance in rulers and people, and, of all things, does the most to make the one quiet, and the other safe: whereas, rigorous harsh impositions make the spirits ferment, and beget corrupt humours, that do break out into dangerous eruptions in the body-politick, and hurl the world into confusions; the depraved infirm flesh shrinks under what is afflictive, has aversions to the cross, and can with difficulty be induced, by all the rhetoric of Heaven, either to take it up, or bear it: when it is loaded with what is grievous, it frets and storms, and is apt to stick at nothing that may disburden it. Ill blood can hardly, by any means, be sweetened, and where choler predominates, no authority of any laws, divine or human, can repress it. Now all ground of such dangerous discontent is taken off, by forbearing whatever can be judged severe; by laying aside such discriminating tests, as factious seditious men make occasions of disquieting the world; and, were every such thing dispensed with, this mild usage could not but shame men into good-nature; and a peaceable disposition, and a happy deliverance from all tumults and molestations, must needs be the certain consequent of not leaving men the least shadow of a foundation to quarrel on.

Were these few things seriously pondered, and sincere honest designs of advancing religion and virtue entertained in the breasts of men; it might, with some confidence, be hoped, that they would cheerfully concur to remove what is attended with such manifest inconveniencies, and, by the disuse of which, so many signal advantages should be ob-

tained. What rank of men is he to be numbered in, who will needs pertinaciously adhere to what he plainly observes to be the source and origin of so many woeful guilts and calamities? Doth he fear God, or love virtue, who would not banish away what, he must needs know, God does hate, and will punish? And who is he, who, under a lively sense of the Divine justice and holiness, dares think of patronizing the custom of swearing contrary oaths, whereby the Omnipotent God is most grievously offended, and which ripens for the most frightful destruction; and for which God's judgments are already so visibly abroad in the earth? Has he any zeal for the honour of God, who is not concerned for the profane contempt cast upon his Holy Name? Doth he wish the thriving and prosperity of the publick, that would not prevent the occasion of a sin, that must needs undo and ruin it? Would to God I were able to say any thing on this head, that might awake and call up men's thoughts, rouse their attentions, and set them in earnest a-thinking, (as under the all-seeing eye of God,) whether what has been said deserves any regard from them; and what every one's bound duty may require from him, in his several station and capacity. Would men be so just to their Maker, so kind to themselves, as to be persuaded to compare the advantages and disadvantages of either side, and to choose the good and refuse the evil; one might promise soon to hear it become the general cry, the common supplication, 'No more swearing! No more public oaths!' that, by their interfering, must needs be, of all things on earth, the most full of terror, the most full of guilt and danger.

But whatever the advantages, the complying with the design of this attempt might be attended with, it is not to be doubted, but it will meet with fierce enough opposition, (as indeed all healing overtures have ordinarily the fate to be treated with the bitterest spite and contradiction,) and, upon various accounts, may have black enough colours laid upon it.

Some will be enemies to it, from the apprehension of the private loss and damage that themselves in particular might sustain, by the succeeding of any such proposal; this might possibly, they will think, make changes, and so they, who are in the present enjoyment of any gainful posts, might be disseised, and others made to reap the profits; and therefore such, no doubt, will furiously malign and resist: but if they be virtuous persons, and demean themselves as men of merit and sufficiency for the trust they enjoy, there is no reason for them to set themselves, on this account, against what might be of good use to the community; for nothing could more secure men of worth and merit: but, if they be of another stamp, it were a general blessing to have them removed; and one of the greatest benefits, such an alteration should effect, would be the turning out vicious, insufficient, and scandalous men; and what harm could come by their fall? But, whatever endeavours any persons, on such accounts, may use, to oppose a public good; it ought not to be neglected, to gratify the ambition or covetousness of private men: for woe to that self-seeking, that wishes to thrive upon the public ruin!

But others will be ready vehemently to exclaim against any such dispensation, as being injurious to the supreme power: it being highly reasonable, that all fullest assurance should be taken of the subject, for the preservation and security of the government; and how shall any sovereign expect fidelity, where it is not faithfully promised? This is, I confess, the most material plea that can be opposed to what is now reasoned for: and truly, if the safety of the government could be sufficiently provided for, and obtain any sure warrandice from men's vowing fealty, it might appear a crime to lift a lip against, or return any answer to this objection; it being most just that they should, in the name of God, engage, not only not to do them harm themselves, but take all possible care, and use their utmost, most faithful endeavours, that none should be done them by others: but then, what they so undertake, they ought to adhere to, to their lives' end. But, alas! when nothing is effectuated by any such means, when daily experience convinceth us, that all this produces nothing but the blackest, most dire guilt; what ground in the world is there to require or impose oaths, that men make no conscience of observing; and which only tend to profane the dreadful name of God, to contemn and provoke the Divine Ma-

jesty, and to treasure up a greater stock of wrath against the land? For, in a few words, it may be made plain, to a demonstration, that, in the present corruption of the world, public oaths are absolutely of no benefit, or use imaginable. For he, whose principles or interest bind him to a party or establishment, will be steadfast thereto, without the intervention of an oath: but, if a man swears against his principles and interest, no such tie will bind him; ten-thousand such oaths shall never hold him fast, nor does he think himself obliged to continue firm to them; but, on the contrary, the grating sense of what he judges himself to have trespassed in, will powerfully draw, and move him to make the best reparation he is able, for the wrong step he has taken: whence, it evidently appears wholly vain to expect any security to the publick, by the interposition of oaths.

But the most implacable enmity will arise from those, who are of that envious temper, as to grudge the least ease to tender consciences. This, it is true, is of so black a dye, and speaks such a hellish disposition, as will find few or none, that will make open profession of it; for this were barefacedly to vouch themselves cruel persecutors. But yet it is shrewdly to be suspected, there are not wanting men of that malevolent nature, as would find a torment in any favour granted to those whom they bear no kindness to, and take a particular complacency in whatever may afflict or ensnare them; than which there can be no quality more contrary to the spirit of Christianity: for this is to please one's self with that which is the satisfaction of the devils, who are delighted with the miseries and ruins of men; and the nearest resemblance, and most lively portraiture of a devil, is an invidious nature, that wishes, or contrives what is hurtful and prejudicial to another. And then, wherever any thing of this spirit is discernible, (as, alas! a very superficial scrutiny may too easily discover it,) all that have learned Christ, must own themselves bound to controul it.

I cannot foresee any thing farther, worth noticing, that this overture can be charged with; and, therefore, would men, without bias, apply themselves to spend some serious thoughts about it, it is hardly to be supposed it could meet with any resistance from sober, pious, and well-disposed persons: for, is there not a God, and is not he the avenger of sin? And can any man who believes his being, reckon it indifferent, whether his great and dreadful Name be revered or blasphemed? And, doth not the religious observance, or profane violation of our promissory oaths amount to all this? For, let any impartial man narrowly examine the importance of those diversified oaths that have been imposed, and let him try his art of reconciling the terms if he can: and by the time that he has a-while employed his thoughts (as in God's presence) about them, he may come to conceive a difference betwixt him that sweareth, and him that feareth an oath. The very heathens had always the greatest tenderness and regard for their oaths, whereof abundant instances might be given: and shall they seem to lose their sacredness amongst those who are called Christians? God forbid! And yet, what esteem can he be thought to hold them in, who swears incompatible inconsistent things? What can it be to take the Name of the Lord in vain, if this be not it? And is not it a frightful impiety; first to take them, and then to break them? And what must it needs be to require, to urge, and force them? This is what may exact men's most attentive consideration: every one, who has a due care of his soul, will be studious to examine himself in this? Men will find it dreadful, appearing before Christ's tribunal, to answer not only for their own personal sins, but for the guilt of others which they have caused. And if there was any specific kind of sin, which I did more especially dread the danger of, that I were to put up my most earnest suit to God to be kept free from, as being of the most atrocious provoking nature; I think I should not much mistake in my condescensions, if my most hearty prayer, when I shall at last stand before the dread judgment-seat of Christ, were, 'O God! I pray more particularly, that I never be found guilty of the most horrid sin of perjury.' Think what the character of a perjured person is, in the common verdict of mankind, and even in the estimate of our own laws! And is the sin so black and scandalous, when it is personal; and is it less so, when it is national? No, certainly it is not:

for it is such a most formidable piece of wickedness, such a horrid crime, a *piaculum*, as may well be judged to forfeit the Divine protection, and leave a people and nation guilty of it, open to all the rage and malice of the Devil; to be hurried on by him, at his pleasure, from sin to sin, till they fill up the measure of their iniquity, and the wrath of God come upon them to the uttermost; and therefore, to this purpose, most applicable is the admonition of St. James, wherewith I shall conclude, ‘But, above all things, my brethren, swear not.’

The Honour and Courage of our English Parliaments, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, of ever-blessed Memory; in defending of her, and the Protestant Religion. Expressed in some of the Preambles of the Acts for Subsidies, granted to that famous Princess.

Post tot ———

Tendimus in Latium?

‘That Man who doth not defend his Religion and Country,
‘having the Law on his Side; will, either through slavish
‘Fear, or for base Interest, when Times change, most cer-
‘tainly give up, and sacrifice both.’

London, printed for John Wickins, at the White-Hart, against St. Dunstan’s Church, in Fleet-street, 1681.

[Quarto; containing twenty-four pages.]

An Act of a Subsidy, with two Fifteenths and Tenths granted by the Temporality.

Anno 5 Eliz. c. 27.

THE certain knowledge and perfect sense, which we (your majesty’s most humble subjects) have and feel, of the greater felicity which since your reign we hitherto have enjoyed, and now presently do enjoy, far beyond all other nations our neighbours; yea, much augmented to our happiness, having regard to the former troublesome times amongst ourselves; doth vehemently press and inforce us, first and principally, with all our hearts and souls, to acknowledge our most bounden duty to Almighty God, the King of kings, for his excellent, singular, and divine goodness, shewed to us his creatures, in preserving for our safety, after so many storms, your royal princely person, our most gracious queen, and in guiding and directing the same for our happiness, in so happy an age, thus happily, quietly, and providently to govern us his people committed to your charge: and next, for the same great benefits bestowed upon us by his merciful goodness, and through your majesty’s person and regimen, to offer ourselves most ready, with all obeisance and loyalty, to serve and most humbly to obey your majesty, as God’s immediate minister on earth and supreme governor over us, to the uttermost of our power

and end of our lives. And furthermore, considering with ourselves, and beholding manifestly with our lives, the many notable, beneficial, and princely acts done by your majesty, with the assent of God's favour, in these few years, for the weal and surety of this your realm.

First, In restoring us to the favour, knowledge, and true service of Almighty God, by restoration into this church of England of a sincere, uniform rule and order in Christian religion; by delivery of us and our consciences, from a foreign, unnatural tyranny and power, notwithstanding the many and great threatenings of worldly power to the contrary.

Next, By reducing this your realm, and all other your dominions, from war (wherein you found it) to peace with your neighbours: which two godly acts your majesty did accomplish immediately at your first entry to this your crown.

Thirdly, By the evident delivery of this realm from the great and manifest intended invasions, conspired and prepared by strangers (the ancient enemies of this realm), joining therewith the princely and upright preservation of the liberty of the next realm and nation of Scotland, from imminent captivity and desolation; and so, without any bloody battle, most providently, though chargeable, delivering the force of the enemy intended against this realm to their reproof.

Fourthly, By repairing, storing, enriching, building, and re-inforcing this your realm, with the worthiest treasures of armour, ammunition, and all kind of provisions, offensive and defensive for war, and of a princely navy of ships for the service and defence of this your country, and us your people.

And next thereto, as it were in a time almost desperate and doubtful, for the weight of the matter, By converting of the loathsome, and vile great, and long-grown bulk of copper and counterfeit moneys, (eating and daily consuming the honour and wealth of this realm, like a canker,) into treasures only of gold and silver moneys, without having any piece of copper-money current in this realm¹; a singular pre-eminence above all countries in Christendom.

And lastly, By a most provident and seasonable enterprise, now taken in hand this year, being thereto necessarily provoked (besides the foresight for safety of your own realm) for the defence also of your majesty's tender young brother, and next neighbour, the French king; being forcibly governed against his laws and liberty, by reason of the ambition of certain of his discontented subjects, being not disposed to live as subjects in quietness, as the experience of them towards this realm hath also proved: and consequently, in this enterprise, your majesty not forgetting the just and reasonable recovery of an ancient portion of this your crown, lately and unfortunately spoiled and broken off. And we also taking and sensibly feeling, from the highest of us to the lowest, through all degrees, places and times, an universal and most blessed fruit of justice, both for our lives, lands, goods, and behaviour, (without exception of persons,) to the inestimable, yea, and unaccustomed comfort and joy of all your good and faithful subjects, and to the singular recommendation of your majesty's happiness to all posterity; being hitherto never compelled to tax or reprehend, much less to draw blood of any person for any offence to your majesty's royal person; a blessedness never enjoyed so long by any of your progenitors, to our knowledge. Which princely and notable acts (with many others not here for length to be rehearsed) have been, and for continuance thereof, must needs be so burdensome and chargeable to your majesty, that though we cannot indeed find an example of any one meet present or gift, by name of subsidy, or any other relief or aid granted to any of your progenitors, sufficient to recompense and acquit some one of these your many princely and notable acts, or the charges therein sustained; yet we, meaning, and freely

¹ [Qu. Whether the copper-money here spoken of, could be any other than the tokens and copper halfpence circulated by the traders of Bristol and other places; since we are told that there was no copper-money ever issued by royal authority, till 12 Jac. 1. (1613) who coined farthings of that metal?

Gerard, *Lex Mercatoria*, 1656. p. 185.

But see queen Elizabeth's 'Declaration concerning base Monies,' in the present Volume, *postea*.]

of ourselves intending (according to our bounden duties) to make some kind of declaration, specification, and recognition of our great debts of service to your majesty; being not able to make any full satisfaction, as your majesty's most humble, obedient, and loving subjects; humbly on our knees, beseech your highness, that at this time, instead of satisfaction for our great debts due for your princely demerits and charges, our small gift may not be measured with your acts, or with our own debts to your majesty; but, of your accustomed clemency, accepted jointly with the treasure of our humble, infinite, and unmeasurable thoughts and intentions of our hearts towards your majesty: and that, for the acceptance thereof, it may be, by your highness, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, enacted as followeth: &c.

An Act of one Fifteenth and Tenth, and one Subsidy, granted by the Temporality.

Anno 8 Eliz. c. 18.

WE your majesty's most humble subjects, meaning (according to our most bounden duties) to present unto your majesty, by way of subsidy, some relief for the great extraordinary charges sustained in the defence of your majesty's dominions and countries against sundry dangerous attempts; cannot forbear but (with all humbleness) most thankfully to set before the same our most lowly thanks for three special matters proceeding from your majesty; to our benefit, joy, and comfort, in this present assembly.

First, For the most princely consideration had of us, in the forbearing at this time some portion of that, which according to the greatness and necessity of your affairs, we of duty meant and intended to have yielded unto your majesty.

Secondly, For the most comfortable assurance and promise, by your majesty made and declared unto us, 'That for our weal and surety, your majesty would marry as soon as 'God should give you opportunity to accomplish the same;' whereof we have received infinite comfort, and shall pray to Almighty God to further and prosper all your majesty's actions tending thereunto, that we your most natural subjects may speedily see some noble issue of your body, to continue perpetually by descent the succession of this imperial crown².

Thirdly, For the great hope and comfort we have conceived (by the means of your majesty's most honourable speech uttered and declared unto us) of your majesty's most gracious and princely disposition, and determination, when time shall thereunto serve conveniently, with the surety of your majesty's person, and the weal and tranquillity of your realm, to have due regard to the further establishing of the succession of your imperial crown, as law and justice shall require the same, after the succession of the issue of your body. In which your gracious disposition and care for us, we most humbly beseech Almighty God to continue your majesty, and to prosper your intentions and actions, to establish that, which with assent of your realm in parliament, may be agreeable and consonant to law and justice; and to remain to all ages hereafter inviolable, and to the praise, honour, and memory of your majesty and yours perpetually: and that, touching the grant of your said subsidy, it may be enacted in manner and form following: &c.

² [On queen Elizabeth's recovery from a fit of sickness, three years before, the commons began to teaze her "to take to herself some honourable husband, whomsoever her majesty might choose;"—but she evaded a categorical reply to their petition, by saying, that "this so great a demand needed both great and grave advise;" and concluded with a politic assurance, "That though, after her death, they might have many stepdames, yet should they never have a more natural mother than she meant to be unto them all." See *Nug. Antiq.* i. 83. edit. 1804.]

An Act for the Grant of one Subsidy, and two Fifteenths and Tenths, b they
Temporalty.

Anno 23 Eliz. c. 15.

WE your majesty's most obedient, humble, faithful, and loving subjects, (being here in your most high court of parliament assembled,) cannot, but at your first meeting and consultation, enter into due consideration of the great charges your highness hath sustained, not only in seeking, by way of prevention, to stop such foreign attempts as otherwise, not provided for, might have been made very dangerous against this your highness's realm, and us your subjects, (which hath not, and, as we well consider, could not, be performed, without the employment, divers ways, of some great portion of treasure,) but especially hath been now of late put to an infinite charge, both by sea and by land, in the prosecution of certain evil affected members of your highness's realm of Ireland, that most disloyally, unnaturally entered into actual rebellion; with a manifest intent to shake off the subjection and obedience, that, by the laws of God and man, they are bound to yield: and, in as much as in them was, to deprive and bereave the crown of that realm, from this your imperial crown of England, to which it hath been so many years joined and annexed; and that principally, by the procurement of the bishop of Rome, enemy to God, your majesty, and to all this your realm; not without the countenance and help of some other great and mighty potentates, his adherents: although Almighty God, of his goodness, hath hitherto given your majesty victory, and diverted the attempts, making them vain and fruitless.

And, therefore, these things by us considered, we cannot, but with all dutifulness, if we did consider the charges past, (without regard of the necessity to withstand future attempts,) but present unto your majesty our readiness, yielding unto your highness some liberal contribution. But when we enter into further consideration, first, How the fire, kindled in that your highness's realm of Ireland, is not yet quenched; whereby your majesty is forced, to your infinite charges, as well to subdue the evil-affected of that realm, as also to impeach the foreign assistance, that by common report, (and especially by solicitation of sundry traitors that were naturally born subjects to this, and that your crown of Ireland, but unnaturally are broken off, and become monstrous rotten members,) is preparing to repair thither; to continue great forces in pay, as well by sea as by land.

Secondly, What advertisements and forewarnings come, as it were, from all parts of Christendom, of an intended invasion; not only against your said realm of Ireland, but against the rest of your majesty's realms and dominions.

And, lastly, What practices are lately set a-broach, and in part put in execution, to breed a divorce and alienation of the good amity that hath been between your majesty and your next neighbour; which, if the same should take place, cannot but be an occasion of great expences and charges.

Therefore, upon view of the premisses, considering the great and most necessary charges already past, by your highness sustained, and greater like to ensue (if we were so ingrate as to forget the great benefits that we have received through the goodness of Almighty God, under your majesty's most blessed and happy government, as the like was never enjoyed by any subjects of this land,) we cannot, but in regard of our own particular safeties, strain ourselves, to the utmost of our power, to yield such contribution, as the preservation of your most excellent majesty, and of ourselves (your most humble subjects) doth most justly require.

And, therefore, to shew ourselves, as well thankful towards your majesty, as careful to provide that which may be for our own safety; do, with all humility, present unto your highness a subsidy, and two fifteenths and tenths, towards your highness's great charges.

An Act for the Grant of one entire Subsidy and two Fifteenths and Tenths granted by the Temporalty.

Anno 29 Eliz. c. 8.

CONSIDERING with ourselves, most gracious sovereign, what infinite charges your highness hath been driven to sustain, besides your continual princely care to prevent and withstand the sundry most dangerous practices and enterprises of long time devised, and from time to time continually pursued and put in practice by that capital enemy unto God and your majesty, who, for maintenance of his usurped authority, and to suppress the true Christian religion, professed within your majesty's realms of England and Ireland, hath, by all means to him possible, provoked and stirred up others of great power, to do what they can, for the utter ruining of the former happy estates of both the same realms; which through the assistance of the Almighty, and by your majesty's great care, and politic foresight, hath been hitherto, and (by God's grace hereafter) still shall be sufficiently and effectually provided for and defended. And understanding also, that, at this present, there are very great preparations made and making in foreign parts both for sea and land, of intentions to invade your majesty's realms and dominions; to the great danger of all your good and faithful subjects: and weighing with ourselves, how providently these their like intentions have been hitherto prevented and frustrate, and the inward peace of your realm longer continued, than ever was in any time of your progenitors; and how necessarily great quantity of your treasure hath been expended in maintenance of the said peace, and what dangerous effects would follow, if by God's goodness, and some politic means, the same course should not be continued, and these intended invasions withstood without delay; which we manifestly see can in no wise be done or performed, without a continual and inestimable charge. We, therefore, (your majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects,) having in all duty, for God's honour, your majesty's safety, and our own surety and liberty, (as it behoveth us,) due consideration of the premisses, should shew ourselves not only most unthankful for so many, and for so inestimable benefits, so long time received by God's goodness, (using your majesty as His special distributor of the same in your princely and careful government of us,) but also utterly careless, yea, wilfully contempters of our own quiet and safety, if we should not make offer to yield unto your majesty (besides the service of our bodies, naturally due, to be bestowed in defence of our common mother and country) some contribution of our lands and goods to the uttermost of our ability; and that in a better manner, and more agreeable to the truth of our meaning, where the same ought of right to be yielded, than hath been seen and executed in many places amongst the richer sort for like contribution; by corruption, or great negligence of them, to whom the special care thereof was committed.

An Act for the Grant of two entire Subsidies, and four Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.

Anno 31 Eliz. c. 15.

MOST gracious sovereign, when we enter into due consideration of the most princely provident sort of government, which your most excellent majesty hath hitherto held, even since your first entry into the possession of this crown, in preserving this realm in a perpetual peace and quietness, free from all foreign invasions; notwithstanding the sundry attempts, as well by open great forces many times prepared, and bent against the realm, as by continual practices, conspiracies, and plots laid by your highness's enemies abroad, and by rebels at home; which manifestly tended, not only to the interruption of the happy peace and repose of us, your humble subjects, and this your highness's realm, and other your dominions; but also to the utter subversion thereof, and ruin of the same. In all

which your majesty's most noble actions, we have seen a most notable natural disposition of your majesty, at no time to have attempted, by invasion of any your enemies' countries, to have possessed the same; as your majesty, we know, might many times have done very readily, and also justly, in respect of the hostile attempts so often offered, both against your own royal person, and your dominions: which course we do certainly know your majesty hath followed; in respect that your continual purpose was to preserve us in peace at home, by your provident manner of defence of your dominions and countries against open invaders: and many more like considerations and observations of your wise and happy government. We do also further consider, how the accomplishing of these your honourable and princely actions, the great and infinite charges your majesty hath sustained; and that especially the last year, in preparing and maintaining, so long time, so puissant an army by sea, besides the forces assembled by land, for the withstanding the two great and mighty armies prepared, the one in the Low-countries, and the other brought forth out of Spain; with intent (by their mighty joint forces, far exceeding all others, in any memory of man,) to have made a full bloody conquest of this realm, had not the same been prevented, through the singular, yea, miraculous goodness of Almighty God, and your highness's great preparations and forces in charge and puissance above all other formerly prepared in this realm, at any time in our memories, for the withstanding the same. We therefore, (your majesty's most humble, loyal, and loving subjects,) as well in regard of the humble duty we owe unto your most excellent majesty, under whose gracious and princely government, we have received so many and singular benefits, as well spiritual and temporal; as also the natural care we ought to have of our own particular preservation; having due consideration both of the puissance joined with extreme malice of your majesty's enemies, which also we have good cause to think to be increased, through the great defeat they received in their late enterprises, by them accounted 'invincible,' cannot but present unto your excellent majesty, with all lowliness and humility, besides the service of our bodies, with all our worldly power, some contribution in way of subsidy, out of our lands and goods, as in part of an acknowledgment of our humble duties unto your highness, towards the bearing of some part of the great and infinite charge, your majesty hath already sustained, and is like hereafter to sustain, in the withstanding of such forcible and malicious attempts, as it is not to be doubted, but that your said enemies will do their uttermost to put in execution, with the forces and aids of all their confederates. And for that we do perceive, that the granting only of such an ordinary subsidy, to be levied as hath been commonly used in former times of smaller danger, is no wise sufficient and answerable to the unusual and great charges sustained, and to be sustained by your majesty, for these so great actions necessary to be taken in hand, to withstand such extraordinary forces, of so many mighty enemies as have been seen this last year, both by land and sea; and are by foresight in wisdom to be as greatly doubted, both this year to come, and in time following, we know not how long; unless the Almighty God shall be pleased to disappoint and make frustrate the attempts of your majesty's enemies, as at all times hitherto of his singular favour he hath done.

An Act for the Grant of three entire Subsidies, and six Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporality.

Anno 35 Eliz. c. 13.

MOST gracious and most excellent sovereign, it is deeply engraven in our remembrance, what puissant and mighty forces were, for some few years since, prepared and brought against this noble realm, our native country, with a violent resolution to have made a full bloody conquest of this our nation, and to have reduced the same under a perpetual and miserable yoke of foreign potentates; which most perilous attempt of invasion and conquest, as it was then (by the singular goodness of Almighty God, with your majesty's princely power and notable policy) defeated, without any the least interruption of our in-

ward peace and public security ; so we have just cause to doubt, not only that those your majesty's capital and dangerous enemies continue still a settled and obstinate purpose to renew the same with greater strength and more available advantage than before, but also, that the time approacheth very near, when their such intended confederacy is like to be put in effect and execution ; for entering into due consideration, both of such things as we may of ourselves reach to observe and discern, and principally of those high and great matters of state, which your majesty in a most gracious trust, and favourable confidence towards us, vouchsafed to open and impart unto us, touching the projects and plots of the same your enemies : as we do infinitely acknowledge your majesty's most prudent and watchful foresight ; so we do evidently perceive that the enemies of your highness, and this state, do not only pursue a determinate course, as much as they may, to impoverish your crown and realm, by intercepting the traffick of your merchants ; but are far proceeded in very great practices and malicious enterprises, for the ruining and supplanting of your confederates in France, and Scotland ; and for the getting into their possession (or at least to be at their devotion) the most commodious and fit places, whence to offend and invade your majesty's dominions : so that looking into the depth of these apparent and imminent dangers, with loyal and zealous hearts to your majesty, and natural affection to our flourishing country, we rest persuaded, that such extraordinary remedy is needful to be provided, as may in some sort be proportionable to the peril. And further, we see, and with unfeigned thanks do acknowledge, that your majesty's magnanimity, and most rare incomparable benignity towards us, is such, that having to deal in these your long-continuing wars with the greatest lords of treasure of the world ; and making only a defensive war for our quiet and prosperous preservation, and being of your highness's own inclination a most moderate dispenser of treasure ; your majesty hath nevertheless been pleased to expend and employ a great portion of your revenue and treasure, only to spare and ease the charge of us your most bounden and loving subjects, wherein we cannot sufficiently admire the excellency of your majesty's most princely nature ; and, therewithal, cannot also but continually set before our eyes the inestimable blessings, which, by your majesty's most happy government, we enjoy : the incomparable benefit of God's true religion planted and publicly professed amongst us ; your majesty's unmeasurable clemency in the execution of your laws ; your wonderful providence in preserving us in this happy peace, free from any hostile invasion, notwithstanding the might and malice of your enemies ; and many more notable and unspeakable benefits which have accompanied your majesty's most flourishing times ; besides the great and perpetual honour which it hath pleased God to give your majesty abroad, in making you the principal support of all just and religious causes against usurpers : so that this Island hath, in your majesty's days, been as a stay and sanctuary to distressed states and kingdoms, and as a bulwark against the tyrannies of mighty and usurping potentates. We therefore, calling to fresh memory these your majesty's most rare and extraordinary benefits, and weighing with ourselves the present important necessity, and foreseeing the flame of those great miseries, whereinto, from so great blessings, we might fall without good and timely provision ; and particularly descending into consideration, both what an high proportion of charge your majesty doth presently sustain in your dominions and countries, far above any of your majesty's noble progenitors, besides the great succours in France and Flanders ; which we do conceive to be most honourable, in regard of the ancient leagues, the justice and equity of them, and also how meet and convenient it is, that your majesty be further furnished with treasure for our defence ; we have thought it our bounden duty, at this time, most willingly and readily to offer, not only this extraordinary subsidy, but also (like good and loyal subjects) do prostrate our lives and services, to be employed at your princely commandment. And therefore, because these our doings shall remain in perpetual record, to the view of all posterities hereafter ; we most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, that with your gracious favour we may testify and express, that our intention is, that this which we have now done upon so extraordinary and urgent a necessity, to so good and gracious a princess, be not drawn a precedent for the times to come. And therefore we do here

(with the most dutiful humility we possibly may) present unto your most sacred majesty three entire subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths, towards your highness's great charges for our defence.

An Act for the Grant of three entire Subsidies, and six Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporality.

Anno 39 Eliz. c. 27.

MOST excellent and most gracious sovereign, the sense and natural feeling of the singular and inestimable benefits, which we your majesty's loyal and loving subjects, (by the rare and particular providence of God,) do enjoy under your most happy and politic government, daily multiplied unto us, beyond all example of former ages, ought, in itself, not only to take from us all dulness, or improvident security, but to increase more and more a vigilant jealousy of the interruption or disturbance of our present state and condition, wherein we feel so effectually the spiritual benefit of God's true religion planted and possessed amongst us; the restitution of the imperial crown of this realm to the ancient jurisdictions and pre-eminences; and the happy and inward peace of so many years continued, and joined both with clemency and justice at home, as well in the moderate pressing, or rather, in the benign remitting of infinite penalties of your laws, as in tender and compassionate relieving and restraining of all common grievances and oppressions, lighting upon the people of this land; which is become, since your majesty's most happy days, both a port and haven of refuge for distressed states and kingdoms, and a rock and bulwark of opposition, against the tyrannies and ambitious attempts of mighty and usurping potentates. This, with many more unspeakable benefits, are such, as we cannot but, with all duty and devotion, lift up our hearts to God and your majesty, in all thanksgiving and acknowledgment; and also prostrate and cast down our lives, substances, and services, and whatsoever we have, to be employed at your royal commandment. But when we enter into a serious and settled consideration of our present standing, compared with the extreme fall and ruin threatened unto us, by the implacable malice and violent attempts of our mighty enemies, preparing and enterprizing to make a bloody conquest of this your majesty's noble realm, our native country, and utterly to extinguish our name and nation, or to reduce the same under a miserable captivity and yoke of foreign servitude: we do then find the law of nature and necessity no less strong and forcible, than the bond of thankfulness and duty, to make us think all too little, that we can yield and offer for our defence and preservation. And lastly, when we do behold the rare and wonderful felicity, wherewith, it hath pleased Almighty God to bless, from time to time, your majesty's most prudent and provident councils, and the executions of them, in the breaking, disappointing, and diverting of so many hostile attempts, which have been still intended and offered against this realm: and when we do fall into the particular examination, how infinitely your majesty's proper treasures have been exhausted, since we had any opportunity in this sort to yield your majesty any actual demonstration of our zeals and duties; not only by your majesty's maintenance of extraordinary armies in Ireland, to suppress that unnatural rebellion, fed by the king of Spain, and by continuance of assistance to the French king, and the Low-countries; but also, by setting forth, both royally and providently, at sundry times, your majesty's navy and army to the seas, even in the times when all things were at the highest prices. By which your majesty's royal care and charge, all such miseries as are inseparable from all foreign invasions, have been deferred and delivered from us your loving subjects; and, with no small terror and confusion, reverberated on their own necks, whilst we at home have enjoyed all peace and tranquillity. And when we make further observation by that light, which your most excellent majesty, in a most gracious trust and confidence, hath vouchsafed to give us; by letting us not only know, how far onward their most dangerous attempts against this kingdom had proceeded, but also hath imparted unto us, what, to the uttermost of all his power and means, is daily aboured and contrived with all the princes

or states, whom he can infest against this kingdom, upon false suggestions; thereby the easier to contrive our only ruin and destruction. We do confess, most gracious sovereign, that all these natural and necessary considerations, being duly weighed, have deeply imprinted in our hearts, both our own imminent peril, your majesty's infinite care and love towards us, (for whom nothing of your own hath been too dear,) and made us know and feel, that no common or ordinary remedies can be proportionable to these extraordinary, growing, and swelling mischiefs; but that it is high time for us to resolve, that, with all expedition possible, this realm must be thoroughly provided of all things, fit for maintenance of war, both by sea and land; as well by increasing and repairing of your majesty's royal navy, (which is truly termed the walls of this kingdom, and wherein daily, by new preparations, the enemy doth labour and strive, if he could, to exceed your majesty,) as also to provide further, that your majesty's coffers may be, in some measure, better supplied against all sudden accidents, whereof, though time must discover the particular mischiefs, yet the circumspection and foresight must only secure us from the perils. To the effecting whereof, seeing so small likelihood doth appear of any help from foreign states or princes, but that the burthen of the war, besides the assisting of others, is like to be thrown still on your majesty: we do beseech your majesty (as a pledge of our internal zeals and duties, to be further manifested hereafter, by the hazard of our lives and fortunes at all times, for your majesty's service) to vouchsafe, at this present, the gracious acceptance of these subsidies and fifteenths, proceeding from cheerful and willing hearts: and because these our doings shall remain in perpetual record, to the view of all posterities hereafter, we most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, that, with your gracious favour, we may testify and express that our intention is, that this which we have now done upon so extraordinary and urgent a necessity, to so good and gracious a princess, be not drawn a precedent for the times to come, unless it be upon a like urgent occasion.

An Act for the Grant of four entire Subsidies, and eight Fifteenths and Tenths,
granted by the Temporalty.

Anno 43 Eliz. c. 18.

MOST gracious and most excellent sovereign, we your majesty's humble, faithful, and loving subjects, being here, by your authority, assembled in your high court of parliament, having entered into due consideration of the great and weighty causes, which ought at this time, more than any other time, to stir up the hearts of all, that are either well-affected in religion towards God, loyalty towards you their dear sovereign, or care of their own safety, and their posterities; to consult timely, and provide effectually, for all such means, as are, or may be necessary, to preserve both you and us, from those apparent dangers, whereinto this state may fall, through lack of so much care and providence as agreeth with the rules of nature, and common reason; and therefore much more to be challenged at our hands, to whom your majesty hath vouchsafed to give so great light of your inward knowledge, and judicious foresight of your enemy's implacable malice, and their dangerous plots, contrived against this flourishing kingdom; which is, and long hath been, the principal obstacle against that swelling ambition, which hath so blinded their understanding, as they do not only greedily seek, but vainly hope, to attain to their unjust pretensions, coloured with false and vain pretexts and insinuations, as far from truth, as light from darkness. Forasmuch as, in time of our advised and mature deliberation, we have sufficiently perceived, how great and how inestimable charges your majesty hath sustained many years in seeking, by way of prevention, to hinder all such foreign attempts, as otherwise, not provided for, might, long since, have proved perilous to the whole estate of the commonwealth: and whereas it is apparent to all the world, that if your majesty had not exhausted the greatest portion of your private treasures, besides all other means, derived from our dutiful affections, as well in making timely provision of all things necessary for your army

and navy royal, as in maintaining and using the same, at times convenient; that we should, long before this day, have been exposed to the danger of many sudden and dangerous attempts of our enemies, and failed in all those happy successes, which have accompanied your royal actions, taken in hand, for the defence of this estate. And seeing also that, at this present time, your highness hath been put to inestimable charges, in the necessary prosecution of an unnatural rebellion, within your highness's realm of Ireland; daily fed by foreign enemies, whose actions have not only tended to the subversion of God's true religion planted amongst us, and to the bereaving of that realm from your imperial crown of England, to which it hath been so many years joined and annexed, but consequently, to the ruin and spoil of this most flourishing kingdom of England; for the better effecting whereof, the king of Spain hath now openly invaded the realm of Ireland, with an army already landed in the province of Munster, having not forborne to publish the resolute purpose to usurp to himself that crown even by plain conquest, in case of resistance; though coloured with a vain pretext of an illusory donation from the see of Rome, whose usurped authority we have abandoned; as becometh all good subjects to do, that mean no less in deed, than they profess in name.

Forasmuch as we do seriously consider, that your majesty and we (your faithful and obedient subjects) are but one body-politick; and that your highness is the head, and we the members; and that no good or felicity, peril or adversity, can come to the one, but the other shall partake thereof: we have thought it a matter incident to the natural care and sense we ought to feel of our present and future condition, (seeing our enemies are strengthened by combination with other states, and do receive from their confederates great contributions of treasure, for advancement of this, and such like enterprises; whilst we do see, on the other side, that your majesty's expences only tend to the advancement of the true glory of God, and defence of the liberty and felicity of the imperial crown of this realm, and of the kingdoms and dominions thereof, and are neither supported by any other prince or state, nor carried on in yourself with any vain ambition, or wasteful humour of consuming the treasure of this kingdom,) to offer to your majesty the disposition of such means, as God hath given us, to be employed for the preservation of God's cause, for the maintenance of your own dignity, and all such rights and titles, as he annexed to your imperial crown; being fully resolved to leave both lands and goods, and whatsoever else, that is dearest unto us, yea, and this mortal life, rather than we should suffer your royal estate to be in any part diminished, or the imperial crown of this realm deprived of any honour, title, right, or interest thereunto belonging; or suffer any foreign power to grow on further, or to continue so long unremoved, as thereby to leave them any ground to presume of good successes; either in this action now begun, or in any future enterprise, which may tend to the dishonour or peril of any of your majesty's kingdoms.

In which consideration, and many others (needless to repeat), we have thought ourselves bound in thankfulness to God for you, and to your majesty for ourselves, who feel the happiness of your gracious clemency and justice at home, under your happy and politic government, daily multiplied unto us, beyond the example of all ages, to prepare, and make not only our persons ready to withstand, resist, and subdue the force and puissance of our enemies, be they never so potent; but also to present unto you four subsidies, and eight fifteenths and tenths, thereby to make up some such portion of treasure, as may, in some sort, supply the great and inestimable charges, which you, our most gracious and dread sovereign, have, and daily must sustain. All which, notwithstanding it be much less than may be sufficient for the present and urgent necessities, yet, being a plain demonstration of our due consideration of all those necessary causes, and important reasons, which we have heard delivered by your royal direction; we have thought meet, not only to make it one of our first works, to consult of that matter, which, in other sessions of parliaments, hath usually succeeded many other acts and consultations; but, so to enlarge and improve the measure of this oblation, which we shall offer to your royal person, as it might give your majesty an assured testimony of our internal zeals and duties, to be further manifested hereafter, by the hazard of our lives and fortunes, at all times, for your

majesty's service ; whereof we beseech you to vouchsafe, at this present, the gracious acceptance, as proceeding from those loving and faithful subjects of yours, who do desire to testify, both in the extraordinary form and substance of our present offer, that though there liveth, and ever shall, in the hearts of your most humble and obedient subjects, an extraordinary zeal to your majesty's person ; yet, that we desire, and intend that this, which is done to you at this time, shall be no otherwise interpreted, than as a lively monument of those great duties and affections, which we do contentedly and comfortably strain for your majesty, and in a manner, far exceeding any former precedent ; because no age either hath, or can produce the like precedent of so much happiness under any prince's reign, nor of so continual gracious care for our preservation, as your majesty hath shewed in all your actions ; having never stuck to hazard, or rather neglect, for our preservation, any part of those worldly blessings, wherewith Almighty God hath so plentifully endued you, in this time of your most happy government.

King James's Speech to his first Parliament, Monday, the
Nineteenth of March, 1603.

BUT of one thing I would have the papists of this land to be admonished, that they presume not so much upon my lenity, because I would be loth to be thought a persecutor, as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increase their number and strength in this kingdom ; whereby, if not in my time, at least in the time of my posterity, they might be in hope to erect their religion again. No ; let them assure themselves, that as I am a friend to their persons, if they be good subjects, so am I an avowed enemy, and do denounce mortal war to their errors ; and that, as I would be sorry to be driven, by their ill behaviour, from the protection and conservation of their bodies and lives, so will I never cease, as far as I can, to tread down their errors and wrong opinions : for I could not permit the increase and growing of their religion, without first betraying of myself, and mine own conscience : secondly, this whole Isle ; as well the part I am come from as the part I remain in, in betraying their liberties, and reducing them to the former slavish yoke, which both had cast off before I came amongst them. And thirdly, the liberty of the crown in my posterity ; which I should leave again under a new slavery, having found it left free to me by my predecessors : and therefore would I wish all good subjects, that are deceived with that corruption ; first, if they find any beginning of instinction in themselves of knowledge, and love to the truth, to foster the same by all lawful means, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worketh within them ; and, if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to read and confer with learned men, and to use all such means as may further their resolution ; assuring themselves, that, as long as they are disconformable in religion from us, they cannot be but half my subjects, be able to do but half service, and I to want the best half of them, which is their souls.

The Marquis¹ of Argyle's last Will and Testament, with his Character.

[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

IN the name of Smectymus and Hocus-Pocus, so be it: I Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, the Devil's viceroy in the Highlands, and the most sacred covenant's protomartyr in the Low, now a prisoner in the Talbooth at Edinburgh; calling to my mind, that my prefixed bargained term of years is even expired, and knowing that all the town cannot save me; having recollected all my unparalleled rebellions, treasons, murders, rapine, plunderings, witchcraft, perjury, covetousness, and sacrilege, for which I do expect to receive good wages at the hands of my master; do make and ordain this my last will and testament, in manner and form following.

First, Because it is of form to begin so, I believe, with Pythagoras, that souls do transmigrate; I myself being that very Machiavel that lived in Florence some two-hundred years since: and therefore I will, that mine do forthwith after my dissolution pass into one of his wild-fowl, thence into a Soland goose, thence into a Scotch pedlar, thence into a man whom Lilly by the stars prognosticated, some ages to come, to be made a notorious cuckold; so that, by that means, it may be sure at last to come to heaven.

Secondly, For my body, (since the parliament so detest that horrid barbarism committed on the marquis of Montrose, that they think it not fit to retaliate it upon me the prime author thereof,) it being at my own disposal, I request my executors, hereafter named, to see it solemnly interred with the spells of the directory; and laid so shallow, that at the next trump of sedition, it may by the same raise-devil directory be conjured up again, and meet my exalted head, that bound-mark of Presbytery, its *ne plus ultra*, 'Hitherto shall you go and no further.' But I forbid then any such superstitious procession; as to my scandal, and great offence of the brethren, was used to the gathered reliicks of that late loyal martyr.

As for my worldly goods and estate, with which the covenant, that goddess Diana, hath blessed me; I say to it, *Presto Jupiter*; lightly come, lightly go; the wicked Cavaliers will divide the spoil: what was got by oppression, will be booned away by the king's liberality. Had mine been a mean fortune, it had not probably met with such extremes. Nevertheless, my dear brethren in affliction, I have also a portion for you; as I had time and opportunity of getting, so I had the wisdom of hiding and concealing, and what I thus preserved I give and bequeath in manner following.

Imprimis, For that great reverence and religion I owe to the 'solemn league and covenant,' I give a thousand pounds to the pastors and ministers of the church of Geneva, towards the erecting a shrine, or building a sanctuary, for the covenant, now persecuted and driven out of these three kingdoms; whose sacred ashes, if they can be found, I will also to be there deposited in a golden urn, to be provided at the charge of my executors: straitly requiring, that no tapers, lamps, torches, links, or other lights, be used near the said shrine, or in the said sanctuary; it being popish, heretical, and impious, and most abominable. And I do hereby lovingly request the said church (since our kirk hath lost its keys) immediately to excommunicate the London hangman, and all other persons whatsoever, who have had any hand in burning, or otherwise prophaning that most holy thing.

Item, I give £2000. more for founding a college or fraternity there, to be christened

¹ [Archibald Campbell the first marquis and eighth earl of Argyle, is here the object of sarcasm.—Vide his article in the Biogr. Brit. edit. Kippis. iii. 178.]

by the name of the Society of the Covenant; and for founding a covenant-reader in that university; hoping that well-disposed presbyters will so add to this foundation, that in a short time, it may rival for villainy with that of the Jesuits.

Item, Whereas the sad case of Dr. Burges hath mightily affected the tender bowels of the sisters, who complain there is not a stone by a stone of all his late purchases, particularly the great loss he hath had by the fire of the covenant in his deanery of Wells, to his utter undoing, and for which he is never likely to have a brief; I bequeath to him the sum of £500. it being a good competency to keep him in Bedlam all the remainder of his life.

Item, I give to that little David of the covenant, that champion of Presbytery, Mr. Zachary Crofton, an augmentation of £100. *per annum*, as long as St. Peter's bonds abide; and that, through any discouragement or restraint, he may not faint and fall away, I add a noble a day for caudles and cordials; charging him to stand manfully for the cause, he being the chief standard-bearer, in which this impress is written, *Tu patronus; si tu deseris, nos perimus.*

Item, As next in order, I give to Mr. Jenkins, not out of respect to his love of the covenant, (for Satan, that buffeted him, knows how weak he is in that point,) but for his seditious preachments, for his turbulency of spirit, and restlessness against the king's government, £500. I know that is too much, for I detest a recanter with all my heart, and it is not according to our strict discipline to revoke a tittle: but, seeing how near the brink Presbytery is brought, all things must be done to support it, and therefore we must make use of renegados—Hang him, he shall have it: but the Devil do him good with it, if he recants again.

Item, I will give £10,000. for erecting a seminary of such rogues in Eutopia; for I cannot persuade myself, there will ever be the like in any of these three kingdoms.

Item, Not to forget Dr. Wilkinson; I give him 20s. to mend the bellows of his mouth and nose, against the next opportunity of blowing up the flames of a civil war; and for his sub-deanery of Christ-church, Oxon, a f—t.

Item, To Mr. Poole with the red head (I like him the better for that), I give 300 marks to buy him some manners, and 500 marks to buy him more wit; else Presbytery will soon lose a prating, nonsensical Cacafuego, and his parish a troublesome tithemonger.

Item, To all those old Presbyterian-serpents that have slipped their skins, and are winding themselves into favour, int he *à la mode* cassock; and, in a submissive compliance, lick the dust of the bishop's foot, and yet keep their venom within their teeth; I bequeath to each a Scotch thirteen-pence halfpenny, for the use of Esquire Dun, who shall shew them slip for slip.

Item, I give £400. for the building of an alms-house, for the entertaining of all antiquated, exauthorated elders, who cannot sufficiently or quietly live in their own parishes.

Item, I give 1000 marks for the building of an hospital or pest-house, for all such as are or shall be infected with the Scotch-plague; that is, such as want clothes, money, and friends.

Item, To the several sects of Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy-men, Quakers, &c. I give respectively ten groats, to redeem their meeting-houses; on condition they do not jeer that covenant in which they voluntarily perjured themselves.

Item, All my offices and preferments whatsoever I give freely to those who are disabled to bear any in England.

Item, For perpetual memory of Presbytery, I give £100. for the casting the figure of the dog in brass, that lay with the elder's maid; to be placed where the last provincial classis was held in London, as a desk for the directory.

Item, To any that can, or shall prove Presbytery to be *jure divino*, I will give him three kingdoms: for then they will not be worth the having; and the devil's proffer, and my legacy, will be all one.

Item, I give to the wife of Oliver Cromwell, for his keeping the covenant in the right sense by murdering the king, a groat a day.

Item, I give to the late secretary Thurloe my debt due to me from his master and the

Rump, for monies expended by me for their use in Scotland; which was to be repaid me out of the commission for discoveries, when I was last in London, by Oliver's direction. I understand, and I thank him he hath made so large a progress in discovering, that he can pay it now to himself—The devil was in me to suffer such a pitiful fellow to whiddle before me.

Item, I give my debentures to captain George Withers, esq. to purchase more bishops' lands², in lieu of those he sacrilegiously kept before: and that he may never cease scribbling of rhymes, I will not give him a farthing.

Item, I give to the Independant-gathered churches, under the cure and teachings of Cockain, Brooks, &c. all the ill qualities of our gasping kirk; that by the impudence and deceit of their pastors, their ruin also may be expedited.

Item, I give to the clerk of Mr. Calamy's church a ring to wear for my sake; for his great superlative zeal yet manifested to the covenant—

Item, To all the sons and daughters of Presbytery, who now mourn and lament, I give a medal (with my squint-eyes in it, leering after other times, and a better day) to dry up their tears.

All these legacies and bequests I will and order my executors to perform and pay, the morrow of the next Puritan-reformation in England; or at St. Tib's Eve, at farthest; without any covin or delay.

As for my own country, relations, and friends, I do also dispose of my estate to them, as followeth:

I will, therefore, first, That the whole Scotch nation be put into mourning; in remembrance of those ruins, dishonour, conquest, and slavery, which my covenanting covetous designs have brought upon it; though I would not have my brethren of the Presbytery lay that so much to heart, as that they are like to do so no more.

As to my sept, so famous heretofore in this kingdom, as I never did them good in my life, so they cannot expect otherwise at my death; they have a Scotch privilege now to beg or steal where they please, without any frustraneous dependence or expectance on my greatness; if my name will do them any service, they may make use of it, and stern, since they are, I fear, rejected of God and man.

Item, To my dear lady, I give and bequeath her full and entire jointure, which was settled firm enough by law before; thanking her for all the kindness and benevolence I had from her, when my keeper was out of the way.

Item, To my hopeful son, the lord Lorne, I give the inheritance of my qualities, leaving him an equal portion and share of estate and honour: the first I forfeited from him, and the last he never had from me, nor is like to be capable of; since he must continue and preserve my hated nature. I give him my unnecessary blessing; as it is prescribed in that most exact form in the directory.

Item, To the rest of my sons and daughters, since I cannot be too indulgent a father, I advise, for their great consolation, to read the Spanish-Curate, and take what portions they please.

Item, To all my servants and retainers, (who I doubt not have learned from me, their master, to carve for themselves, without bidding,) all they can cheat and purloin from my estate, as well as others; besides my pronsim of oat-meal for their lives, and hemp for their deaths.

Item, To my vassals of my seigniory, I give their long desired freedom.

Item, To the poor of my parish, for every curse they give me, the sum of 000.

And I do make and ordain my loving and intimate friends, Archibald Johnson, laird of Wareston, and William Dundass, (sometime governor of Edinburgh castle,) executors of this my last will; to whom I freely give all the rest and residue of my whole estate not

² [Wither, the republican writer and commander, having during the Interregnum purchased some prelates' lands, was ejected from them at the Restoration: in consequence of which he published some strong remonstrances both in prose and verse, under the title of "Fides Anglicana," and "The Shepherd of Bledonham his case," &c. *Vide* British Bibliographer, i. 420.]

hereby disposed; requesting them, by all the obligations of conscience and honesty, to compeer suddenly in this kingdom, and take upon them the execution of the premisses; no way doubting or mistrusting, but that they shall be well rewarded.

All this I ratify and confirm by the mysteries of the stool of repentance, on which I devoutly set my breech, and having done, sealed it with a ———

And I do hereby revoke all former wills by me made, as not being framed according to that holy pattern of the covenant, from which, under damnation, no man may recede a tittle; and which I will further to be cut in brass, and laid upon my tomb-stone.

Done in the presence of sir John Chersly; David Lesley.

Subscribed,

ARGYLE.

The Character of the late Marquis of Argyle.

So many remarkable accidents, such alterations of government, affairs of such moment and intrigues of states, do fall in with this marquis's memoirs, that it will rather seem a history, than a character, to speak him out. His birth rendered him very noble, and his education proffered him the advantage of making it nobler, though for that he was beholden to the first temper of the times; being by his late majesty, to oblige from the rebellion then on foot, created a marquis. He was of stature something exceeding the mean, like his own countrymen the Highlanders, with a bigness proportionable to it; his face somewhat long, his cheeks wide, the hair of his beard red, his eyes very much a-squint, so that he was nicknamed, in Scotland, 'Gleed Argyle'; which remembers me of that proverb—*Quem Deus in oculo notavit, hunc caveto*. There will no more need to be said of his person, which the hands of the executioner have so lately profaned; nor was there any thing in him that was so good remarkable as to invite to be curious; and it will be best for him that he sleep forgotten, lest the remarks of his face should fright fauciful people like a spectre. He was one of that wicked triumvirate, who began, continued, and lived to the end of our troubles: a most dextrous artist in that prime quality of a Scot, dissimulation; which was the ground-work of all the exploits he did after. If ever he seemed what he was, though that be not to be over-believed, it was in the matter of the covenant; which he entered into so eagerly and resolutely, and left it and the world together, so confidently and avowedly: and yet the middle agreed with neither, when, in the crisis of the sincerity, honesty, and loyalty of that libel, which it so highly boasted of, as to the maintenance of the king's person, dignity, and authority. By this marquis's counsel, his late majesty was delivered into the hands of the English at Newcastle. But it is most evident, that the right spelling of *covenant* is *covetousness*; and, according to that, he very well kept it; having shared a good part of that £200,000. given the Scotch army for their departure. He was as versatile as a dye, and like that, sometimes, was played always with very lucky hands; as those times were, and was every way as square; stood firm on his own interest, and could oppose a broadside to every emergency of fortune, then adored by the name of Providence. He was in with all the several usurpers, and that not by a servile subjection, but as a petty prince's interest; that could help them, as well by informing and discovering, as supplies and stores; though the latter to Cromwell was a mere braggadocio, and beyond the high mightiness of his Highland sovereignty, where his baseness had lost him all respect and obedience. Certainly he was the Proteus of the age; and had not the sudden surprisal of our most happy resolution seized him supinely careless, and at a great distance (though he hurried up to London to wait on his majesty) and then bound him fast, (that he could have no liberty to assume any other shape than what he was then found in, being denied access or audience at court,) he might have been a riddle still; whereas now death has resolved him. All that ever he did handsomely was then, and yet that too was but a mere disguise, since so dissonant to the whole course of his life; a mere

imitation, though so well personated, that we may well let it pass for a bravery, and allow it to him as a gentleman. He was a great fomenter of war, yet cared not at all to endanger himself; like the monkey, that took the cat's foot to pull the chesnut out of the fire: nor was he much to be blamed, having been, by the marquis of Montrose, so often put to shift, and that narrowly too, for his life. What he wanted of the generosity of a warrior, he supplied with the malice of a witch, being the most implacable revengeful enemy loyalty ever met with in Scotland. Learned he was, and that not, as a gentleman, enough to set off and polish, but to accomplish him; and a most excellent way of speech he had, (if it be possible any thing can sound handsome in Scotch,) very fluent and rhetorical. His speeches at his trial (which were said to have been spoken *ex tempore*, because they would not allow him his delays, but compelled him to present answer) are very grave and sententious, yet polite and very cunning. He was a deep lawyer, and was formerly lord-chief-justice, I think not much taxed for bribery, (for I take all their lands, estates, and whatever Scotland is worth, not to be worth a suit, much less the overplus of a greasing): yet, all this while, a bad nature predominated, like stinking oil upon generous wine; his potentiality to virtue never exerted itself, while his vices were most notorious and buoyant. It is a truth undeniable, that he died unpitied of all men; and the reason was this: the universality and complication of his vices could miss no man's eye; and, for one fault or other, so many single observations hit him, as drew a general odium upon him; excepting only the Protestant clergy, who always had a particular respect for him, not from any other inducement, but the necessity of dependence: the kirk rides, while the lords hold the reins, and keep that people under the tyranny of that worse than Turkish government. He was the first promoter of the discipline, and that with an earnestness extraordinary; wherein, no doubt, he served himself principally; and the large demesnes he died possessed of will evidence what religion he was of, and how beneficial a thing reformation is to the first projectors. He was at feud with all his superiors in Scotland, as well as his peers: of four marquisses, he procured the execution of three, *viz.* Hamilton, Huntley, and Montrose; the other, Douglas, through his impotency and infirmity, escaped him; so that he was lord paramount there. No doubt his abilities prompted him to cope with the greatness and authority of those noblemen, whose great and honourable families would soon have smothered and suppressed an ordinary envy, while his burned and flamed at their grave. He was a profound politician, of a fine mercurial spirit, of whom it may be said disjunctively, what his late majesty said of the earl of Strafford: "He was such a minister of state, that he might well be ashamed of himself, and his prince as rightly fear him." There was nothing wanting in him but loyalty and honesty; two such dispensable things with Presbytery, that they could hardly be afforded room in their morals for one whole age together; but it had been direct blasphemy to blend and incorporate them into their religion: however, for specious pretence-sake they crept into the covenant. He was a most indefatigable carrier-on of his designs, and that with very great expedition, though his motions were eccentric, but all turbulent; and violent efforts are usually very sudden. He thrice repaired and recruited his broken forces by the marquis of Montrose, before there could be any thought of an enemy from him. He was never discouraged with any disappointment, but he would set the kirk to thunder out anathemas, and himself make prescriptions and levies together; fight with the pen and the sword at one and the same time: but his escripts were not Julius Cæsar's Commentaries, but Caius Marius's publications and sentencings; betwixt whom there is, in many things, a near parallel.

To take a nearer view of him and put him altogether, he was absolutely master of all the arts of state: it was no injury to him to say it was his religion, since the great successes of rebellion led him to a firm belief that there was nothing but what was manageable by, and feasible to policy. But he so mixed them both in his affairs, that it was not easily discernible to which he owed most: by the first, he secured his interest, and had not the excesses of the English usurpation out-run him, probably advanced his designs to that which Hamilton was suspected of; by the other, he procured an awe and reverence to himself,

being vogue'd up by the clergy, and rendered to the vulgar as a pattern of piety, and zealous promoter of godliness, till such time as the vizard of the specious reformation was laid aside; and bold-faced interest out-stared the impudence of the kirk, and made them vail to, and worship the devil they had raised.

In a word, he was the right antithesis to that glorious marquis of Montrose; so that whoever hath read, or heard of his excellencies, may, by opposition, know the vileness of this. Such is the order of the world, though there be no standing mean, yet that the extremes should balance one another; otherwise it had been a most hard fate for Scotland (who can impute her dishonour and total conquest to no name originally but Argyle) to have produced no renowned person his contemporary, such as was Montrose, whose glories and fame may fill up his chasms in their history.

The Mirrour of worldly Fame. Composed by I. H.¹ Æ.

Ad hunc modum te forma, atque ita institue, ut paratus ad omnia, promptus ad singula, dulcia pariter, & amara despicias.

London, printed for James Shaw, and are to be sold at his shop near Ludgate. 1603.

[Twelves; containing sixty pages.]

To the right worshipful my singular good uncle, Mr. William Hynd, I. H. wisheth continuance of health, with prosperous estate and felicity.

THE extraordinary kindness, which you, right worshipful, have showed me from my infancy, hath constrained me to publish out abroad the manifestation of my bounden duty, that thereby I might be held far from incurring the blemishes of ingratitude: which vice the Persians so detested, as that they held them worthy of due punishment, whom they found more prone to receive, than to requite. Being, therefore, animated thereto, first by your fatherly affection (whereof you have made most evident demonstration) and next, for clearing myself of this suspicion of my guilt herein, (which, otherwise, you might justly conceive against me,) I have strained the small talent I had, to plead my cause in this behalf; beseeching you, both for the pardon of those wants, wherewith this my simple travel is blemished, through lack of learning, and a favourable acceptance of my bold unskilfulness: which, albeit it is not worthy to be presented unto your view, yet, notwithstanding, relying myself wholly upon your wonted clemency, I thought it good, for want of better ability, to gratify you with this small testimony of my good-will; pre-

¹ [The author of this was probably the same John Hynd who wrote 'Eliosto Libidinoso: described in two books: wherein their imminent dangers are declared, who, guiding the course of their life by the compass of affection, either dash their ship against most dangerous shelves, or else attain the haven with extreme prejudice. Written by John Hynd.

Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare Poëtæ,

Aut simul et jucunda, et idonea dicere vitæ. Hor. Art. Poet.

² At London, printed by Valentine Simmes, and are to be sold by Nathaniel Butter. 1606. 8vo.

Vide an account of it in Censura Literaria, vi. 265.]

suming, that you will weigh rather the propensity of the giver, than the value of the gift. And I am the more emboldened herein, in regard of your affection unto learning, whereof you have been a loving patron, and a bountiful Mecænas, of which thing I myself am witness. Learning would quickly vanish away, without the aid and support of such as you are: which was well considered by great men many hundred years since. For Philip of Macedon, so highly esteemed of Aristotle, that he committed his son, Alexander, (surnamed the Great,) to his tuition: and he so affected good letters, that he used to lay the Iliads of Homer under his bed's head. Augustus Cæsar so loved Virgil, that, after his decease, he diligently kept his works from the fire; to the which they were adjudged. I might here likewise bring in divers others, not inferior to them for their favour, and love to the learned sort: but, remembering I write to your worship, I will abridge, therefore, that of purpose, which might be more amply illustrated; knowing there needeth no apology to be made unto you, in the behalf of learning, whose mind hath been so addicted to the same, that, long since, I had been discouraged from my studies, if I had not found you so prone to be my patron. Wherefore, being pricked forward by your bounty, I present, and offer up these my labours unto you, to peruse them, at some hours, for your recreation; which, if you should like, it will not only be an especial means for them to escape the bites of basilisks' brood, but I shall think my pen set to the book in a happy hour, and it will encourage me to attempt some matter of more weight, as soon as opportunity shall be answerable to my desire. The Almighty bless and prolong your days here, that we may behold the consummation of happy old age in your worship, before you shall be summoned to that everlasting happiness, which is always permanent, without mutability.

Your Worship's most humbly devoted,

I. H.

To the Reader.

Courteous and gentle Reader,

IF, in this 'Mirrour of worldly Fame', any thing is devised, which shall delight thee, and if some other shall not please thee, yet, in respect of that which doth like thee, afford me thy good word for my good-will, in passing over the same favourably to others, with whom, perhaps, it may be more agreeable. For all men are not of one and the self-same disposition: for that wherewith one is delighted, another, oftentimes, doth not regard; and what some do detest, some other chiefly doth esteem. But shall I think, that my simple travel herein shall escape the tongues of the envious, who are always ready with a prejudicate opinion, to condemn before they understand the cause? No, surely: for, in the former times, if those which wrote very learnedly, (as Homer, Marcus Varro, Cicero, and Virgil,) could not shelter themselves from the sting of Zoilus, how may I think that these, my imperfections, shall pass; where many are so quick-sighted, as that they will, at the first, behold the least tittle that is not rightly placed? And albeit, perhaps at the first, by some it will be embraced for the novelty thereof; yet, at the length, it will be contemned as a thing unsavoury, and little worth: for the nature of man is such, as that it is corrupted always with curiosity. The fairest garden, wherein is variety of colours and smells, cannot affect all men's fancies alike, but are either misliked, or (in seeming not pleasant) rejected. No artificer can fit all men's minds alike, nor any orator please every man's humour: but, where his customers are too dainty and nice, his workmanship shall be controuled, and despised; and, where the auditors are too rash and careless in regarding, his rhetorick shall be contemned: and, to conclude, no work is so exquisitely performed, and absolutely perfect, but some are ready and prone to reprehend and find fault with it. Yet, in the wiser sort is my greatest hope, because they are wise; and, presuming upon their favours, I doubt not, but they will pardon that which is done amiss, and afford me a favourable construction for my pains. Farewell.

I. H. Æ.

WHEN I record within myself the infinite misfortunes, and sudden motion of things which are subject unto mankind; then surely I find nothing more frail than mortal life, nothing more unquiet. For those gifts which nature hath endued us withal, as memory, understanding, prudence, and the like; I see that they are daily turned, either to our destruction, or continual labour. Besides, we are not only exposed to vain and unprofitable cares, but those things also, which are grievous and hurtful unto ourselves, daily so afflict us, (not only for the present, but also for the time to come,) as that we seem to stand in fear of nothing more, than when we shall be least miserable. Furthermore, we do so hunt after the cures and remedies of our maladies, as that we make this life of ours, which, if it were rightly governed, would seem most pleasant, nothing else but a sea of troubles; whose beginning blindness and oblivion do possess, whose proceeding labour and travel do molest, whose end sorrow and vexation do disturb: which thing every man shall find true, if judicially he will measure out the whole course of his life. What day have we ever seen, which hath brought unto us quietness? Or what ease have we found in any day? Nay rather, what day hath not almost stifled us with anguishes; and what thing ever hath been so secure in the morning, whose glory, before the evening, some sinister chance hath not eclipsed? The occasions whereof, although they are many, yet notwithstanding, if we will sincerely acknowledge it, we shall find that the greatest fault consisteth in ourselves. For, that I may omit to speak of other calamities, with which we daily are oppressed; how great is that war which we wage with fortune, whereof virtue by herself is able to make us conquerors: but we willingly, and wittingly, have, and do daily, swerve from her; therefore, we are constrained to encounter with her, as with an implacable enemy; being ourselves, by nature, feeble and unarmed, and able no ways to make any resistance: at which she levelling, one while lifteth us up, and another while casteth us down, and windeth us about in such a manner, as that it were more tolerable for us to be utterly vanquished. And what hath been the cause of this, but our levity and niceness? We are tossed hither and thither like balls, being creatures short-lived, but infinitely tormented. Which things being so, to what shore shall we fasten our ship, to what council shall we apply our minds; seeing, besides the present evil, something hangeth over our heads, which may molest us, something before our eyes may terrify us? Neither are any such mishaps incident to any living creatures, so much as to man; for they, after dangers past, live secure; but we, by reason of our wit, and sharpness of mind, must contend always as it were with that three-headed dog, Cerberus. The war which we make with fortune, is of two sorts, and either of them fearful, yet both to be undertook; the one needeth reins to curb and keep back the affections, and the other comfort; here the swelling of the mind must be suppressed, there weariness and travel must be refreshed and eased. For I think it a matter of more labour for a man to govern himself in prosperity, than in adversity: to which I am the rather drawn to condescend, because I find in myself this saying to be true, that, *insidiosior est fortuna blanda quam minax*; which thing also experience and example maketh manifest. For many there have been, which have suffered many griefs, as poverty, banishment, imprisonment, death, and lamentable diseases worse than death, with a patient and quiet mind; but few or none at all could be found, which lived contented with their riches, with their honours, with their principalities, but that still they affected more, and never were satisfied. Others likewise, which in all respects seemed sufficiently fortified against all the assaults of fortune, and whom no threats could ever vanquish, pleasure hath. How many Roman emperors, how many foreign princes being plucked from their regal thrones, either by the hands of their enemies, or their own countrymen, have lost both their government, and life? Neither doth antiquity only afford us these; but our age also hath brought some forth, little inferior to those, which have been banished, taken captives, slain in war, beheaded at home; and (that which is most vile to utter) killed with chains, and horribly quartered. Again such is the inconsistency of man, that if by any adverse fortune thou art brought into adversity, why then those which were, but now are no longer, thy friends, will wonder a

thee, as a prodigious monster, sent from afar; and then thou thyself shalt not be able to determine within thyself, whether first thou mightest bewail the loss of friends or the loss of goods. But these things I omit, and hasten to those whereof I intend to treat, which in man's life are most uncertain, and most miserable.

CHAP. I.

OF YOUTH.

THE flourishing time of youth is termed by many philosophers 'the first vain hope of man,' which hath and will deceive thousands. This flower in a moment withereth; and who can call that perfect, unto which much is wanting? Yea, that little which it hath is most uncertain. Neither, in respect that it is far from old-age, is it therefore not near death; for, amongst the many parts of our life, that is most subject to dangers, which too much security maketh unprovided. Nothing is so near unto life as death, which then, when it seemeth to be furthest off, is at hand: wheresoever you betake yourself, it is at your heels, and ready to execute her terror upon you. Nothing more fleeting than youth, nothing more moveable; for the time of it is unstable, it flieth away by little and little without any noise; yea, when we sleep, and are at our pastimes, death creepeth upon us. Oh! if the speediness of time, and brevity of this our life, were as well known in the beginning of it, as it is in the end; then would we not let loose the reins of our affections unto so many unlawful concupiscences as we do. This time is not only incredulous, and not seen in the differences of causes, but also so much carried away with self-love, as that it scorneth and rejecteth good admonitions; being, as Solomon saith, the first step to folly. Wherefore nothing doth detect and lay open unto us the errors which are in youth, so well as old-age; which Tertullian, in his 'Apologeticum,' bringeth in excellently, speaking to young men, saying: 'Ye have not marked and given attention to that which ye ought, and was requisite, set down unto you by the grey heads; but have been carried away with all manner of voluptuous living; the inconveniencies of which if any would in time diligently consider, that man should be like a tree planted by the rivers of waters, (whereof David maketh mention,) that will bring forth its fruit in due season; whose leaf shall not fade, and whatsoever he shall do shall prosper. This age, since it first began, hath continual motion, and never resteth; but, as one day thrusteth on another, and as one water is driven with the consequent, so runneth this; and, as Cicero saith, *volat*, or, as Maro, — *Celeres neque commovet alas*: and, as they, which are carried in a ship, oftentimes, besides their expectation, are arrived upon a coast; even so young men come unto their ends, when they think upon nothing less than it. But some, perhaps, will say, that no part is so much distant from the end, as the beginning. True it is; and then it would be rightly so, if all in general might live in indifferent spaces; but now by many ways and more often youth dieth, whereby it cometh to pass, that, for the most part, he is more near his end, which seemeth to be furthest off. In a word, the greatest felicity in a moment is obscured; and nothing ought to be desired by those which are of a stout courage, which hath not long continuance. Awake from sleep, thou young man, for it is high time to open thy heavy eyes; accustom thyself now at length to meditate upon heavenly things, to love and desire them, and, on the contrary side, to despise those which are momentary: learn of your own accord to depart from them, because they cannot long abide with you; and in your mind forsake them, lest you be forsaken. For they err, which say, that youth is stable and permanent; there is nothing more voluble than time: time is a chariot, upon which all ages are carried, and therefore there can be no long continuance of any one thing.'

CHAP. II.

OF BEAUTY.

AND, as youth, so the beauty of the body is frail, in regard that it both cometh, and vanisheth away with time; which if it could consist still, and have no motion, then, per-

haps, beauty might do the like; but being grounded upon a weak foundation, it flieth away like a shadow, and cannot long abide. Accidents may perish, although the subject standeth; and, it falling, they must needs fall. But, amongst all the qualities which vanish away with man's body, nothing is more swift than beauty, which, like a flower, being in the hands of those which admire and praise it, fadeth: a small frost will nip it, and a little wind will beat it down; or on a sudden it is trod under feet of those which pass by it. To conclude: rejoice and boast of it as much as thou wilt, behold, the time cometh, and that speedily, which with a thin veil will cover thee; and then death will shew of what worth the beauty of a living man is: and not only death, but old-age also, and the space of a few years, or the sudden sickness of one day. For there is no external thing, which, by standing or continuing, is not consumed and brought to nothing; neither hath any thing ever affected a man with such joy at the beginning, as it hath with grief at the departure. These things (unless I am deceived) the fair Roman prince Domitian sometime tried; who, writing to his friend, 'I would have you know, (said he,) that 'nothing is more grateful unto a man, than beauty; and nothing more short.' But, admit this gift of nature were durable; why then I see no reason, why that superficial comeliness, for the coverture of so base a skin, should have any thing else besides to obscure so many filthy and horrible things, which do nothing else but flatter and delude the senses. Therefore, it is great praise and commendation for a man or woman to be delighted with those goods which are certain and true, which are not false and deceitful. For, if the form and stature of thy body is elegant and neat, why then thou hast a mask for thy face, a snare for thy feet, and lime for thy feathers, which will so entangle thee, as that thou shalt hardly escape; thou shalt not be able to put a difference between truth and falsehood; thou shalt not have the power to be any ways virtuous; for beauty hath detained many from embracing honesty, and hath thrust them into the contrary headlong. Nothing is more to be admired at, than the vanity of this evil; for, with how many delights and pleasures are young men delighted! what labours do they not undergo! what dangers do they not heap upon their own heads, that being not fair labour to appear! How unmindful are they, through the desire of this, of their own health and safety! how much time in trimming them up is vainly spent! and how many honest, profitable, and necessary things in the mean time are neglected! Enjoy, therefore, this thy short and frail good, this thy vain and foolish joy, which will take both rest and time from thee; which will daily torment thee; which will afford thee matter of labour sufficient, causes of danger enough; which will set on fire thy affections, and finally procure thee more hate than love: not, perhaps, amongst women, but amongst men daily thou shalt be suspected. Thy wife also will be jealous over thee, seeing that no one thing giveth more suspicion of mistrust, than it. The comeliness of thy face and colour shall be altered; thy golden hair shall perish, and grey shall succeed; thy cheeks and fair forehead shall be full of wrinkles, and an obscure mist shall darken thy crystal eyes; thy ivory teeth shall in such manner be defiled with filth, as that they shall not only be of another colour, but the tenor of them likewise shall be changed; thy straight neck and nimble shoulders shall be bowed; thy throat shall be rumpled, and, when thou shalt see thy lean hands, together with thy withered feet, thou wilt immediately say, 'they were none 'of thine;' and, in a word, the day will come, wherein thou shalt not know thyself in a glass. All these things, (lest thou mightest not say, that thou wast foretold, and so be astonished at the sight of them,) I tell thee, will fall upon thee sooner than thou art aware. What shall I say more in brief, than that which Apuleius Medaurensis did? *Expecta paulisper, & non erit.* Oh, how much better were it, that the beauty of the mind were answerable to that of the body! How sweeter would it be, and more certain, subsisting by her laws in the comeliness of good behaviour, and fit disposing of her qualities! That is to be desired, and for that we must labour, which neither long iniquity of time can terrify, nor sickness extinguish, no not death itself. If we would so endeavour, then should we be truly fortunate, and seem more notable by our beauty, and our virtue more gracious. For that,

without virtue, doth not so much grace, as it doth disgrace the mind; yea, very often bringeth it into danger.

Finally, Why should we glory in that which is neither ours, nor can long continue with us? If we have it, then it is, as our health, subject daily unto many diseases; against which, old age is armed with a thousand kinds of griefs, envying the prosperity thereof: against which, pleasure displayeth her banners; and against which, we must, as with a familiar friend, contend. O how much better had it been for nature to have made thee deformed! She then would have assuaged the fury of thy violent affections, and brought thee to such a pass, as that thou shouldest have said, that she had given thee not that wherewith thou oughtest to be delighted, but that from which, as by a conduit-pipe, thou mightest derive many virtuous profits unto thyself! She would have adorned thee with that, which sickness could not infringe, which age could not impeach, and which death could not have touched! Beauty hath made many adulterous, but few or none at all chaste. It hath drawn many, through the enticements of pleasure, to an infamous death.

To be brief, and not to hold you over-long, know this; that by the deformity of the body the mind is not defiled, but by the comeliness of the mind the body is adorned. This therefore would not disgrace thee, but would lay open by virtue a way for thy further honour. If nature had born Helena ill-favoured, or (that I may speak of men) Paris; perhaps then Troy would have stood. Amongst all other things virtue hath this property; it may be gotten, but not taken away. And when other things are at the arbitrement of fortune, only virtue is free from her laws, and shineth more bright, by how much fortune maketh resistance.

CHAP. III.

OF NOBILITY.

OF all those things which, either I have read or heard, nothing ever pleased me so much as that of the poet, *Virtute decet non sanguine niti*: and, indeed, so it behoveth every one which will rightly be termed noble to do. For to boast of our pedigree which we fetch from others, and not bestowed upon us for our deserts, is a thing very ridiculous, and their worthiness is the mark of degenerate successors. Neither doth any thing so much make evident the blots and spots of posterity, as the splendour and glory of predecessors. And unless you can fetch true praise from yourself, expect it not from others: for it is an especial good thing, that others should be known by you, and not you by others. But from whence is your nobility drawn? (for your forefathers had never been noble, if they had not done something worthy of commendation:) is it from the excellency of your blood? Why then every man should be honoured alike, seeing that, in a manner, every man's blood is of one and the self-same colour: and if at any time any one is found more perspicuous than another, the cause of that is health, and not nobility. But perhaps you will say, that the excellency of your parentage is great. I answer, that your baseness, by reason of that, may be greater. For I confess, that you receive from your parents both a body and a patrimony: but he, who hath true nobility, very seldom or never doth translate it over unto his progeny; and he, who is not endued with it, at some times seeth it abide in those which must afterwards succeed him. How famous had Cæsar been for the renown which he received from his father? and how base was the son of African, who, if he might have been noble by tradition, had sufficiently been adorned with it? but his father, by reason of too much affection, did not only not illustrate him, but received by him a wonderful eclipse of his own glory. Whereby it appeareth, that that which inheritance hath most precious, is darkened by the judgment and disposition of him who is the successor. A thousand such could I rehearse (if I had time, or that it were expedient), who though they descended from a noble race, yet were most obscure. If you would live privately sequestered from all troubles, you cannot; because that benefit is taken away by those which daily accompany you, which daily publish abroad your gallant sports, your

stately living, your beautiful wife, your brave children, and in a word, which make inquisition after all your exercises, after all the manner of your life: so that there is nothing you speak or do, which is not delivered out abroad, be it never so good, or never so bad. And these are the fruits of your nobility. If you once do any thing amiss, you are held always afterwards inexcusable. Whereas true nobility, which is gotten by life, and not by birth, is always so annexed unto virtue, as that it is never culpable, and after death is not forgotten; but the other antiquity darkeneth, and so taketh it away. For how many noble families have there been, whose memory is utterly abolished? how many flourishing houses have we seen which now oblivion hath obfuscated? and whereupon may we conjecture the reason; but that time doth diminish and consume all; and not only families and houses, but cities and towns also wax old, and the world itself (if I be not deceived) groweth to an end.

And thou, whosoever thou art, which boastest of thy ancient house; take heed, lest, in process of time, the root of thy glory, with whose flowers thou art now decked, perisheth not. For every thing, which hath its beginning from time, endeth with time; but your glory had its rising from it, and therefore must vanish with it: and that, which time hath brought forth, and made greater, being at the greatest, overthroweth it. Therefore, that is a vain ambition which leaneth not upon his own merit, but upon the oblivion of others: which thing happeneth unto you, not that thereby you might be the nobler, but more obscure. For there is but one beginning of all things, but one Creator of mankind, one fountain of all, which one while being troubled, and another while quiet, by turns is derived to every one of us. But upon this condition; that that which was formerly clear, may be made dark; and that, which was darkened, may again be clarified. And hereupon it cometh to pass, that he who yesterday held the plough, to-day holdeth arms; and he, who did ride through cities and towns upon a horse richly trapped, is on a sudden become a herdsman. So that the saying of Plato is true; *Neminem regem non ex servis oriundum, neminem servum non ex regibus*. Whereby it appeareth, that this nobility (with which you are puffed up) is nothing else but a vain and sottish delight, subject never to any constancy, always variable, always fleeting. Desist therefore to substitute those into any place of honour making for you, which for themselves have atchieved some notable exploit, never for you. And for that cause did they endeavour to lift themselves up with the wings of virtue, that so they might be ennobled with true nobility.

To conclude: this excellency of name and fame is very short, and look how little soever it is, no ways appertinent to you. Do not therefore shadow your name with other men's virtues, lest that an impartial judge cometh, and (in giving every man his due, maketh you destitute of all; and, in lieu of honour, you shall heap upon yourself nothing but shame and ignominy. As for example, amongst many thousands, take but these, Tullius and Marius, Aulus and Clodius; and balance in one scale the two first, and the two latter in the other; and then it will appear who is the weightiest, and how much Rome will give place to Arpinum. In a word, true nobility is not hereditary, for very seldom or never you shall see an excellent man have an excellent child. Whereupon, either imitate, continue, or increase by practice your predecessors' nobility; or else persuade yourself that it is rather obscured by you, than you made famous by it.

CHAP. IV.

OF PRIDE.

IT is daily seen, and experience maketh it manifest, that men, when, by a prosperous gale of fortune, they are lifted up to the haven of their desires, do then immediately swell, and wax big with the sweetness of their felicity; rejecting God, who gave essence to that which before was not, and scorning the good and wholesome admonitions of wise teachers. With this sin of pride too many are too well acquainted, and no marvel, if so many through it are brought to confusion; for 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble and meek.' Nothing is more hateful to him than it: for, if Lucifer, that angel of light,

was thrown down into hell, by reason of this one sin; what shall become of thee, thou sinner, who art addicted to many millions of sins? Why shouldst thou be so puffed up? art thou not mortal? art thou not a grievous sinner, exposed to a thousand mishaps, obnoxious to an uncertain death? dost thou not remember thyself to be miserable? Think upon that which Homer saith: *Nihil miserius terra nutrit homine.* 'The earth yieldeth nothing more miserable than man.' Is the frailty of thy limbs a cause why thou art proud, the brevity of life, the blindness of thy mind (disquieted amongst most vain hopes, and continual fears,) the oblivion of things past, the ignorance both of present and to come? Do the ambushments of thy enemy stir thee up to it, the death of thy friends, continued adversity, fugitive prosperity? If these be the steps, by which you ascend to pride; they are likewise the steps which tumble you down, headlong, to destruction. Wherefore shouldst thou be delighted with it; seeing it is the disease with which fools are oppressed? Wherefore shouldst thou hunt after it; seeing that, when thou art dead, serpents, beasts, and worms shall inherit thee? But the beginning of pride is to forsake God, because a man revolteth from him, which created him; and the beginning of all sin is pride. Overcome, therefore, thy affections, and deform not many good parts with this one vice; corrupt and defile not the favour of many good deeds with a greater fault, than the cause of the fault is; banish it from thee with the pricks of industry, with the reins of prudence, lest, by propagation, thou beest snatched with a whole multitude to an inglorious end: for God (as I have said) 'resisteth the proud man,' and nothing is more monstrous than he.

CHAP. V.

Of DANCING.

IRON sharpeneth iron, (saith Solomon,) and one vanity draweth on another; and that which cometh behind, is, for the most part, greater, and more notorious; as it is apparent in this age of ours, which daily hunteth after nothing so much as them. For, amongst the frivolous pleasures, which (as I may so term it) ravish men's senses with delight, not any one is more coveted than that of dancing: from which nothing proceedeth, but that which savoureth of lust; hateful to every honest man, and ought, in general, to be a disgrace to all. The affections of the mind are made known by nothing so well, as by the body; for the casting of the hands, a moveable foot, a rolling and wanton eye, argueth some evil motions to consist within the mind. If, therefore, you will be modest, have a regard, that neither you do any thing effeminately, nor speak wantonly; seeing that motion, sitting, lying, gesture, laughter, gait, and speech are the signs of the mind, and very often, upon small occasions, are detected. Besides, what can be more absurd, than for a man, not hearing the musician's instrument, to be leaping and skipping amongst a company of foolish women, and men worse than they? But admit he doth, (which, for the most part, is without grace, measure, dexterity, and good order,) why then he heapeth up madness upon madness. No; thou art not so much delighted for the present, as thou art for hope of a future delight. Dancing is the voluntary, which is played before a passage is made to unlawful desires; this is that, which at one and the self-same time, banisheth away both fear and shame; this is that which provoketh men to lust, being a most licentious recreation: and this is that delight, which you term dancing; being a pastime without all hurt, as you say; by which coverture you obscure the offence. For, if it were only for honest recreation, then would it be practised amongst men, and amongst women severally; but not being so exercised, many inconveniencies do arise, which are able to make a general dissolution of those good qualities, which are incident in man. No man shall dance with king David before the Lord, lest, perhaps, his wife hath him in derision; but, amongst many now-a-days, it is commonly used, and not only no derision thereupon ensueth, but wonderful admiration. And why? because of itself it is a most foolish thing, and bringeth more tediousness, than delight. Hereupon sprang that derision; *In circuitu impii ambulans*: for it hath been the cause which hath brought unto men much discredit, and hath been the only means why many women have lost their chastity, even upon that

day wherein their nuptial rites have been solemnized. Whensoever, therefore, thou shalt be so affected, then take this as a canon and rule (to direct thee from swerving, to uphold thee from falling) that thou usest modestly, and very seldom, those things, from which thou canst not refrain and abstain thyself; that so, temperance being thy guide, thou mayest, with facility, obscure those things, which will argue effeminate passions to be predominant in you.

I illustrate this not with example, because the imitation of worthy men is not always expedient: for every feathered fowl hath not sufficient vigour to follow an eagle; and many honest men most commonly are repugnant to that, which in their predecessors did seem laudable. Cato, being cumbered with the cares of the commonwealth, was wont to releivate his mind with wine; which thing Solon likewise did; whom many afterwards, being willing to imitate, did abuse that with drunkenness, which they used for restorative. Wherefore, if counsel may any whit prevail with you; first, drink wine but seldom; and secondly, abstain always from dancing. For there are many, and sundry more honest kinds of recreation, with which you may better refresh your disdainful mind; but with this caution, always to think, upon whatsoever you go about, your adversary's eyes to be fixed, ready always to blemish the lustre of it, by taking exceptions: for it is more commendation, that your enemies should be astonished at your abstinence and gravity, than your friends excuse your looseness and lasciviousness. And, indeed, that glory is worthy the applause of many, unto which no man can object any true accusation, much less dareth a false; for true and perfect virtue terrifieth the accuser, but a mean kindleth wrath. As touching sobriety, I had rather have thee resemble Cæsar, and so to fall into mislike with wine, than Cato, whose objected ebriety Seneca so confuted, as that the barretor did say, that an honest accusation will effect a matter with more facility, than an absurd Cato. But concerning that whereof we now treat; dance I would not have thee, otherwise than Scipio, or drink wine, than Cato; that, by so doing, you may not only not incur the opprobrious speeches of wicked and slanderous men, but cast such an astonishment upon those that are your foes, as that they may hold you in daily admiration.

CHAP. VI.

OF APPAREL.

IT is manifest, that the knowledge of never so many things, without either a grace, or a certain kind of pleasing delivery of the same, not only is exquisite in praise, yet meriting due commendations, though not in the excellency or height thereof; so likewise to speak much, and to enter into the handling or discourse of many matters: for one that knoweth little, and is but slightly travelled in the truly-conceived paths of literature, not only discovers an uneducated rudeness, and lame ignorance of letters, but oftentimes induceth unto himself danger, and many are offended very highly; as Marcus Tullius at large, and learnedly, hath written. And therefore, to let us understand that it is requisite, before something is touched, to know very well what we undertake to speak and discourse of, and to apprehend a right conceit what we suppose we know indeed; to argue with short and pithy disputations, thereby to pull on attention, and avoid the misery of being thought to be tedious; to contend mildly, and, lastly, to write methodically, and with a good grace, being indeed an especial introduction of a reading spirit. The ancients always thought it a most frivolous thing (as in many excellent authors it is recorded) for men to glory in the outward coverture of the body; but many now-a-days, contrary to them, do not only account it a thing not inglorious, but that patrimony also which they have, although it be but small, do so lavish out, most commonly, upon apparel, as that their diet is altogether unprovided for: yea, we are all so affected, as though there rested amongst us a kind of sympathy, and concordance of dispositions. First, It is not good, because that those things, which are pure and good, love not to be obscured; but our common custom is, to darken those things, which are filthy, with most choice colours. Secondly, It will strike an astonishment into thee, when thou shalt seriously bethink what thou art by nature. Third y, It

is not expedient: for the learned man, Crispus, could say, that it was not beseeming for a man to be extraordinarily attired. 'Let men labour, (saith he,) and let women be gallantly clothed; for in a man, stately apparel is the standard of pride, and harbour for 'luxury.' I will not rehearse unto you religious men, which, being half naked, have repelled the rigour of the winter's cold: and I know very well, that too much plenty maketh a man forget his Creator. Have a regard to that which you intend, and remember Augustus Cæsar, of all men most wealthy, who never otherwise was attired, than like a private man; his garments being made either by his wife, sister, or daughter, or by any other of his nieces, for so it is recorded of him: and so he, being lord of all the world, wearied with labour those women, which were of his near alliance. But thou, perhaps slave to others, travellest through the farthest countries for habit. The Belgian, the Persian, Seres, and Indian, must both spin and weave for thee; the Tyrian Sea must be ransacked for purple; the Britannian sheep must be sheered for thy wear; the patise and arsenick red, must be ground for colours: and Augustus must be appareled with the works of his family. So much hath virtue decreased, and pride increased; so much men delight with contrarieties, that examples of modesty are now both vile, and clean worn out. Many there have been, which seemed very lofty and magnificent in apparel, worse than the basest, more wretched than the vilest, and more contemptible than he which is most. Caius, and many other besides him, had their attire more befitting beasts, than civilians. And why? because the more beautiful the habit is, the sooner the spots of deformity are detected, and the eyes of passengers fixed upon it: therefore a deformed man is in nothing so much his own enemy, as when he will appear beautiful and glorious. Moreover, variety of clothing doth not so much adorn a man, as it doth discredit him. For the nature of things is not to be conquered by human art; and, oftentimes, by how much the more it is suppressed, by so much the more it lifteth and elevateth itself up in such sort, as that fine colours, and sweet perfumes, are not able to alter the native feditie of man's body, but either make it more conspicuous or mistrustful. For, put into a golden coffin, a dead man's carcase, and beset it with pearls and precious stones, you shall perceive, that the more adorned it is, the more horror and fear will the body incuss into you. And if this word *cadaver*, for a dead carcase, is rightly termed by the Latins *à cadendo*, of falling; why should we not deck it being fallen, as well as that which must, and will incontinently? But, it is not now meet for me to bewail, and inveigh against these vanities of external habits, cut out after all manner of foolish fashions, being used amongst us ever since the creation of the world. Thus much understand, that God hateth those beasts which are of man's countenance, savagely minded, fair-tongued, richly trimmed, with their hair platted, after the wear of most impudent women, evil conditioned, shamelessly detecting the secrets of their bodies, and inconstancy of their minds.

CHAP. VII.

Of PERFUMES.

Accidit in vitâ, ut in longâ viâ, aut plurimum luti, aut pulveris: 'As it is with a man which travelleth, the further and longer he journieth, the more dirty or dusty he is;' so it is with us, who the longer we live in this valley of tears, the more subject we are to those things which work most commonly our confusion; hunting daily after vanities, which are nothing else but vain illusions, deceiving the senses. And, amongst all which are usually practised, that of perfuming must not be omitted; which one, by itself, doth so intoxicate men's affections, as that he is best esteemed of, who favoureth most of it. We use it not only in our apparel, whereof we have already spoken somewhat, but in our diet also. It is a thing so effectual, as that, by it, our affections are caused and moved to undergo the blemishes of incontinency; it is so hateful, that the perfumed sort are condemned by honest men, both of turpitude and vanity. How better were it for a man to savour of virtue and honesty, whose scents are more sensible than aromatical spices, and burned brimstone; those would comfort his languishing spirit, refreshing it with much consolation. And, as

in many things, so also in this, the variety of natures is infinite, not only between man and man, but between nation and nation. For it is credibly reported by Pliny (that learned writer), that there is a nation inhabiting near the river Ganges, which is nourished with nothing else save the smell of an apple, carrying one always about them, as a thing very cordial; and so much detesting ill savours, that as a sweet and pure smell doth nourish, so an infectious doth destroy them. Hereupon, the men which bordered upon the Oriental parts, as they fell more and more into dislike with meat, so they became very greedy, and thirsted after perfumes in such a manner, as that from them the like curiosity came to us: the inconvenience whereof you may easily understand by the Romans, who having vanquished the Assyrians, Arabians, and Sabeans, became, through their perfumes, slaves to them; which savours, at the first, the senators (in the five-hundred-and-sixtieth year after the city was built) so withstood, as that there was given out, in an edict, by the censors, that no man, upon pain of death, should, by any means, convey into the city any external perfumes. But, not long after, lasciviousness being conqueress, through the vices of modern men, violating the statutes of their predecessors, (as it is the custom,) burst into the senate, as a heady ruler, author of that decree. Thereupon came in all manner of ointments, being especial arguments of some defects which are concealed in man; and then the care of them, which befitteth not any man or woman, brought under subjection the whole estate of man. Remember that perfumist, who being bedaubed with the same or such like ointments, at that very instant wherein he should have thanked Vespasian the prince for an office received, was highly rebuked by him, and dismissed away with much disgrace. By whom we may easily perceive, that such like odours are sometimes not only no renown, but also much hindrance unto a man, especially when a grave censor of men's behaviours ruleth. A notable example we have of one Plantius, a senator, who being condemned by the triumvirs, for some trespass, to be executed, and afterwards, for fear of death, having fled into the Salernitanian thicket, was, from thence, by reason of his sweet-smelling savours, detected, and immediately punished. Desist, therefore; for the most mixed and less simple odours procure more dishonesty and ignominy. For every filthy thing is made worse, by how much the more it is compounded. Art is the ornament of honesty, but burden of dishonesty. Moreover, odours are used after a more vile manner than heretofore. For although (as I have said) Rome made such resistance against this plague coming out of Asia, as against an armed legion of enemies; yet, notwithstanding, at the length, a troop of evil-savoured vices, passing their *corps du guard*, came into Europe, and there subdued most strong people. And, forasmuch as it is a most frivolous thing for a man to rehearse every thing in particular; conjecture of the rest by the valour of one valiant man thereby daunted and quailed. That unconquerable man Hannibal, in the midst of his troublesome wars which he waged with the Romans, anointed himself, together with his fierce army; but the end of this effeminate captain, and his soldiers, whose proceeding struck astonishment into men's hearts, was very lamentable. Perfumes are penetrable, but vices far more. Hereupon it cometh to pass, (as it always hath been the manner,) that too much labour and trouble it is for a man to read or hear of those things, which are both written and spoken against this vice. To conclude; understand this, that he, who is delighted with it, laboureth not of a vice common in these times, but of one proper and peculiar to the mind. Wherefore endeavour, that you neither savour ill of those odours which are pleasant and delectable; or be hateful by reason of those things which are odious.

CHAP. VIII.

Of ENVY, MALICE, DISSIMULATION, and GUILT.

ENVY and malice I comprehend both under one, because that they are brethren of the same brood. But, if we could find some difference in them, let us mark what Augustine saith: 'Malice is delighted with another man's evil, envy is grieved at another man's good.' So then we may affirm, that evil is the object of malice, and good of envy. 'A malicious man is subject to the law, because he is a murderer;' as it is in John iii. 13,

‘Whosoever hateth his brother, is a manslayer; and know, that no manslayer hath eternal life abiding in him.’ This sin of malice is that which the apostle Paul, Rom. i. 29, shewed to be condemned, and that from which we are dissuaded: he willeth also the Corinthians, (in his first epistle, the fifth chapter, the seventh and eighth verses,) that they should purge out the old leaven, saying, ‘Let us keep the feast not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of maliciousness.’ Because, that malicious men are stopped from the kingdom of Heaven; and the wrath of God, for this vice, ‘cometh upon the children of disobedience.’ Moreover, what may be spoken of love, may (*vice versâ*) be spoken of malice; and whatsoever is spoken in the dispraise of malice, may be for the praise of love. For most sure it is, that the praise of one is the dispraise of the other; as that which is straight sheweth itself to be so, and that which is crooked to be crooked, as one straight line may shew, being drawn by a crooked line. So then, when we speak of love, we may say unto the fault of malice, *Mutatâ vice, fabula de te narratur*. To malice and envy are always joined guile and dissimulation, as most agreeable one to another: for, in dissimulation, we are deceived, as in love; for none are more deceived than such as, under the pretext of unfeigned love, think well of them whom they affect. In affection, likewise, we are deluded as well as in love, the truth whereof can hardly be discerned. But that course is commended, which Constantius the emperor did take for finding out such as he did suppose, in his court, to be dissemblers, and said unto them, “That they only, whom he found to be most constant, were worthy to be about a prince.” Theodorick, the Arian king, did kill Cæso with his own hands; a servant of his, whom he perceived to abjure and deny his faith; and said, moreover, as (Sigon. Occ. Lib. xvi. hath,) “That he could in no sort be true and faithful unto him, seeing that he had shrunk back from Christ, and denied him whom before he had confessed.” Metius Suffetius most fitly doth resemble unto us the person of a dissembler, who, when as the Romans were in the field against their enemies, did betake himself unto the top of an hill, from whence he might see and behold who were like to have the better in battle, that he might go unto them; yet, notwithstanding, for this fact of his, the Roman king condemned him to be torn in pieces by wild horses; a death most fit for such a dissembling person. Most like unto this Roman are all such as carry themselves aloof off, continually expecting and looking for an alteration in the state, not shewing, indeed, what they are; so that they are not unlike the Jews, who speak half the language of the Ashdodites, and half of their own. For, by this manner of life and conversation, they cannot be perceived what they are; whereas the prophet saith, they have a heart and a heart, yea, a double heart, to make outward semblance of one thing, and to mean another; whenas they, for fear, wish well, or rather seem to be favourers of the present state, not making any shew of dislike of it at all. But such may know that, *sperantes vel uno die consenescent*; and although they stand still gazing for some change and alteration, long may they so continue: and although they be not unlike that countryman which Horace speaketh of, when he saith,

Rusticus expectat, dum defluat amnis; at ille

Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum;

yet they must assure themselves, that God, who ruleth above, sitteth and seeth all their plots laid by them, and their policies, and will, most assuredly, disappoint them of their purpose; and although they go on from one evil unto another, yet shall they not escape the hands of the Lord, neither can they so cover themselves, as that, by the mighty Jehovah, they cannot be discerned, yea, and although the pope doth continually what he can, to take away life from our sovereign, in sending traitor after traitor, and always canonizing them, and would make this work of theirs meritorious; yet God, who hath heretofore disappointed them of their purpose, sitteth still in heaven, and ‘laugheth them to scorn’. And although, with the cruel emperor, they could wish, *O si caput unum haberet!* that at once they might have their will; yet God will not suffer their wicked treacheries to take effect.

In the old law was set down unto us, how that an ox and an ass ought not to be coupled together, and a garment of linsey-wolsey ought not to be worn; whereby we may learn

not to make a shew of honest and plain-dealing, and be dissemblers, full of guile and hypocrisy. For they are not fit couples to be joined together, nor garments which will agree upon our backs at once. And from thence proceedeth all evil-speaking, as backbiting, slandering, railing, and the like. A reason may be hereof, *Tulit nos ætas iniquiores*: 'We daily wax worse and worse.' For none will now spare to revile, and that in a shameful manner, if any hope of advantage can be found. And, although we can have no just and true occasion to defame any, yet, *audacter calumniando*, we will proceed against such as we would hate; and, although we know no such slander can be truly raised, yet we assure ourselves that the scar will still remain, some judging badly of them, because of the rumour. If any fault can be found out in any one whom we would malign, then are we still like flies, lighting always upon the bare and sore place: if we can find out any imperfection, there will we be, and shew it unto the world; but, as for virtues, the slanderous person letteth them pass, and will not so much as once look upon them. In Leviticus, we read how that kites were forbidden to be eaten, because they did feed upon living beasts, and so became unclean; even so in slanderers and evil-speakers, no clean thing can be found: for the heart, the mouth, the hands, and every part of them is unclean: so that they cannot offer up sacrifices unto God. They are more savage than the beasts, for they do not feed upon one of the same kind; but man devoureth man, yea, killeth him with his tongue and slanderous reports. We ought to remember, that as windows are narrow on the outside, and larger within; so should we, out of our own houses, and in other men's affairs, see less than in our own. We must not be like that woman of whom Plutarch giveth this report, that 'when she went abroad would put her eyes into her head, but when she came home would take them out; and would not, in her own house, see any longer by them.' But we must, in some sort, do the contrary: we must, in our own houses, (that is, in our private actions,) have more circumspect eyes than in other men's. And, finally, we must take heed, that we have not *that* the subject of our talk which may malign others; and that our actions deserve not to be evil-spoken of by others.

CHAP. IX.

Of BENEFITING and UNTHANKFULNESS.

FORASMUCH as justice and honesty require this, that we should give thanks unto them which have bestowed benefits upon us; nature followeth this order, that we should convert the effects into their causes: forasmuch as they have their conservation and increase from whence they spring. The degrees of benefits are four:

1. First, thou seest some, that, when they bestow benefits, they have only a respect to themselves. So do shepherds and swineherds, when they provide pasture for their cattle, whereof they have charge; since, therein only, they seek for their own gain and commodity; otherwise, they have no love to sheep, and swine, &c.

2. There are others, which, in doing of good, have regard both unto themselves, and also unto them whom they do help: for the poor do serve rich men and princes, partly, because they love them, and partly, to get some commodity at their hands.

3. In the third degree are those placed, which do in such sort bestow a benefit upon any man, as they look for no recompence of him. It oftentimes happens, that when we see one in misery, we are touched with mercy, and we help him; which, without doubt, proceedeth of humanity: forsomuch as we are men, we think that nothing belonging to a man, but it appertaineth unto us.

4. They are counted in the last and chiefest place, which benefit others, even with their own grief, hurt, and loss.

After this manner Christ dealt towards us. He redeemed mankind with the loss of his own life: whom Jephtha, after a sort, resembleth, who delivered the Israelites unto liberty, and that to his great danger, which he declared by this form of speaking: 'I have put my life in my hands;' Judges xii. 3: (that is, I have not refused to endanger my life:)

wherefore, the Ephraimites were most ungrateful for so great a benefit. The degrees of ungrateful men are likewise four:

The first sort of ungrateful men is, when they requite not good to those that deserve it at their hands.

The second is, when they praise not, nor allow well of those things which good men bestow upon them.

The third is of them which forget the benefits they have received.

The fourth and worst of all is, when, for benefits, injury and hurt is recompensed.

After this manner, the Ephraimites behaved themselves towards Jephtha; who, because he had gotten the victory, would have burned him and all his. What else is this, than to contemn both the benefits, and him that bestoweth them? But this is most of all the point of unthankful men, when neither men, nor other creatures, are despised in their so doing, but God himself contemned. For, whatsoever benefits we receive of men, we have them of God, who useth the help of men to relieve the miserable and afflicted. Wherefore they, which are ungrateful, are void of charity, as well towards God, as towards men.

But thou wilt say, when men, that bestow benefits, do sometimes light upon ungrateful persons; what ought they to do? Shall they straightway withdraw their well-doing from them? Undoubtedly, they deserve this. Howbeit, we must not forthwith do it, because men (by reason that nature is corrupted) are slow, neither are they easily moved to do their duty; therefore we must go forward in well-doing, for he, who is not moved to be thankful by the first benefit, will, peradventure, be stirred by the second, third, fourth, or fifth: but if he altogether continue in his ingratitude, we may justly withdraw from him our benefits; not moved thereunto by hatred or desire of revenge, but that he may be corrected, and that he do not continually disdain the benefits, which are the gifts of God. Kings do not make every citizen a ruler, a president, or other officer belonging to a magistrate, but them only that are just and wise; which, if they do not, they execute not their office. But when they give unto their people liberal gifts, or a banquet, or distribute corn, because, without great labour and pain, they cannot separate the good citizens from the bad, therefore they bestow such things as are of this kind, upon all men, one with another; and chuse rather to deserve well of evil citizens, than to defraud the good of their liberality, for whose sake they are chiefly moved to be bountiful towards the people. Let us also imitate this; that when we bestow private things, although we light upon one that is ungrateful, let us not straightway withdraw from him our liberality, but let us behave ourselves in such manner, as we have before declared; and if he stubbornly proceed to be ungrateful, let us, at length, (for his correction' sake,) cease to bestow any benefit upon him. But such benefits as are common or public, let us continually bestow them; yea, even upon the ungrateful, as we are of God commanded. And let us rather chuse to have our good things distributed to godly and holy men, than to cease off from doing good, because the wicked should not be partakers of them.

CHAP. X.

Of GENTLENESS and AFFABILITY.

THE virtue, which followeth things delightful in sports, is *εὐτραπεία*: to wit, gentleness and affability in speech. It is otherwise a necessary thing; for as the body hath need of rest, so the mind to be refreshed with some pleasure. Yet must we beware that we be not too forward in those things, lest we hurt; and lest, that we speak any unclean thing. Moreover, we must observe these circumstances, to wit, 'when, with whom, and how,' and that it be done with such words and actions, as are convenient. The excess is *βωμολαχία*: to wit, when men use reproachful kind of scoffing, when they speak those things that are filthy, and hurt others, and have no consideration of time, manner, or persons. *βωμός* signifieth an altar, and in old time, about altars, there was meat; and then there sat jesters about the altars, that they, by their much babbling (which oftentimes was very uncivil)

might make men merry. These are said to be rude and rustical fellows; or else, as they which are pleasant may be called civil, so these other may be called uncivil.

The CONCLUSION.

YOU have heard (Philosarchus) the treatises of those things which you desired, and my judgment upon them likewise: which request of yours I refused not to perform, in regard that I thought the probabilities of them would be special motives to abandon, and sequester far from you, that carnal and voluptuous manner of living; which, if they shall, then I shall think myself well contented, and my labours sufficiently discharged: if otherwise, yet I shall seem to have performed my duty of a loving and faithful friend.

The Vindication of the Parliament, and their Proceedings:
Or, their Military Design proved loyal and legal.¹ A Treatise, wherein these Things are ingenuously and sincerely handled; to wit,

1. That the Militia, as settled by the Parliament, is lawful.
2. That it is lawful for us to obey it, so settled by them.
3. That the Parliament is not by us to be deserted.
4. That in Aiding the Parliament, the King is not opposed.
5. That the Parliament, as the Case stands, may not confide in the King.
6. That this necessary Defensive War of theirs is indubitably justifiable.

Pulchrum pro patriâ mori.

London, printed in the year 1642.

[Quarto; containing thirty-four pages.]

THE main thing now looked upon, and pried into by all eyes, is the nature of this present martial and military design, undertaken by the parliament. Now, although much hath been written by many upon this subject, yet divers well disposed and well affected persons are very unsettled, and unresolved what to think thereof; and the reasons hereof I conceive to be these, to wit:

¹ [When king Charles the First had, during his Northern expeditions, issued commissions of lieutenancy, and exerted some military powers, which, having been long exercised, were thought to belong to the crown, it became a question in the Long Parliament, how far the power of the militia did inherently reside in the king: being now unsupported by any statute; and founded only upon immemorial usage. This question, long

1. That compendious kind of writing, which some use, in laying down only the particular head, by way of assertion, without either amplification, application, or proof; whence he, who is not informed, or thoroughly insighted into the truth, and nature of that which is affirmed, is ready to conclude it a fallacy, *petitio quæsitæ, et dare*, not believe it upon the author's bare word.

2. That abstruse, sublime, and high stile, which others use in their writings, thinking all apprehensions as quick, and judgments as profound, and understanding as clear as their own; and thus, not stooping to the capacity of vulgar readers, leave them as perplexed, and as much unsatisfied as they found them.

3. That confused kind of writing which some have: for, as method doth much help both the memory and understanding, so immethodical discourses do confound both understanding and judgment.

4. That slight and superficial kind of writing which others have; who, never searching themselves into the depth, life, and bottom of the point in hand, leave their reader just as wise as they found him.

5. That timorous half-handling of the case in controversy, which some are guilty of; for some have taken the point in hand, but fearing, *veritas odium parit*, that truth will come home with a scratched face; dare not say what they can, may, should or ought, of the point, for the full satisfaction of their reader; leaving him, by this means, altogether without light in the most material things which he undertakes to instruct him in. And therefore because I will never refuse to sacrifice my life, much less spare any pains for the welfare, safety, and preservation of my country, the preventing of these civil wars threatened, the composing of our present distractions, and the satisfaction of tender consciences, to the utmost of my ability; I have, with what brevity, sincerity, plainness, and clearness, possibly I could, declared unto all who desire to be satisfied what they may conceive and imagine of the true nature of the present design of the state and condition wherein we are, and what seems to be intended and aimed at by both sides. I will not trouble myself to search records, nor presume to expound and interpret laws, being no lawyer; but only shew the lawfulness of this design, as far as the law of nature, the light of human reason, and experience, and my small knowledge in religion, will dictate unto me.

Against the parliament two things are excepted: *viz.* their act, and the effect of that act; or, their action and intention.

1. Their action is the putting of the kingdom into a posture of defence, by settling of the militia without the assent of the king.

2. Their intention herein is supposed, or surmised, to be the strengthening of themselves against the king, and the raising of forces against his power. Now of both these severally.

Concerning the militia, two queries are ordinarily made; to wit,

i. Whether it be lawful for the Parliament to settle it without the royal assent?

ii. Whether it be lawful for us to obey it so settled by them?

First, It may be demanded, Whether was it lawful for the parliament to settle the militia (which is made the cause of all our present distractions and dangers) or not, without the king's royal assent?

First, They did it not, without asking his permission and leave: for, considering the necessity of putting the kingdom into a posture of defence, both in regard of foreign and domestic forces and foes, they addressed themselves to his Majesty, desiring him so to order and dispose of the militia of the kingdom, as it was agreed upon by the wisdom of his great and grand council; whose counsel, above all others, kings, in parliament-time, have and

agitated, with great heat and resentment on both sides, became at length the immediate cause of the fatal rupture between the king and his parliament: the two houses not only denying this prerogative of the crown (the legality of which perhaps might be somewhat doubtful), but also seizing into their own hands the entire power of the militia; of the illegality of which step (says Judge Blackstone, Com. i. 412) there never could be any doubt at all. The design of this tract, however, is openly to vindicate the rationality at least, if not the legality of the measure. How far this is done, must be left to the judgment of the reader to determine.]

ought to embrace and follow: and, therefore, we may imagine that to be lawful, which our best lawyers, yea law-makers, did so earnestly sue and solicit for.

Secondly, The parliament continuing their humble supplications unto the king, his majesty was once graciously pleased, by message sent unto them, to promise, that the militia should be put into such hands, as they should approve of, or recommend unto him; provided that they declared (together with the names of the persons) the extent of their power, and the time of their continuance; both which they did: which shews evidently, that there was nothing unlawful in the substance of the thing desired (his majesty himself not excepting against that), but, at the most, that something, desired by them, did not square with some circumstances observed in former times.

Thirdly, The parliament, seeing a necessity of settling the militia, thought that, in conscience and human reason, it was much better, safer, and more agreeable to that trust, which was reposed in them by the kingdom, that the strength of the kingdom should rather be ordered according to the direction and advice of the great council of the land, equally intrusted by the king and kingdom, for the managing of the great affairs thereof, than that the safety of the king, parliament, and kingdom, should be left at the devotion of a few unknown counsellors; many of them having not been at all formerly intrusted by his majesty in any public office or service, nor confided in by the commonwealth; and, therefore, we may conjecture the legality of the militia settled by the parliament.

Fourthly, The parliament desire not to remove the militia from the king, but from his subordinate ministers; who, by reason of their evil counsels given unto him, and their small love, respect, and care, shewed towards them, the parliament dare not confide in; and, therefore, only place it upon other ministers, whom they have no cause to suspect, nor against whom, when they were nominated to his majesty, he did except.

Fifthly, The parliament, long since saw, and still sees, (as themselves affirm) the kingdom in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a popish, discontented, and disaffected party at home, that there was an urgent, and inevitable necessity, of putting the kingdom into a posture of defence, for the safeguard both of his majesty and people: and, in all probability and likelihood, if the militia at land, and the navy at sea, had not been settled in sure hands, when they were; we had, before this, been exposed to the practices of those, who thirst after the ruin of this kingdom, and endeavour to kindle that combustion in England, which they have in so great a measure effected already in Ireland. Now the safety of the people being the supreme law, it must needs be lawful for the parliament to settle the militia, in case of such necessity.

Sixthly, The power given to those, in whose hands the militia is placed by the parliament, is only to suppress rebellion, insurrection, and foreign invasion. Now, that this power should be put into some hands is necessary, especially in dangerous and distracted times; and into whose hands better, and with more safety, than such as the parliament dare confide in, and against whose persons no exception hath been taken by his majesty: and therefore we need not much question the legality of the militia.

Seventhly, This is granted on all sides; to wit, that the commonwealth intrusts the parliament to provide for their welfare, not for their woe; and that this parliament, thus intrusted by the people, did by a law intrust the king with the militia; to wit, for the welfare of the commonwealth, not for the woe thereof: and that this is implied, in that act or grant, though not expressed, no royalist, I persuade myself, will question or deny. And therefore, 1. If the king's desire, and royal intention be (as we hope it is) to settle the militia for the preservation, not perdition, for the defence, not destruction, for the strength and safety, and not inflaming or invassaling of his subjects and people; and that this likewise is the intent and purpose of this grand council, the parliament; then the difference, who shall establish the militia, is but a kind of *λολομαχία*, or contention about words, or a ceremony, or a quarrel, who shall have their will, when both purpose and resolve one and the same thing; which is too weak a ground, and too trivial a cause, to draw that ruin, desolation, and destruction upon us, which must inevitably fall upon and seize us, if these civil wars, which threaten us, and hang over our heads, be not prevented. But, 2. If,

which God forbid, the king should intend, and endeavour, by the settling of the militia, to enslave us, to tyrannize over us, and to rule us (being so curbed, and kept under by a strong hand of power) by his own will; then the parliament and law did never settle the militia upon him for that end, or to be so used: for the equity of the law, and not the letter of the law, is the true law.

Eighthly, It evidently appears, *Aliquid latet quod non patet*; That neither the militia, settled by the parliament, nor Hull kept for the king and parliament, nor the magazines of Hull removed by the parliament, are the true grounds of the war so violently threatened against the parliament, by the malicious, mischievous, and malignant party of Papists, cavaliers, and other ill-affected persons. For,

1. There were attempts made, to be possessed of Hull, and the magazines, by captain Legg, and the earl of Newcastle, before ever sir John Hotham was seised of it; much more, before he denied his majesty entrance thereinto: and this attempt, desire, and purpose, seems to some (and that not improbably) to take its rise from the lord Digby's letter² to the queen, wherein he desires, that the king would repair unto some place of strength, where he may safely protect his servants; that is, such as will do him service against his parliament, amongst whom, most disloyally he saith, 'Traytors bear sway.'

2. The lord Digby promiseth, in his letter unto his majesty, before the militia was settled, to do him service abroad; that is, (as he expresth himself) to procure for them supplies against the kingdom, and parliament, with which, he said himself would return; as he did indeed, in the ship called the Providence, with store of arms, although he had been published and voted 'a traitor.'

3. Before this, the same lord Digby endeavoured to raise forces, under the pretence of a guard for the king's person, in winter.

4. Before the militia was settled, there were endeavours to incense the two nations, England and Scotland, and to engage their armies, one against the other; that in such a confusion as must needs have followed, the parliament might not be able to sit, nor do us any good. For if, in this battle, we had been conquered, we might have feared to have lost ourselves, and all we had, to the conqueror, with whom we fought; and if we had conquered, we might have been sure to have lost ourselves, and all we had, to the Malignant party, for whom we fought.

5. Before the settling of the militia, there were endeavours to turn the English army against the parliament, as is abundantly proved by them.

6. By the testimony and allegations of many, the Irish rebellion, which broke forth before the militia was settled, was hatched by the popish, and disaffected party in England, not to have rested there, but to have ended here.

7. Before the militia was settled, some members of both houses³, who were observed to be most zealous for the speedy suppression of the Irish rebellion, (which, notwithstanding, was so long protracted and delayed,) were unjustly charged with treason; and, after such unjust accusation, were demanded and required of the house of commons by his majesty, attended with a troop of cavaliers, who had intended to have taken them by force, if they had not been absent. By all which it appears, that the settling of the militia was not the cause, why war is made upon or against the parliament. And thus much may suffice, for the first quære, concerning the parliament's settling of the militia.

ii. It may now, in the next place, be demanded, Whether it be lawful for us to obey this ordinance of the militia, thus settled by parliament?

In case of extreme danger, and of his majesty's refusal, people are obliged, and ought to obey, by the fundamental laws of this land, the command and ordinance agreed upon by both houses, or the major part of both houses (which is all one) for the militia. I enlarge not this answer; because that which follows, concerning the deserting of the parliament,

² [In a packet of letters sent to England by lord Digby during his concealment in Holland, and which happened to be intercepted by the parliamentary party. Vide Parl. Hist. p. 293.]

³ [Lord Kimbolton, of the house of peers, and Mr. Holles, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, sir Arthur Haslerigge and Mr. Strode, of the house of commons.]

may be applied hereunto. Thus much may suffice for the first exception, taken against the parliament, *viz.* their action, in putting the kingdom into a warlike posture of defence, by settling the militia, in such hands, as they durst trust.

I proceed now unto the other exception, *viz.* the fruits and effects of the settling of the militia, which are affirmed to be, the opposing of the king's precepts and proceedings. We affirmed before, that if the militia had not been settled, we had been in great danger of destruction; and now, when it is settled, we are neither free from fears, nor foes, enemies nor evils. Whence it may be demanded, how may we be preserved from that ruin and destruction, which hangs over our heads?

First, By standing upon our guard.

Secondly, By siding with, and assisting of those, who stand for us.

Thirdly, By resisting and opposing those, who withstand us.

This question is something like Hydra's heads; for, from this little head, four main ones sprout and spring up; to wit,

1. Whether the parliament may be deserted, or ought to be assisted?

2. Whether the king may be disobeyed, or his commands opposed?

3. Why the parliament dare not confide in the king; seeing he promiseth as much as they can desire?

4. Whether this war, undertaken by the parliament, be warrantable and lawful? Now, of all these in this order.

It may first of all, I say, be demanded, whether we may desert the parliament, in this time of danger; or is it our duty to obey, assist, aid, and stick to them?

First, Whatsoever is said of this subject, in that treatise, called, '*Reasons why this Kingdom ought to adhere to the Parliament,*' I wholly omit; as also many reasons, which might have been drawn, from a tract, which, by many solid arguments, justifies the Scottish subjects, for their defensive wars.

Secondly, Our Saviour's rule is here a worthy observation: 'Whatsoever you would, that others should do unto you, do so unto them.' Make the case ours, by supposing us in their places, and they in ours; that is, we parliament-men, and they private persons; and look what aid and assistance we would expect, and desire from them, if we were in such danger, as now they are, the same we should now afford unto them.

Thirdly, I dare not say, that with a blind obedience, we should actively obey them, in whatsoever they command; for as councils in divinity, so parliaments in policy, may err: and therefore inquisition, disquisition, examination, and conference, are not forbidden us in any acts or statutes.

Fourthly, The members of the parliament are chosen by us, and stand for us; yea, are sent thither, intrusted by us with all we have, *viz.* our estates, liberties, lives, and the life of our lives, our religion, and the safety of the king's person, and honour; and therefore, in equity and conscience, they ought not to be forsaken of us.

Fifthly, The parliament-men are no other than ourselves, and therefore we cannot desert them, except we desert ourselves; the safety of the commons and commonwealth being wrapped up in the safety of the parliament. As the wolves desired the sheep to put away the dogs, and then they would enter into a league with them; but when they had, by so doing, stripped themselves of their best friends, and laid themselves open to their fiercest foes, they were then devoured without pity; even so, may we fear, it will be with us, if we should be so sottish as to reject and desert the great, grave, and grand council of the land, which consists of as wise, faithful, meek, moderate, sincere, just, upright, understanding, zealous, and pious patriots, as ever any parliament in this land was possessed, and consisted of; and submit ourselves to the protection and care of obscure and unknown, yea malignant and malicious counsellors, who would glory so much in nothing as in our misery and ruin, as appears by their deeds, wheresoever they come, if they can but prevail.

Sixthly, The king's majesty hath promised, in his message, January the twelfth, 1641;

‘ That he will be as careful of his parliament, and of the privileges thereof, as of his life and crown :’ and therefore, if he assure them so, of his adhering unto, and care of them, then much more should we encourage them, by promising to assist them, so long as they stand for us and our law, with our estates and them.

Seventhly, We ought to obey, and assist them in any thing, which is lawful; and we ought not to suspect, that they will enjoin or command us any thing as lawful, which is unlawful. The opposition between the king’s majesty and his parliament, seems to be about law : he affirming that to be lawful, which they deny; and they affirming that to be lawful, which he proclaims illegal. Now the king is pleased to profess, that he is no expounder of law; that belonging neither to his person, nor office; and therefore, concerning the legality and illegality of things, he will be guided by the judgment and counsel of others. And whose or what counsel, in all probability and reason, can be better, sounder, sincerer, and more worthy to be followed, than that of his grand council? Who assure us, that what they do, and enjoin us to do, is lawful; that is, according and agreeable to the law, either of God, nature, or the land. Now it becomes us, whom they represent, thus honourably and venerably, to think of them; *viz.* They know such and such things to be lawful, and, therefore, they do them themselves, and enjoin them to us. And not thus, as some pervert it; The parliament hath done, or commanded such or such things; and therefore do affirm them to be lawful and just: for it is a principle in law, that no unworthy or dishonourable thing is to be imagined, or presumed of parliaments.

Eighthly, If we desert, and now forsake the parliament, we shall be found guilty before God of three great sins: to wit,

1. Perfidiousness: For, as we have intrusted the parliament with our estates, liberties, and lives; so we have engaged ourselves, to maintain and defend them, so long as they pursue our safety, prosperity, preservation, and peace, according to law. And therefore, if for our good, or for discharging of their consciences and trust, they be endangered; we are perfidious, if we leave them, and for lack of succour, let them sink and perish.

2. Perjury: For all who have taken the protestation, have promised, protested, and vowed with their lives, power and estate, to defend and maintain all those, who stand for the lawful rights and liberties of the subject; yea, to oppose, and by all good ways and means, to endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall either by force, practice, counsels, plots, or otherwise, withstand or endanger those, who stand for our laws, and liberties. Now, who stand more for our religion, laws, sovereign, and liberties, than our parliament? And who are more opposed and endangered for their zeal, and care for us and our privileges, than they? And therefore we are guilty of perjury before God and man, if we, in this case, assist them not, but desert them.

3. Treachery: For such as forsake the parliament, as the case now stands, are guilty of a manifold treason; to wit, against the church, against the state, against the representative body of the land, and against themselves. For by deserting of the parliament, and suffering it to be trampled under foot, by papists, atheists, prodigals, delinquents, anti-parliamentaries, and viperous monopolists and projectors, we betray,

First, The church to error and heresy.

Secondly, The state to ruin and misery.

Thirdly, The parliament to blood and cruelty.

Fourthly, Ourselves to poverty and slavery. And therefore I may truly and boldly say, that it is those who desert the parliament, who are the principal cause of all the blood, which is, hath, or shall be shed, in this war; and of all the burning, plundering, ravishing, and thieving, wherewith the poor subject hath, or shall be oppressed.

Ninthly, We may not now, when things are come to maturity and height, and the cursed conception is come to a birth, desert and fall from our parliament; because there have been long great jealousies of some grievous mischief, to be intended against our church and state, by those who are enemies to both. Here note, that the jealousies which men generally have had, that there was and is still some design on foot, for the ruin and

destruction of the parliament, and of us through their sides; and of introducing, yea, establishing of popery, and of abolishing of Protestantism in this land, are these and the like: to wit,

1. That army of eight-thousand Irish papists, which were raised by the lord Strafford, and ready to come over, either to further the war with Scotland, or if that jarr were composed, to join with the English army against the parliament.

2. The endeavours and courses which were taken, to bring our English army out of the North, either to destroy the parliament, or to awe and compel it, and take away the freedom of it.

3. The two letters sent to Mr. Bridgman, January 14, 1641, and to Mr. Anderton, which intimated some sudden, sad, and sorrowful blow, to be intended against the Puritans, in and about the city of London; and declared many things, of deep and dangerous consequence; which (considering many passages in the state since) seem not to be feigned or forged, but to foretel dangerous and devilish practices, really intended against the city, country, and parliament, by the popish faction.

4. The accusing of the six worthy members of parliament, against whom, as yet, no proof hath been brought, nor no particular instances produced (as hath been again and again promised) of any treachery, treason, or high and treacherous misdemeanours, practices or plots.

5. His majesty's going into the house of commons, attended neither with his ordinary guard only, nor pensioners and servants only, but with divers cavaliers armed; who by their words and gestures, shewed themselves to be men of desperate resolutions, and bent upon some damnable and bloody design.

6. The endeavours used to the gentlemen of the inns of court.

7. The rebellion in Ireland, which was raised for the diversion and interruption of the parliament, for the weakening of our land, by the maintenance of that; and for the strengthening of the papists and popish faction with us. For, when the English Protestants had been plundered, pillaged, subdued, and slaughtered there, (as it was reported, confessed, and acknowledged by divers of the rebels, when they were taken,) they should have come hither to have assisted our papists and malignants, to have done as much to, and with us.

8. The calling-in divers cannoneers, and other assistants, into the Tower of London.

9. The making of Lunsford, a man of a known and notorious debauched life and conversation, lieutenant of the Tower: for he being so apt and fit a man, for any desperate design, or devilish practice, and in that place, having so much command over the city, made all generally fear, that there was more mischief intended against the city, than did outwardly appear.

10. The selling of the crown-jewels beyond the seas, and buying therewith field-pieces, pieces for battery, culverins, mortar-pieces, carbines, pistols, war-saddles, swords and powder; as appeared by the note of direction, which was sent over, and found among the lord Digby's papers. Now, although these were bought in June, yet we must imagine, (as appears by the time when they were writ for,) that they were bespoke, and that order was given for the providing of them long before.

11. The fortifying and guarding of Whitehall with ammunition, in an unusual manner, and with men of turbulent spirits: for some of them with provoking language, and violence, abused divers citizens passing by; and others, with their swords drawn, wounded sundry other citizens passing by, who were unarmed, in Westminster-hall.

12. The drawing away of many members of the parliament, by messages and letters, from the parliament, that the actions of both houses might be blemished, and reported to be the votes only of a few, and an inconsiderable number; yea, rather the acts of a party, than of a parliament.

13. The force raised at York, and the ammunition provided beyond sea, for to be sent unto York, that force being gathered (as was feared) to make an opposition against the parliament, but evidently perceived to be employed for the protection and support of delinquents.

14. The multiplying of papists in this land of late days; their frequent meetings, at certain places, in and about the city, without controul; the audaciousness of their priests and jesuits with us, notwithstanding our strict and severe statutes against them; the residence of the pope's nuncio, so long, amongst us; the college of capuchins, in or near unto Covent-garden, and the favouring and preferring principally such as were either popish or Arminian, who in some points are true cousin-germans.

15. Lastly, His majesty's absenting of himself from his parliament, withdrawing from them thereby both his presence and influence. Here note, that after the king was counselled and persuaded hereunto, this his absence was followed and attended with this doctrine, again and again iterated, *viz.* That the king absenting, dissenting, and severing of himself from his parliament, it was no parliament; neither had they any power to dispose of any of the weighty affairs of the kingdom; which dangerous doctrine seems to have been taught by court-flatterers, for these ends, *viz.*

1. To discourage, weary, and quite tire out our courageous and indefatigable senate.
2. To divert, interrupt, and retard their consultations and designs, both for our own reformation, and the subduing of the Irish rebels.
3. To take off people's hearts from the parliament, to stagger them in their obedience unto them, to cool their zeal for the preservation and defence of them, and to make them call in question all their proceedings.
4. To animate all those who stood disaffected to the parliament, to shew their disaffection and opposition with more freedom and less fear.

Tenthly, and lastly, to this main question, Whether the parliament may be deserted, or ought to be adhered unto? I answer, that of necessity, some we must adhere and stick unto; that is, either to the grand and known counsellors of the land, or to obscure and private counsellors; that is, either to the parliament, or to the cavaliers, papists, malignants, delinquents, and disaffected persons of the kingdom.

Now because *contraria juxta se posita clariùs elucescunt*, 'contraries are best commentaries,' we will look particularly upon both, and consider the nature, ends, and aims of both; and from thence conjecture, whom we may best desert, and whom with most safety follow: and first I begin with the cavaliers, and that side.

First, In that side, which consists of cavaliers, papists, malignants, delinquents, ill-affected, and popishly-affected persons, or (to term them only so) evil, private, and obscure counsellors, we have these two things to observe; to wit, first, their intentions and endeavours; secondly, their nature and ends.

First, Their intentions, endeavours, and the fruit of their counsels: for I conjoin them altogether.

1. Their intentions and endeavours were to raise civil war, and that both first in Scotland, and afterwards in Ireland, and now in England; and,

2. To persuade the king to rule by his own will. The lord Faulkland tells us, 'That the king was persuaded by his divines, that in conscience, by his counsellors that in policy, and by his judges, that by law he might do what he list:' which doth directly labour to raze the very foundation of our well-founded state, and to introduce and rear amongst us an arbitrary government. And,

3. They endeavour to make division between his majesty and his parliament, whom God and the laws of this land have united in so near a relation: as appears,

First, By their endeavours and persuasions to draw the king from his parliament; which they have effected now for a long time, and he still continues his absence from them; although I think the most shires in England have most humbly petitioned and besought him to rejoice and revive all the drooping, dead, and sad hearts of his people, by affording his much and long desired presence unto his parliament. If these persons, whatsoever they are, who thus counsel the king to estrange himself from the parliament, and to oppose and disgust all their proceedings and designs, were but masters of Hull, the militia, and navy; they would then quickly master both the parliament and all the kingdom; who could expect

but bad quarter from such masters, who by their counsels and endeavours to divide the king and parliament, shew that they are neither friends to the commonwealth, nor favourers of the public safety ; and,

Secondly, By their fear that the king should accord with his parliament. For the malignants and evil counsellors stand in great fear, that his majesty is too inclinable to an accommodation with his parliament, which, above all things, they abhor, fearing thereby to be undone ; that is, to lose the spoil, pillage, and possessions of this land, which they have long since hoped for : whence they have solicited the queen to dissuade the king, by all means, from such accommodation ; hoping to obtain their desires (the ruin of this land) by the queen's interposing. See the lord Digby's letter to the queen, March 10, 1641 ; and Mr. Eliot's letter to the lord Digby, May 27, 1642.

4. They endeavour to cast aspersions upon the parliament ; persuading the people, That the parliament would set up an aristocracy, take away the law, and introduce an arbitrary government : a report so false, that no man of common sense or reason can credit it.

5. They have, and do still endeavour and combine together to effect and work the ruin of the parliament, or at least to force it, and by forcing thereof to cut up the freedom of parliament by the root ; and either to take all parliaments away, or (which is worse) make them the instruments of slavery, to confirm it by law ; as the parliament in Richard the Second's time did, when they found the king's anger against them, and feared the people's forsaking of them. See the treatise called, 'The Success of former Parliaments.'

6. The fruits and effects of the intentions and endeavours of those evil counsellors, have been nothing but contention, dissension, division, debate, decay of trading, and more misery than would fill a volume ; if we should consider all the distractions, distresses, dangers, fears, discommodities, hinderances, and losses, which both England, Scotland, and Ireland, have felt, undergone, and sustained, by their counsels, designs, and plots.

And thus much for the intentions and endeavours of evil counsellors ; and the fruits and effects of their evil counsels.

Secondly, We have now to consider the nature and ends of these evil counsellors, who desert, and oppose the parliament.

1. They are men of lost estates, and desperate fortunes ; and these aim only at plundering and pillaging, desiring to raise themselves by raising others, and to build up themselves upon their brethren's ruin. Or,

2. They are papists, and popishly-affected persons. The citizens of London, in their petition presented to the house of commons, December 11, 1641, testify, 'That information is given to divers of them, from all parts of the kingdom, of the bold and insolent carriage, and threatening speeches of the papists.' Now, those aim either at the introducing and establishing of popery amongst us, by the change of religion ; or at least, at the gaining of freedom to profess an open toleration of their idolatrous and superstitious religion : which, because they can never expect, nor hope for from the parliament, (which labours so zealously for the reformation of our church, and the abolition of all popery, and other popish innovations) they therefore join, and side with the former sort, which seek nothing but mischief and ruin. Or,

3. They are delinquents, malefactors, and guilty persons, who have, by some plots, practices, monopolies, projects, or otherwise, trespassed and transgressed highly against the commonwealth for their own private advantage and profit. Now these hope, that by siding with the cavaliers and papists against the parliament, they shall be protected against it, and the justice thereof. Or,

4. They are the ministers of the land, who are corrupt either in life or doctrine ; that is, are either superstitious, ceremonious, contentious, covetous, popish, heretical, scandalous in their lives and conversations, or slothful in the discharge of the work of their ministry. Now these hope, by siding with the former, to keep and hold fast what they have, fearing

the justice of the parliament's will; for their demerits deprive them of those spiritual or ecclesiastical dignities and possessions which they hold and enjoy. Or,

5. They are of that number of the nobility or gentry of the land, whose lives have been very loose and unbridled. Now these oppose the pious proceedings of the parliament, lest such restraint should be imposed upon them by that reformation which is intended and endeavoured by them, that they may, without punishment, live as they list, have done, and desire still to do. Or,

6. They are ignorant persons. Now there is a two-fold ignorance, *viz.* i. Natural. Now they are naturally ignorant, who for want of knowledge, understanding, and teaching, are neither able to discern of the designs and intentions of the adverse party, nor to foresee the miseries which will come upon them by aiding and assisting of, and siding with them; nor to know what is their duty, and how far, and in what cases they may aid and assist the parliament against some personal or verbal command of the king. And ii. Affected. Now this mischievous, malicious, and affected ignorance, is in those who will neither read nor hear any thing which may inform them in the former particulars, *viz.* The nature, intentions, ends, and fruits of evil counsels and counsellors; and what is their duty in regard to the great counsel of the land. Or,

7. They are of that number of the nobility and gentry, who seek preferment by betraying their country, to serve and be made subject to the court. Or,

8. They are the allies, friends, acquaintance, and associates of some of the former: who although in themselves they stand not much disaffected to parliaments; yet, in regard of their friends, they leave it, and cleave unto them. Or,

9. They are timorous and fearful; who, although they wish well unto the parliament, yet they dare not shew their affection, nor afford any aid unto them; lest, thereby, they incur some malice or detriment through the king's displeasure. Or,

10. They are covetous, and desirous to keep their money and means; and therefore, whatsoever their hearts and affections be unto the parliament, they dare not shew their approbation of their proceedings, lest they should be wrought upon to supply them, and their wants, for the support of the state; their necessities and occasions, in regard of the land, being great, urgent, and pressing. Or,

11. They are Machiavilians and politicians; who, desiring with the cat to fall on their feet, and to be free from blame and danger, however the world wags, will neither side nor support, neither aid nor assist, either king or parliament.

Let us now seriously consider three things, from what has been said of the nature of this side, or party, *viz.*

First, Who are those evil counsellors which we must not adhere to, but desert? It is denied, that there are any such about the king: but I conceive what I shall say will not be gainsayed, *viz.* If there be any about the king who first moved him to civil wars; and, secondly, persuade him to rule his people according to his own will, or an arbitrary power; and, thirdly, strive to divide and estrange the king from his parliament; and, fourthly, cast, even in his ears, aspersions and false calumnies upon his parliament; and, fifthly, labour to ruin and destroy the parliament; and, sixthly, by their plots bring misery and confusion upon the whole land: none, I say, will deny, but these are evil and wicked counsellors, who deserve to be disclaimed, deserted, and left free, and laid open to the penalty of the law. Now, that there are some such about the king, or in high favour, power, and credit with him, is more than evident; though I, and wiser than I, cannot particularly name them: for,

1. His majesty professeth a detestation of war, and yet prosecutes it; which shews, that some put him upon it. And,

2. He protests to govern his people according to established law, and yet he hath been persuaded to an arbitrary government by them about him, by many plausible and fair seeming arguments; as himself affirms in one of his messages. And,

3. He solemnly professeth his love unto, and his care of, and his honourable respect to his parliaments and their privileges, and preservation; and yet, some have withdrawn his person from the parliament, and to himself vilified the parliament; yea, have had plots upon the parliament, and have laboured that in them they might be countenanced and protected by his sacred majesty. And,

4. The king again and again calleth God to witness the sincerity of his heart towards all his people, and how earnestly desirous he is, that they may live happily and prosperously under him; and yet, by following the counsel of some, many great, and long evils have pressed all the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And, therefore, it must needs be granted, that there are malignant counsellors about the king, who work much misery and mischief both to himself and his people; and that they cannot be unknown unto him, if he would please to disclose, discover, and leave them to the just and equal trial of the lovers of the land.

Secondly, Let us consider, from this army of malignants, and mischievous counsellors, and party, what, in all probability, we may expect and look for, if they prevail against the parliament. That is, if,

1. Men of desperate fortunes prevail, what can we expect but plundering and pillaging? And,

2. If papists prevail, what religion but popery?

3. If delinquents, what but oppression?

4. If bad ministers, what but bad preaching and ill practising?

5. If loose gentry, what but profaneness?

6. If ambitious spirits, what but contempt, cruelty, and disdain?

7. If ignorant persons, what but their own self-wills?

8. If delinquents and malignant friends, what but such a measure as we find from delinquents and malignants themselves? But from an army consisting not of one, but of all these, what can we expect but all these evils? And, from the wickedness which will be committed by them, the heavy judgment of God to be hastened down upon us.

Thirdly, Let us consider, whether there be any the least probability of receiving any benefit, or profit, in any regard, from this side or party, if they should prevail against the parliament.

1. Can we expect that the propriety of our goods shall be maintained and preserved unto us, by men of decayed, lost, and desperate fortunes? Or,

2. Can we expect that the true orthodox protestant religion shall be maintained and preserved, by heterodox and heretical papists? Or,

3. Can we expect to be preserved free from unjust impositions and taxes, by oppressing projectors and monopolists? Or,

4. Can we hope that our parliament-privileges will be preserved by delinquents, and contemners of parliaments? Or,

5. Can we expect the propagation of the gospel, or that the sincere, faithful, painful, and profitable preaching thereof shall be promoted by lewd, lazy, and corrupt ministers? Or,

6. Can we expect that piety, and the honour of God, shall be preserved in the land, by loose and profane gentlemen, and nobles? Or,

7. Can we expect that justice, just measure, and equity, shall be maintained by those who aim at nothing but their own gain and greatness? Or,

8. Can we expect that our laws shall be preserved inviolably, by those who are wholly bewitched with the love of an arbitrary government? Sense and reason will tell us, that these things cannot be expected from those persons; neither that any good can come unto the land from such an army.

I might conclude this last answer, to that main question, Whether the parliament be to be obeyed or deserted? as I began it: to wit,

To one side of necessity we must adhere and cleave; that is, either to the evil and obscure counsellors, or to the parliament.

But we must not adhere and stick to the evil and malignant ones, for those reasons specified before.

Therefore we must adhere and cleave close to the parliament.

This argument, I say, together with what hath been spoken against the malignant party, might be sufficient for the amplification of the last answer. But as I have said something against the one party, so I will say something for the other, (as I promised) for the better fastening and setting of the truth home upon the heart, of whosoever will vouchsafe to peruse this treatise.

Secondly, In that side, or party, which consists of the great and grand council of the kingdom, I will (as in the other party) observe divers things, for the amplification of this truth, That the parliament ought not to be deserted, but obeyed and assisted: to wit,

1. The ends of parliaments.
2. Their necessity.
3. Their excellency.
4. Their utility.
5. The reason why we ought to believe ours.

First, The ends of parliament are briefly these two: to wit, 1. That the interest of the people might be satisfied. 2. That the king might be better counselled.

Secondly, The necessity of this parliament shews itself, by the miserable and distressed condition wherein our land was, and the multiplicity of grievances we groaned under, as is to the life declared, in the 'Parliament's Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom,' set forth, December 15, 1641.

Thirdly, The excellency of parliaments is declared by his majesty himself; who doth highly extol the constitution of this government of ours, and especially the nature of parliaments, which consist of king, peers, and commons; acknowledging, that the power, which is legally placed in both houses, is more than sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of tyranny. Which argues plainly, that there is much and great power (and that by law) placed and put into the hands of both houses, or the major part of both; for the good and preservation of peers and commons, when the commonwealth, or whole, is in danger, and the king, being seduced by wicked counsel, doth desert, and refuse to join with them in their own defence. For if they cannot do any thing (upon any occasion, necessity, extremity, or danger, though never so evident, apparent, or urgent) without the king, then the sole power of managing the affairs of the kingdom doth, even *in arduis*, in high, yea, in the highest cases, belong only unto the king; and nothing at all to either, or both houses, except, or but what he alleges: that is, though the land lay a-bleeding, and were invaded by hosts and armies from abroad, and papists and rebels at home (as Ireland now is), and the king would make no provision against them, or for the suppressing and withstanding of them; the parliament must sit still, and suffer all to be lost and ruined, having neither power to raise, nor use any force without the king.

Fourthly, The utility and benefit of parliaments is great; and that both, To kings and princes: and that,

1. In regard of their reputation, fame, and honour. Antoninus Pius is greatly renowned for communicating all weighty affairs, and following public advice and approbation in all great expedients of high concernments; and he was more honourable and prosperous therein, than was Nero, who made his own will his law. And thus always those princes have gained unto themselves most honour and renown, who were most willing and ready to listen to the counsel of the land in important affairs: and, also,

2. In regard of their crown and state; for the kings of England, by this repre-

sentative body of their people, are always assisted, and that upon all occasions : as for example,

First, If they lack money for any necessary occasion, the parliament supplies them.

Secondly, If they be invaded by any foreign or domestic foe, or force, the parliament assists them.

Thirdly, If any be injured, reproached, or dishonoured, by any potent person or prince, the parliament will vindicate and avenge them. All which were seen evidently in queen Elizabeth's time, between her and her parliament. And,

Fourthly, I may add, that none of our princes were ever yet happy without the use of parliaments. And, therefore, it is plain, that they are beneficial and utile unto princes; and consequently not to be deserted of subjects which are loyal to princes.

As parliaments are useful and utile to princes, so they are also beneficial and profitable unto people, as appears by three particulars, viz.

1. Without parliaments, people have no possibility of pleading their own rights and liberties; they being too confused a body to appear in vindication of their proper interests. Whence it comes frequently to pass, that what all should look after, no man does; and what is committed to none, no man thinks his own charge: and, therefore, some few chosen out by, and from amongst the people, to consider of their liberties, laws, and grievances, must needs be very advantageous unto them.

2. As people cannot, without confusion, plead for themselves, so often the subordinate magistrates and judges of the land, (through fear, flattery, or private corruptions,) do often betray the people's rights, by unjust sentences or verdicts. And, therefore, such counsellors as can have no private aims or ends of their own, but are themselves involved in the same condition with the people, both in weal and woe, must needs be profitable for them. Yea,

3. By this present parliament, we have reaped already many great and notable benefits; and, therefore, may conclude from our own experience, with a *probatum est*, that parliaments are beneficial to people. By this parliament we are free from these two grievous arbitrary courts, the High-commission, the purgatory of the church, and Star-chamber, the terror of the commonwealth; as also from the heavy burthen of ship-money, and the oppressions we groaned under by reason of monopolies, and other illegal impositions: yea, bishops removed out of the house of peers, who having their dependence upon the king, for the most part, would side with him, in any thing, though it were adjudged by the parliament to be destructive and hurtful to the kingdom. This particular is so abundantly amplified, and that so truly, by the parliament in their remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, set forth December 15, 1641, that I will not enlarge it; but only conclude, that if the ends, necessity, excellency, and benefits of parliaments, be such as hath been shewed, then they are worth standing for, and ought not to be deserted.— Now,

Fifthly, We will take a short view of some particular reasons why we ought to believe, and obey this our present parliament, and not relinquish it, viz.

1. Because they can have no by-ends, nor base respects of their own. For, if they aimed at promotion, preferment, and wealth, they might much easilier attain those, by complying with, than by opposing the designs and personal commands of the king. It is (or at least hath been) an approved maxim, 'that a community can have no private ends to mislead it, and to make it injurious to itself.' And I never heard or read so much as one story of any parliament freely elected and held, that ever, for any ends of their own, did injure a whole kingdom, or exercise any tyranny over the land; but divers kings have done sundry acts of oppression; for nothing can suit or square with the common counsel, but only the common good, and therefore it is great reason that we should believe and obey them. And,

2. Because no benefit at all can redound unto them by feigning, forging, or counterfeiting of false fires, fears, chimeras, and dangers which are not: and therefore we may the better believe what they say. And,

3. Because we never yet found them false unto us. It was the saying of one, ' If my friend deceive me once, I will blame him; but if twice, myself : ' meaning, that he would never trust him the second time, who deceived him once. Now charity persuades us to hope, and believe, where we see nothing to the contrary; and give credit unto them, in whom we never saw any designs, or endeavours to betray us, or our liberties, but rather always on the contrary. And,

4. Because they know more than any one of us. ' Two eyes (we say) see more than one; ' and the parliament is the eyes and the ears of the republick, and their information, conference, intelligence, experience, knowledge, &c. doth afford unto them some sight and insight into all things, passages, occasions, affairs, negotiations, &c. both at home and abroad. And, therefore, it is not without cause, that we should believe them. And,

5. Because they never shewed any disloyalty unto the king, that ever yet was observed by the commons or commonwealth, whom they represent. We find in all their petitions, royal expressions, humble suits, hearty intreaties unto his majesty to comply with them, for his own honour and safety; cordial protestations of the sincerity of their intentions towards his majesty, and free and full promises, neither to spare pains, purses, persons; nor estates, for the defence of his person, and preservation of his honour; yea, unwearied, and, beyond human patience, continued supplications to his majesty to join with them; yea, continually passing by, omitting and taking no notice of all personal imputations, yea, reproachful aspersions, that have been cast upon them: still taking, as much as possibly they can, all blame from his majesty, and laying it upon his evil council. And,

6. Because the king himself doth not accuse the parliament, but only some few particular persons therein; and, therefore, that which comes, or is commended unto us by the whole parliament, we may believe and obey; his majesty promising to protect them and their privileges, and to except them in all his taxes and accusations. And,

7. Lastly, We may obey and adhere unto the parliament, because the ' KING of kings ' seems to favour their proceedings. How do we see the Lord blowing upon all the devices of their enemies; sometimes turning them back upon themselves, and sometimes turning their wisdom into foolishness: or, what counsels, what letters, what plots and practices, what words and passages, against king and parliament, have strangely been discovered, prevented, and come to light, to the joy and rejoicing of parliament and people, and terror and amazement of the contrivers, and authors of them! How extraordinarily the Lord hath assisted that honourable assembly with zeal, courage, wisdom, discretion, prudence, moderation, patience, and constancy, in all their consultations and desires! How hath the Lord preserved their persons from imminent peril, and given them favour in the eyes of all counties, notwithstanding the base and bitter aspersions cast upon them by some! When they had cause to be discouraged, by reason of the strong opposition of the delinquents, and disaffected persons, what encouragements have they even then found, from the petitions, promises, and resolutions of divers shires! Wherefore, seeing these are blessings, and such as belong unto the godly; we may persuade ourselves, that the Lord, seeing the sincerity of their intentions, doth in much mercy shew his gracious acceptation of their zeal; for the good of our church, king, and commonwealth. I conclude this particular; if the Lord seem to say to our grave and gracious senators, as he said unto Joshua, " There shall be none able to withstand you, because I will be with you; yea, I will not leave you, nor forsake you; therefore, be strong, and of good courage : " then let none, who would be the Lord's soldiers and servants, desert the horsemen of Israel, and the chariots thereof; yea, the Lord's captains who fight his battles.

And thus, by a serious consideration of these grounds, we may easily conjecture, yea, abundantly satisfy ourselves in this point, that the parliament is not to be deserted, or forsaken by us. I proceed now unto the next quære, which is, Whether may the king be disobeyed, and his commands withstood, or not? Whether he is to be opposed in his pro-

ceedings by any command of the parliament? or, Whether are we now to obey king, or parliament?

First, Some princes think, that they may lawfully do whatsoever they have power to do, or can do; but the contrary seems truer, both by the light of reason, religion, and all power intrusted by law in the hands of any, *viz.* that princes have no power to do, but what is lawful, and fit to be done.

Secondly, Personal actions of superiors may be disobeyed. The grammarians say, *vox regis, à rego*, 'the word king, comes from governing,' because kings are no other, but more high and supreme governors and magistrates. Now some hold, (and, I think, warrantably,) that if any magistrate, or judge, do pursue a man, not judicially, and by order of law, but invade him by violence, without any just cause, against all law; that then, in so doing, he is to be held as a private person, and as such we may defend ourselves against him. As, for example, a woman may defend her own body against an adulterer, though a magistrate. A servant may hold his master's hands, if he seek to kill wife or children in his rage. Mariners and passengers may resist him who stands at the helm, if they see that he would run the ship against a rock; yea, they might hold the prince's hands, if, being at the helm, he misgoverns the ship, to their certain shipwreck without prevention; because, by his so governing thereof, he hazards both his own life and theirs; and they, by holding of his hands, prevent both his and their own ruin, which seems to be our present case: and, therefore, much more may the whole body defend itself against any such unjust and unlawful invasion, as will endanger the safety and welfare of all.

Thirdly, The king's personal, that is, verbal commands, without any stamp of his authority upon them, and against the order of both houses of parliament, I imagine may be disobeyed. For, I do conceive, that no lawyer will say, "Suppose the king should take the broad-seal of England from the lord-keeper into his own hands, that all the writs whatsoever he should issue forth, signed with his own hand, and sealed therewith, ought to be obeyed." For it is not the stamp and impression of the seal which makes a thing lawful; but the keeper thereof ought to be a lawyer, and, by his place, should not, for fear or favour, sign any writs therewith, but such as are legal: and, if he do otherwise, he is liable to be questioned, and censured by a parliament. And, therefore, doubtless, when writs and precepts are issued forth without the broad-seal, or without a regal, that is, legal authority, (as all the writs and commissions, for executing the commission of array, are; as is proved both by the parliament and others,) they may be disobeyed and withstood: especially when they are destructive to the commonwealth.

Fourthly, Princes by parliaments may be withstood; when they desire, or endeavour those things, which tend to the invassaling of their people. Kings, we know, sometimes have loved their enemies more than their friends; and have marched forth amongst their enemies, to encounter with their friends. As, for example, Richard the Second thought Spencer and his confederates his best friends, though they were base sycophants, and baneful foes; and conceited that his peers, who were his loyallest subjects, were the truest traitors. And hence princes (being abused by the flattery of private persons, for some wicked ends of their own,) have followed their private perverse counsels, before the grave, loyal, and faithful advice of their sage senate. Now that it is lawful for parliaments to withstand princes, who make unlawful war upon their people, is so evidently proved, by the author of that lately come forth, and learned and pious treatise, called 'A sovereign Antidote to prevent Civil Wars,' (pag. 6, 7, 8, 9, &c.) that at present I wholly silence it.

Fifthly, The matter, with us, is quite and generally mistaken, and the question altogether wrong stated, *viz.* 'Whether we should obey the king, or parliament?' For the king and parliament are not like two parallel lines, which can never meet; nor like two incompatible qualities, which cannot be both in one subject; nor like the ark and dagon, whom one house will not hold; nor like God and mammon, which one man cannot serve;

for by siding with, and assisting of the parliament, in those things which are according to law, we side with, and serve the king.

Two things are here distinguishable, to wit,

i. In our obeying of the parliament according to law, we obey the king. This his majesty grants, commands, and commends; yea, professeth, that he requires no obedience of us to himself, farther than he enjoins that which is lawful and just. And,

ii. In our obeying of the parliament in this present military and martial design, we stand for the king, not against him: that is, for the good of his soul, person, estate, honour, and posterity; of which a word or two severally.

1. They stand for the soul of their sovereign, who withstand him (having a lawful call and warrant thereunto) from doing those things, which, if he do, he can never justify in the court of conscience, nor at the great chancery day of judgment, but must sink under the sentence of condemnation, for those unlawful and unjustifiable facts: and therefore the parliament, and we in obedience unto them, are friends unto the soul of our dread sovereign, in not obeying, aiding, and assisting of him, to make unnatural, unlawful, and unwarrantable wars, upon his parliament and people, which can never be defended, or justified, before or unto God, to whom the mightiest, as well as the meanest, must give a strict account of all their actions at the last day. And,

2. They stand for the king's person, who obey, join, and side with the parliament. His majesty's person is now environed by those who carry him (as far as the eye of human probability can see) upon his own ruin, and the destruction of all his good people; which the parliament seeing, they labour to free him from such false hands, by this twofold means, *viz.* 1st, By persuading, beseeching, and most humbly soliciting his majesty to forsake them, and to rejoice and make glad the hearts of his parliament and people, by conjoining himself with them. But this request, suit, and supplication, will not yet be granted, though with much importunity and many loyal expressions desired. And, 2d, By labouring to take his evil counsellors from him; they being confidently assured, and piously persuaded, of the king's sweet disposition, and readiness to comply with them, in any thing which might conduce to the good, either of church or commonwealth; if he were not overswayed and deluded by the feigned, flattering, and crafty counsel of those about him, who look with a sinister eye upon our state. Now this seems to me to be all that is aimed at, in this present military and martial design. For the parliament do not purposely, and in their first intentions, intend by their soldiers to cut off any; (for, if any be slain by them, it is by accident) but to preserve and keep the peace of the kingdom, to maintain the privileges of parliament, the laws of the land, the free course of justice, the protestant religion, the king's authority and person in his royal dignity; and to attach, arrest, and bring such as are accused, or imagined to be the disturbers and firebrands of the kingdom, unto a fair, just, equal, and legal trial; which no man can think unlawful in our law-makers: and therefore, both senators and subjects, in the prosecution of this design, stand for the safety of their prince's person. And, 3d, They stand for his state, wealth, honour, and reputation: for I conjoin all these together. Kings acquire and accumulate more honour, respect, wealth, and power, by their meekness towards, tender love of, and vigilant care for their subjects, and their safety, (as we see in queen Elizabeth, and Tiberius, so long as he was such,) than by tyrannizing over, and cruelly oppressing and handling of them; as we see in Caligula. If our gracious sovereign would be but pleased to consider the honour and prosperity which his predecessors have enjoyed, by following the advice of their parliaments; and the dishonour our nation hath in divers designs received abroad, and the grievous troubles, vexation, and discord, we have had at home, since parliaments have been disused, and laid asleep; he would then certainly see, that they seek his wealth, honour, reputation, and welfare, who desire to reconcile and conjoin him unto his parliament, and advise him to govern his people by parliaments; and endeavour to free him from the power and hands of those, who, being themselves, desire likewise to make him, an enemy unto parliaments. And, 4th,

They stand for his posterity: for, as evil-gotten goods slip and waste away, and seldom continue to the third generation; so kings cannot be sure, that their posterity shall peaceably and successively enjoy their crowns, except themselves rule and govern according to law; righteousness only establishing the crown and throne, both upon princes, and their posterity: and therefore they who assist not the king in those things, ways and courses, which are illegal, grievous, yea, destructive to the commonwealth, are his children's and posterity's best friends.

I conclude this question with this argument: those who labour, with their lives and estates, to defend and maintain the king's soul, honour, reputation, wealth, person, and posterity, obey and stand for him: but the parliament, and all those who side with them in this present design, labour, with their lives and estates, to maintain and defend the king's soul, honour, reputation, wealth, person, and posterity. Therefore the parliament, and all those who side with them in this present design, in so doing, obey and stand for him.

It should seem, by what hath been spoken, that neither parliament, nor people, doth intend the least indignity, dishonour, or disloyalty to the king; and it is most perspicuously and clearly to be seen, in all the king's gracious messages and declarations, that he hath no design upon his people, or parliament, neither intends any harm, opposition, or oppression unto them, but professeth to rule them according to law and equity. How then comes it to pass, that either the parliament will not, or dare not, confide in the king?

First, It is because they see, that some about the king are potent with him, who affect not the parliament, nor their proceedings; have that influence in his councils, and are so predominant and prevalent with him, that they have often varied and altered him from his words and promises. It is a maxim in law, 'The king can do no wrong.' For, if any evil act be committed in matters of state, his council, if in matters of justice, his judges must answer for it: and therefore I will not lay any fault upon the king, but rather impute the faults, which have been of late obvious unto many, unto some about him, or in great favour with him. Great discouragements, I grant, the parliament in their proceedings, have had from the king: but I dare not imagine, that they came originally and primarily from him, but from some about him; in regard of that vast difference, which is between his words spoken to his parliament with his own mouth, when he was with them, and the messages sent unto, and the heavy charges laid upon them, in his letters and declarations, now when he is absent from them. He said once, 'That on the word of a king, and as he was a gentleman, he would redress the grievances of his people, as well out of parliament, as in it.' Again: 'That he was resolved to put himself freely and clearly upon the love and affection of his English subjects.' Again: 'We do engage unto you solemnly the word of a king, that the security of all and every one of you from violence is, and ever shall be, as much our care, as the preservation of us and our children.' And yet, what actions and passages have of late fallen out, quite contrary to all these expressions? The parliament, and all who side with it, assist it, or obey it, in any of the commissions or orders thereof, being assaulted, opposed, yea, now at last proclaimed 'traitors.' Again, his majesty doth profess the detestation of a civil war, and 'abhors (as he saith) the very apprehension of it.' But this mind neither seemed to be in them who came with his majesty to the house of commons, nor who accompanied him to Hampton-Court, and appeared in a warlike manner at Kingston; nor in divers of those who have been with him, and employed by him at York, Hull, Leicestershire, Lancashire, Somersetshire, Northamptonshire, and other places: and therefore we must needs conceive, that the king is put upon these courses and ways by his evil counsellors; and, consequently, that the parliament cannot confide in his words and promises, until those counsellors be put from him, or forsaken by him. And,

Secondly, Because of that trust which is reposed in them. I dare boldly say, that if the king should take or make those protestations, which he makes in his messages and de-

clarations, unto any one of the parliament-house, for the performance of any promise, either unto them or theirs, which did simply or solely concern themselves; they would believe and obey him, and, without any further question, confide in him: but they cannot do this in the case and place wherein they are. The trust, reposed by the people in the parliament, is as well to preserve the kingdom by making of new laws, when and where there shall be need, as by observing and putting the laws already made in execution. And therefore, in regard of this truth, they dare not hazard the safety, preservation, and sole managing of the land to his majesty alone, upon his bare word: because, if after such confiding of theirs in the king, upon his faithful promise unto them, he should be overswayed and seduced by some wicked counsellors, to lay some illegal impositions, taxations, and burdens upon his people (as he did soon after the granting of the petition of right unto the subject); the kingdom then would (and might justly) blame them as the authors of their grievances, that had so lightly given away their liberty and freedom, by subjecting them to an arbitrary power. And indeed, if we would but consider it without passion and partiality, the case is no other but this: If the parliament should wholly confide in the king's words and promises, then there were no more requisite in them, than this, to make a declaration unto his majesty of the grievances, burdens, annoyances, and illegal proceedings in all, or such and such courts or persons, to the great oppression and heart-breaking of the subject; and, having so done, to obtain some serious promise and protestation from the king to take off all these pressures, and to be careful for the future, that no such shall be imposed upon them; and then to confide in the king, and to break up the parliament, and repair every one to his own house. Now, if sense, reason, experience, and knowledge will tell us, that this is far from, or comes far short of the true nature and duty of a parliament; then let us think, that it is reason (as the case now stands) that the parliament should not confide in the king. And,

Thirdly, Because it were very dangerous for the time to come. Admitting our present sovereign were as prudent as Solomon, yea, as pious as David, yea, like him, 'a man after God's own heart;' yet it were dangerous for the parliament so to confide in him, that they should trust the managing of all the great and weighty affairs of this kingdom wholly and solely unto him; and consequently granting him an arbitrary power to rule us according to the dictates of his own conscience, or as the Lord would move and persuade his heart. This, I say, is not safe: because, if they grant, give, or settle this power upon him, as king of England, then all other succeeding kings will challenge and claim it as due, or think they are not respected as their predecessors; whence, if any of them prove tyrants or tyrannous oppressors, we shall be most miserable and wretched slaves.

Object. Some, perhaps, may here object, that although princes should not use their absolute power, by doing always what they list; yet they ought not to be circumscribed, limited, or restrained in their government, by any tie or obligation of law.

Answe. 1. First, It is much better (considering the corruption of our nature) to be withheld, by some restraints of law and covenant, from that which is evil, and which we cannot justify before God in the court of conscience; than to be boundless, lawless, and left to live as we list, and to do whatsoever seems good in our own eyes.

Answe. 2. Secondly, This also is better for others: for, as the crane had better keep his head out of the wolf's mouth, than put it into his mouth, and then stand at his mercy, whether he will bite off his neck, or not; so it is better for every wise man rather to keep and preserve those immunities, freedoms, prerogatives, and privileges, which God and nature hath given unto him for the preservation, prosperity, and peace of his posterity, person, and estate; than to disfranchise himself, and to relinquish and resign all into the hands of another, and to give him power either to impoverish or enrich him, either to kill, or keep him alive.

Quest. 7. I come now unto the last question, which is this: Suppose things come unto this height and issue, that the king will have the parliament to confide in him for all they desire of him, or otherwise he will by wars labour to have his will of them; then, Whether is this martial and military design, undertaken by the parliament, against that party which

is owned and aided by the king, lawful, or unlawful? And, consequently, Whether may and ought we to assist them, or not?

Ans. 1. First, in general, I answer concerning means by these propositions; to wit, 1. Means must be used for preventing and removing of all temporal evils. 2. The means to be used, for the removal of temporal maladies, must be always lawful: for we must never do evil, that good may come thereof. 3. The means to be used must be always conformable, answerable, and suitable to the malady: as, for example; a man must not take a sword to quench a fire, nor think to defend himself against an armed foe (who comes with his sword drawn, or musquet charged, or pistol cocked to take away his precious life) with fair words; but must consider what remedy, or means, is most proper for the preventing of the evil feared. Now there is no means better against offensive wars, than defensive.

Ans. 2. Secondly, I answer in general again, concerning actions, by two propositions; to wit: 1. That which is not lawful for a private person to do, is lawful for a public: as for example; it is not lawful for a private person to take away the life of one, whom he knows to have robbed, or murdered some one or other; but it is lawful for the judge upon the bench, upon good proof, to do it. 2. That which is not lawful for a private person, in his own particular cause, is lawful for him, in a public: as for example; had Faux been ready to have given fire to his train, when the parliament had been full, and in the very instant had fallen by a private man's sword, that act had not been punishable, but praiseworthy: but it is not lawful for a private man to take away the life of one, because he sees or knows, that he intends some mischief against his neighbour or acquaintance; but is bound only to endeavour to hinder, and prevent it, or, at least, not to fall upon him, except he can, by no other means, prevent the death, and preserve the life of his brother; and neither is this, I think, lawful in all cases. 3. That which is not lawful for a private and particular man to do, upon his own head, is lawful for him to do, being commanded by authority: as for example; if it be not lawful for sir John Hotham to shut the gates of Hull against the king, of his own accord; yet it is lawful, being warranted and commanded by the parliament. If it be not lawful for the earls of Essex and Bedford to take up arms to suppress that party, which oppresseth the kingdom, of themselves; yet it is lawful, by the order and commission of parliament; as is proved by the 'Sovereign antidote to appease our civil wars.'

Ans. 3. Thirdly, If his majesty passed an act, not only of oblivion, but of justification, to our brethren of Scotland for their wars, or for taking up weapons against his instruments; then I cannot see wherein, or how our defensive arms should so much differ from theirs, that they, in so doing, should be loyal subjects, and we disloyal traitors.

Ans. 4. Fourthly, A necessary war must needs be lawful: for the power and force of necessity is such, that it justifieth actions otherwise unwarrantable. The transcendent ἀρχή of all politicks, or the law paramount, which gives law to all human laws whatsoever, is *salus populi*, 'the safety of the people:' and this supreme law of nations, *salus populi*, hath its immediate rise from the law of nature; which teacheth every worm, much more a man, and most of all a whole nation, to provide for its safety in time of necessity. It is not always lawful for us to kill those, who stand at our doors, or who would keep us from coming out of our doors: but if our houses be blocked up, and we so hindered from commerce with others, or from seeking relief for the sustentation of our own lives, that we, and ours, are in danger to famish; it is lawful then, to issue forth, with the forces we can make, to fight ourselves free. How much more lawful, then, is it to fight for the liberty and preservation of a church and state? It seems evident by the clearest beams of human reason, and the strongest inclinations of nature, that every private person may defend himself, if unjustly assaulted, yea, even against a magistrate, or his own father, when he hath no way to escape by flight: much more lawful then is it for a whole nation, to defend themselves against such assassins as labour to destroy them, though the king will not allow them defence. Let us consider the miseries, and heavy burthens, which we must lie under, if we undertake not this defensive war; and that will shew

us the necessity thereof. Now, the evils which we are in danger of, are of that nature, that if they should fall upon us, (which the Lord in mercy forbid!) we would think, that it were better for us to have no being, than such a miserable being. The present case seems to many, who see thoroughly into things, to be three-fold, *viz.* 1. Whether popery, or protestantism?—And this doubt arises, from the king's assistants and agents, in his designs; or some who are in near trust, and of great power with his majesty; who, for the most part, are either of no religion, or of any religion, or of the popish religion, or popishly inclined and affected. And, 2. Whether slavery, or liberty?—And this doubt arises from the doctrines, counsels, and persuasions of those about the king; who persuade him, that it is lawful for him to do what he list. And, 3. Whether estates, or none?—And this doubt arises from some speeches, fallen from some in place and authority: that all we have is the king's; that when there is necessity, he may command of, or take from us, what he pleases; and that he alone is the sole judge of this necessity. The case being thus with us; it seems unnatural, that any nation should be bound to contribute its own inherent puissance merely to abet tyranny and support slavery: that is, to fight themselves slaves, or to afford aid, assistance, and succour, either with persons or purses, to those who desire and endeavour to introduce popery and heresy into their church; and to bring themselves into such slavery and bondage, that they may tyrannize over them, at pleasure. And thus the necessity of this war shews the lawfulness thereof.

Fifthly, Defensive wars are always held lawful. Now the nature and quality of our war is defensive, and so the more justifiable. For, 1. The king's majesty misled by malignants, and malevolent persons, made preparations for war, before any such thing was thought upon by the parliament. And, 2. We intend not the hurt of others, but our own peace and preservation: the design being but to suppress riots, to keep the peace, and to bring delinquents to a fair, just, and legal trial. And, 3. Our arms will be laid down, as soon as we are assured of a firm peace, and to be ruled as becometh a free people, who are not born slaves.

Sixthly, We may guess at the nature of this defensive war, by divers particulars: as namely, 1. By the persons, against whom this design is undertaken; which is not the king, (as was proved before, and shall be further enlarged by and by,) but the malignants of the kingdom; which we labour to suppress, and to bring to punishment in a legal way. We go against the troublers of Israel, the firebrands of hell, the Korahs, Balaams, Doegs, Rabshakas, Hamans, Tobiahs, and Sanballats of our time. And, 2. By the persons most favouring and furthering of this defensive war; who are, in every place, those who stand most cordially affected to the good of the commonwealth, and most sincerely addicted to the purity of the church, and the entire profession and practice of religion. And, 3. By the mercy and favour of God towards the parliament; the principal agents and authors of this design. If we consider,

1. How the Lord preserved their persons, from the malicious intentions of the cavaliers, when they went to the very door of the house. And,

2. How he discovered the plots and practices which were intended for the bringing up of the army out of the North against them. And,

3. How he directed them, in their settling of Hull, the militia and navy, when things were almost come to their height. And,

4. How he hath, from time to time, and still doth encourage them with, or by the love, loyalty, fidelity, faith, and firm resolutions of the most part of all counties, to stand and fall, live and die with them. And,

5. How, hitherto, he hath extraordinarily turned all the plots of their enemies, against themselves; and produced effects quite contrary to those they intended, and frustrated all their hopes. If, I say, we consider these things, we cannot but say of the parliament-house, and parliament-men: Surely God is in this place, and in the midst of you, and present with you, and president amongst you; and we confidently hope, that the Lord will preserve and keep you, and finish the work he hath begun by you, to your comfort, his glory, and our good! And,

Fourthly, We may guess at the goodness of the design, by the time, when it was undertaken: for it was not begun, until all other means failed; and therefore may be called, *ultimum & unicum remedium*, 'the last and only means left.' The old rule was observed by them, *Non recurrendum est ad extraordinaria in iis quæ fieri possunt per ordinaria*; 'they tried all fair and ordinary means, and never had recourse to extraordinary and extreme courses, until no other would prevail.' We and they have again and again petitioned the king, but cannot prevail; and therefore, all other politic means failing us, we ought generally (seeing the misery which is threatened in general) to join heads, hearts, hands, and estates together, to fight for our king, country, parliament, selves, religion, laws, liberties, lives, and all that is ours; because now all is at stake. And,

Lastly, We may clearly see the lawfulness of this defensive war, if we but look upon the causes and ends thereof, which are many; as namely,

1. The glory of God.
2. The good of the church.
3. The propagation of the gospel.
4. The peace of the kingdom.
5. The prosperity of the commonwealth.
6. The maintenance of the king's honour, authority, and person, in his royal dignity.
7. The liberties and immunities of the commons.
8. The preservation of the representative body of the realm.
9. The privileges of parliament.
10. The laws of the land. And,
11. The free course of justice.

But I will reduce all these to four heads; to wit, God's glory, the king's honour, the parliament's safety, and the kingdom's preservation.

First, This defensive war is undertaken by the parliament for God's glory, and the maintenance of true religion. Now we may, yea ought to fight, to maintain the purity and substance of religion; that it may neither be changed into the ceremonious formalities of popery, nor our consciences brought into the subjection of Romish and Anti-christian slavery.

Secondly, This defensive war is undertaken by the parliament for the king's honour and safety. Now we are bound, by the duty of allegiance, to defend and maintain the king's person, honour, and estate; and therefore,

1. It is our duty to labour, by all lawful means, to free his person from those assassins, who violently, by their wicked counsel, assistance, and persuasion, carry him upon his own danger, and the destruction of his liege and most loyal subjects. And,

2. It is our duty to labour to maintain the king's honour: and therefore, when he is over-ruled by those who, through their subtlety, work so upon his mild and pliant temper, that they make him appear to his subjects, yea foreign nations, to be a defender of delinquents, and evil counsellors, against his loving subjects and loyal parliament, which tends infinitely to his dishonour; it is then our duty to labour to unwind and disentangle him from their practices; or, by force, pluck away their persons from about him. And,

3. It is our duty to maintain his majesty's estate. Now, as the lord Burleigh would often say to queen Elizabeth, "Madam, get but your subjects' hearts, and you need not fear their purses;" so I may say, that the love and affection of the king's subjects (which his parliament labours to enrich him withal, and to possess him of) will be more advantageous unto him for matter of state, than all the prerogatives and privileges, which his obscure counsellors persuade, and endeavour so much for, against the will and welfare of his people. And if we compare our queen Elizabeth (who would have nothing, but by, and from the parliament, with the love and affection of her people) with the king of Spain, who, by an arbitrary power, tyrannizeth over his subjects; we shall then see, as clear as the sun, that where princes, by joining with parliaments, labour to unite the hearts and affections of their people unto them; their riches abound more, both with prince and

people, than in those kingdoms where all cruel courses are taken by the king to impoverish the commons.

Thirdly, This defensive war is undertaken by us, at the parliament's command, for their safety. Now, both reason and religion will teach us, that if our pious parliament and sage senate, for the maintaining of our lives, liberties, and laws, and in, or for opposing of itself, not against the king's person, honour, or estate, but against his affections misled by evil counsellors, shall be exposed to danger, dissolution, or death; then it is our duty, by defensive war, to withstand that power, or force, which is levied against them.

Fourthly; This military design is undertaken for the kingdom's preservation. Now both the laws of God and man (as is, against all contradiction, proved in the treatise, called 'A sovereign antidote to prevent and appease our civil-wars') will bear us out, for taking up defensive arms for the safety of our kingdom and commonwealth. That is, if we see endeavours and designs a-foot, for the reducing of the government of this kingdom to the condition of those countries, which are not governed by parliaments and established laws, but by the will of the prince and his favourites; then it is lawful for us to assist the representative body of the land, whom we entrust with our laws and liberties, against those who resist and oppose them; that they may the more easily prevail against, and make good their designs upon us.

And therefore, although we will never cease to sue unto the king, and humbly to supplicate the KING of kings for peace and unity; yet, if we cannot obtain it, without the dishonour of God, the loss of our religion, privileges, liberties, and laws, the endangering, yea exposing of our most faithful parliament to imminent peril, and the hazard of his majesty's person, honour, and estate; we may then, with the peace of God, his holy angels, and of our own consciences, take up arms in the defence of all these.

The Summarie of certaine Reasons, which have moved Quene Elizabeth to procede in Reformations of her base and course Monies; and to reduce them to their Values, in Sorte, as they may be turned to fine Monies.¹ Appointed to be declared by her Majestie, by Order of her Proclamation, in her Citie of London.

[Black Letter. Octavo; containing six pages.]

FIRST of all it is knowen, that the honour and reputacion of the singuler wealth, that this realm was wont to have above all other realms, was partely in that it had no currant monies but golde and silver; whereas contrary all other countreys, as Almayn, Fraunce, Spaine, Flaunders, Scotland, and the rest of Christendom have hadde, and still

¹ [In the two first years of queen Elizabeth, there was a very considerable mintage, whereby the want of good money being in some measure supplied, she set about reforming the bad. And first, having prohibited any person to melt or carry away any coin out of the kingdom, the bad money was reduced to the true value, by a proclamation, dated Sept. 28, 1560, which was the next day followed by the above declaration or 'summarie'.

have certain base monies now of late dayes, by turning of fine monies into base, much decayed, and dayly growen into infamie and reproche, and therefore is thought necessary to be recovered; wherin, lyke as her majestie, for her part, meaneth to be at great charges, so every good Englishe subjecte ought to be content, though it seme some smal losse at the first.

Also, by continuing of the base monies, divers persons, both in forreine partes and within the realm, have counterfaicted, from tyme to tyme, no small quantitie, and brought to porte-townes, and uttered the same at the fyrste after the rate of xii pence a teston, and after that for vi pence, where the same was not in dede worth above two-pence; and caried out of the realm, for those base monies, the riche commodities of the same, as wolfe, cloth, lead, tinne, leather, tallowe; yea, and all kinde of victual, as corne, malt, beere, butter, cheese, and such lyke; so as counterfaicters and such like, have for smal summe of monies counterfaicted, caried out six times the value in commodities of the realm.

By the means also that these base monies were currant, divers subtyll people have chaunged the same for the golde and fine sylver monies of this realm, and have transported and caryed out the same golde and sylver, so as although there hath ben coyned both in the later end of the raigne of kyng Edward, and in the tyme of quene Mary, and now also sence the quene's majestie's raigne, great quantities of golde and sylver, yet no part thereof is sene commonly currant; but, as it may be thought, some part thereof is caryed hence, and some, percase, by the wyser sort of people, kepte in store, as it were to be wysshed that the whole were.

Also, by continuance of this sort of base monies, although Almyghtie God hath gyven nowe of late yeares plentiful increase by the earth, for the which he is to be thanked, without any such plagues of scarcitie, as in our forefathers tyme hath bene read, when many hundrethes and thousandes of people have dyed for famine; yet the prices of all thynges, growing or commyng from the earth, hath immeasurably and dayly risen; as all maner of grayne, fruite, cattell, bestiall, victuel, wolfe, leather, and such like; and no remedy could be devysed to amend the same, but to cause that the same base monies shuld be currant for no more then they were in just value. For every man, of the least understanding, by one means or other, knew that a teston was not worth six-pence, nor the peece of two-pence was worth so much; and therefore no man woulde gyve gladly that thing which was and ever had ben worth six-pence, for a teston, but woulde rather require two testons: and so a thyng, being worth six-pence, was bought and sold eyther for two testons, or one and a halfe, which was in rekenyng xii or ix pence; and now every teston being brought to the just value, it must needs follow, that one shall buy of another hereafter that for iiii pence halfpeny, which was wont to cost vi pence. And, when the teston shall be brought into fine sylver, then shall all men be as desyrus to sell any ware for suche fine monies, as they have of late ben loth and unwyllynge to sell any thyng for the base monies; except they might have had twyce as much of the base monies, as they were wont to have of the fine, or els that for necessitie they were dryven to sell the same.

By this meanes also, now that the base monies are brought to the just value, and that every man shall have fine monies for them, all poor people that lyved of theyr hand-labour, aswell artificers in cities or townes, as labourers in husbandrye, or men that toke

There was a separate mint in the Tower, on purpose to convert the base money into sterling, which lasted about a year; and a computation was given in of the base monies received into the Mint, from Michaelmas, 1560, to Michaelmas, 1561, with the charges of the workmanship, as follows:

		The charges of coinage.		£.	s.	d.
Total of the mass of base monies was,		To the two treasurers of the mint, for coin-				
pound weight	631,950.	age, at seven-pence the pound weight .		7128	16	0
Which was current money according to	£. s. d.	Necessaries, as coals, coining-irons, &c.		3848	2	8
the rates of their several standards .	638,113 16 6	Fees of officers, with their diet for one				
Total of the mass of fine monies, pound		year		2006	5	7
weight	24,416.	Sum total of the charges aforesaid.		12,983	4	3
Which in monies current, at sixty shil-	£. s. d.					
lings the pound weight	783,248 0 0					

Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, tom. i. Leake on English Money, p. 234.

dayetall wages, eyther by land, by sea, or by freshe waters, and all meane gentlemen that lyved but upon pensions and stipendes, and all soldiours and servyng-men, that lyved upon solde² and wages, shall have theyr pensions, stipendes, soldes, and wages, now payde in good and fine monies, and therewith shall bye more necessities for theyr sustentacion, then could afore be bought; who surely havynge heretofore after the rate of xx s. xxvi s. viii d. v nobles, xl s. iv marks, v marks, iv pounds, v pounds, xx nobles, and so upward, by the yere payde to them in these base monies, could not have so much victual, apparel, weapon, armure, horses, or such lyke, with the saide stipend, by more than a fourth part, as they shall now have; because in dede the saide base monies were of themselves no more worth.

By this reformation also, of base monies, shall necessarily folowe a more profitable accompte betwixt the monies of this realm, and of other countries; and thereby the accompte, which, by marchauntes, is called the Eschaunge, shall also aryse in estimation of the monies of England, in suche sorte, as in former tymes hath ben; and the forreine commodities thereby also be bought for easier pryses, to the benefit of all such as shall use the same. So as, the matter well considered, the greatest numbere, and especially the poorest, shall have most commoditie hereby: yea, and such others as have moste gayned by excessive prices, shall have also (if they will consider themselves) no small profyte and helpe. And, fynally, no manner of person in the whole realm shall have, after one or two monethes, hurt hereby; except onely the traytour which hath lyved by counterfaicting. And, therefore, it is to be allowed and imbraced of all people, and every man to thinke, that although at the first he may suppose that he hath lesse monie in his purse; yet shall he have, for the same metal, as much as that was worth, eyther in ware, or at her majesties mint, in fine monies. And, whensoever he shall utter that base monies, which, at the tyme of the proclamation, he hadde; the next that he shall gette, eyther by his hand-labour, or for his wages, shalbe eyther fine monies, or such as he may have as much fine monies in the mint for it. And, consequently, every man ought to thank Almyghtye God, that he may lyve to see the honour of his countrey thus partely recovered; sylver to come in place of copper, pryces of thynges amende, all people to be more able to lyve of theyr wages, every man's purse, or coffer, made free from the privie thefe, which was the counterfaictour. And, fynally, the treasure of this realm to be of sylver and golde, as was wonte in our forefathers' time, and not of brasse and copper; besydes many other great commodities that hereof must needs ensue, which, but for length, might be declared; and, for all the same, no losse to any, otherwise, but in opinion at the begynnyng, not much unlyke to them, that being sicke, receive a medicine, and in the takyng, feelee some bitterness, but yet, thereby, recover health and strength, and save theyr lives.

And, because it is sene by experience, that many tymes, when good thynges be devysed and attempted, the devyl sleapeth not to hinder the same, but causeth them eyther to be defeated, or to be defamed and mistaken: therefore it is meete, that no manner of person gyve any credite to such as shall caste abroad any mistrust or amendment of the money, or shall pretend this decree to be greater, or more burdenous than it is. For, truely, this amendment is so fully purposed by her majestie, as, besyde that, experience shall trie it within one moneth, or vi weekes; within which tymes, necessarie thynges for the mint must be provided. It is sene, that her majestie may resourme these monies according to her proclamation, without any such great losse as might move her to forbear it: and, on the other syde, the monies be so justly valued, as, indede, the base testons being set at ii d. farthyng, and her majestie giving at her mint, for every pound of them, xx s. and iii d. in rewarde, shall, thereby, gyve rather more than they shall be worth, beyng melted, than lesse. So that her majestie, who, since she came to this croune, never gayned any thing by any coynage, nor yet ever coyned any manner of base monies for this realm, will not now determine to lease the honour and fame that she shall, with small losse or gayne, recover, by this noble acte, to benefit her realm and people.

And as to the opinion of the burden of the losse, where the base testons be valued but at ii d. farthyng, whereby such as have them shall seme to have the greatest losse, it is to

² [Fr. a soldier's pay.]

be well and reasonably construed and taken of all men, for that there hath not, by good accoumpte, which hath bene made and well proved, bene above a sixth parte compared to the other base monies of the same sort of testons coyned in the mints of this realm; and at the coynage of the same base testons, now valued at two pence farthyng, which was done in the tyme of the wars heretofore, there were set thereto certaine marks, as a lion, a rose, flour-de-luce, or a harp, called the privy marks of such as were then masters of the mint, which also be specified in the proclamation. For the better understanding whereof, here be, in the end of this declaration, set certaine stamps or prints, of every kind of the same base testons, with their saide several marks; to the intent, that every person, looking and beholding the same prints, may the better judge and discern the same from the other, that be valued at iiii pence-halfpeny; although if the same be well considered, the colour of the saide base teston will shew the baseness thereof. And, because her majestie meaneth to ease her subjects as much as possible may be, she is pleased to commaund her officers in her mint, that where there be many counterfaict testons, which were made by counterfaictours, when the testons were at the value of xii pence a-piece, and since also that they were decreed to vi pence, and, by estimation, were so made, as they did contain about two pence farthyng, or thereabouts, in sylver: they shall do their indeavour to receive and trye such counterfaicts, and shall gyve to the subjects, eyther for every such counterfaict two pence farthyng, or so much good fine monies, as the same counterfaicts shall contain in sylver; whereby the people shall be relieved of such losse in some parte for counterfaicts, as, in no realm, any prince eyther hath or ought to do. And, for this, and for all the commodities hereof likely to ensue, her majesty trusteth her most honourable good meaning shall be embrased of all her good loving subjects, and every person with good will will yield to bear a small burden for a tyme, to avoid a perpetual and endless oppression, not only of themselves and their posterity, but also of the whole commonweal.

Given under the Queen's Majesty's signet at her honour of Hampton-Court, the 29th of September, the second year of her Majesty's reign, MDLX.

N. B. The stamps, or prints, of the base testons, which were printed at the end of the declaration, are now omitted; because there has been no such coyn in use these many years, and therefore it would have been of no use to have printed them.

*Bibliotheca Fanatica: Or, The Fanatick Library. Being a Catalogue of such Books as have been lately made, and, by the Authors, presented to the College of Bedlam.*¹

Printed in the year 1660.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

THE Difference between Rogue and Robert, Titchburn and Tyburn, learnedly stated in several positions; in answer to a late Libel, or University Queries. By Robert Titchburn, alderman.

¹ [It may be requisite for some readers to know, that the point of these sarcasms consists in ridiculous allusions to the vulgar gossip of the day, aimed at the republicans and commonwealth-men.]

Canaan's Grapes; being a Taste of the Virtues and Fidelity of our Saints. By the same author.

Ochus Redivivus: or, a clear Demonstration that a Trap-door, or Gallows, is the best reward for traitorous Assistance: an excellent piece, illustrated with a variety of figures, and intended lately for public view; by the Parliament of England. A manuscript not yet printed.

But lately Married: or, a grave Reason why amongst other Wares he hath but for these two years traded in Horns. By Nicholas Gold, Rump-merchant.

Ragionamenti d' Aretino: or, pathetical and feeling Dialogues, for the preparation and instruction of the sanctified Sisters. By Thomas Scot, a brewer's clark, and late secretary of the council of state.

The Sword of the Spirit the Devil's surest Weapon: or, Preaching and Praying the most expedient Way to rule the Earth. By Sir Henry Vane, knight.

Vanitas Vanitatum, omnia Vanitas: or, Saint-like Ejaculations against the Vanity of Turbulency and Ambition. By the same Vane author.

Corruptio unius generatio alterius: or, a Treatise to prove that a run-away Apprentice makes an excellent Statesman. By Major Salwey.

Sanguis Martyrum Semen Ecclesiae: A complete Work; proposing to the Parliament, that the best way to propagate the Commonwealth is to settle it on the ruins of its first founders, Lambert, Vane, Desborow, Titchburn, &c. By a friend to the Commonwealth of England.

Mercurius Acheronticus: or, the infernal Post; being a way lately invented for more speedy and safe conveyance to the diabolical regions. By Thomas Scot, now post-master general to the prince of darkness.

Hoylius Redivivus: or, a perfect Demonstration, that the easiest way to revenge a man of his Adversaries, is to make use of the help of alderman Hoil's chain. A manuscript intended shortly for public view. By Sir Arthur Haslerigge, a crack-brained knight.

Solemn Prayers for the Destruction of Babel; being very pithy Ejaculations for the pulling down St. Pulcher's Church, lest he should never get money for the sale of his horse. By Jeremy Ives, the gifted maggot-monger.

De Antiquitate Typographiae; to shew, that Printing, or Pressing, was as ancient as grandfather Adam; learnedly put home by Henry Hills, Printer, to the Taylor's Wife in Black-Friars.

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis: or, a complete History of the Life of blind Hewson, from his Awl to his Sword, and now to his Last: by his own hands.

Ariana Arianissima divulgata: or, a plain discovery of those Places and Honours, which are already by the Devil provided for his best servants of the Rump.

Utrum horum mavis accipe: or, the gracious Proffer of a Halter, or a Hatchet, to the grand Assertors of the good old Cause. By a friend to the Commonwealth of England.

The Harmony of Confessions: or, the Fanatick Directory: compiled by Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Feak, James Naylor, and others: a piece wonderfully conducing to the interest of the Saints, and destruction of that antichristian thing, called 'Settlement.'

Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen: or, the true Relation of the final Overthrow, and utter Destruction of the rotten Rump of a Parliamentary Junto. By a friend to king Charles the Second.

The Rump's Seminary: or, the Way to find out the ablest Utopian Commonwealth's-men. By the Coffee-club at Westminster.

Lucri bonus est odor ex re quolibet; a Treatise written in defence of his seizing on the boy's Close-stool Pan, and reserving the contents for his own profit, because the lad was so profane to carry it on a Sunday. By Alderman Atkins, Shit-breeches.

A T. is as good for a Sow as a Pancake: whereby is clearly demonstrated, that the Rump would have carried on the business of the Saints, better than any Parliament chose according to the Laws of the Nation. By Tim. Rogers, *princeps Fanaticorum*.

The Saints may fall away finally: proved in Colonel Overton's delivery of Hull, into the hands of the Wicked, when he had resolved to keep it till the coming of the fifth Monarch; with sundry other examples of the Brethren's apostasy.

No-beard, the true characteristical Mark of a pious Brother, and a real Asserter of the good old Cause. By John Ireton and Robert Titchburn.

The Spirit in the Shape of an Owl, howling upon the Top of the Mountains. By Vavasor Powell.

The Repentance of a Sinner, or Paraphrastical Meditations upon the Rump's Lamentations. By Colonel John Streater.

Sicut erat in principio; As you were, Gentlemen: A serious Exhortation to his Brethren of his Blade, to return to their former pitiful Occupation; by John Desborow, ploughman.

Crispin and Crispianus; an excellent Romance, illustrated and innobled; by Col. John Hewson.

E malis minimum eligendum; Of two Evils the least is to be chosen: and then whether Milk-purse Lawyers, or Cut-throat Tyrants, are the more tolerable. By Eugenius Philopater.

Dapple groans under the Weight of Sancho Pancha: or, the *quondam* miserable Estate of the City-Ass. By John Ireton, then lord mayor of London.

De tribus Impostoribus; or, a perfect History of those three notorious Cheats, Rogers, Feak, and Praisegod Barebone.

Animadversions and Corrections of St. Paul's Epistles, and especially of that sentence, 'Godliness is great Gain:' whereas it should be, 'Gain is great Godliness;' as is clearly proved by William Kiffin, broker of the world.

The Art of Pimping set forth to the Life, for the Benefit and Instruction of all the indigent Brethren: by Michael Oldsworth, Pimp-master-general to the late Earl of Pembroke.

The Defect of a Virtue is worse than the Excess: a Treatise, shewing how much better it is to be hung like a stallion with Henry Martin, than with the lord Mounson to want a bauble.

Diva Pecunia; a brief Discourse, to prove that there neither is, nor can be any other god, which should be adored by the Saints, but the omnipotent lady, Money. By Marchamond Needham, the Devil's half-crown news-monger.

Fistula in Ano, and the Ulcer of the Rump; wherein is shewn, that there is no better way to cure such Distempers, than a Burning, or Cauterizing. By the Rump-confounding boys of the City of London.

Lex Legum: or, a clear Demonstration that there can be no better Way for the Security of the Saints, than by quite abolishing the Laws of England, and setting up in their stead the Canons of Beelzebub. By Miles Corbet, lord-chief-justice of the infernal commonwealth.

The Saints shall possess the Earth: proving that it is lawful for the Brethren to stab, cut the throats of, or any way make an end of the Wicked of this World, if so be there will thereby any profit accrue to themselves. By the Congregations at St. Paul's, and elsewhere.

The Old Pharisee, with the new Phylacteries of Presbytery.

[Quarto; containing twenty-six pages.]

To his Excellency the Lord-General Cromwell, Chancellor of the famous
University of Oxford, &c.

Right Honourable,

I HAVE adventured upon a stormy ocean, in the discovery of a strange people, who have a storm in their countenance, and a tempest in their tongue, with boiling billows in their breast, against all that will not sail by their compass, and take that dog-star, the Directory, for the pole-star of their direction; whereas, indeed, whosoever follows them, can scarce escape conscience-shipwreck. We may as well believe, with Andradius, that *ethica virtus* was enough to save the ancient philosophers, as that their discipline is the way of our salvation. In this, the foul face of vice puts on the fair vizard of virtue; and whilst the Presbyterian useth the cloke of a counsellor, he is not without the poison of a killer; as I have fully declared in this little tract, which comes in all humility to kiss your lordship's hand. And as the black statue of Memnon is said to deliver an audible voice, whensoever the mouth thereof was touched with the beams of the sun; so this monument, erected to dead Presbytery, will speak freely in the ears of the people, if the beams of your gracious favour do but reflect upon it. Your excellency's favour, like the vertical sun, will abate all shadows, both of envy, and detraction. Be pleased, therefore, to let this weak testimony of my service, in the church of Christ, take life from your noble acceptance, and receive this tribute from his hand, who is ambitious of nothing, but leave to wear your cognisance, and to write your renowned name in the front of his labours. Which afforded goodness will the more strongly prompt my devotion, to send up continual supplications to the throne of grace, for all blessings internal, external, eternal, upon you and yours; that you may rejoice, like Zebulun, in your going out; and like Issachar, in your tents: and that the Lord may be the shield of your help, and the sword of your excellency. So shall the city of our God be made glad, and therein shall my heart rejoice; who esteem it no less than a triumph, to deserve the title of,

Your Excellency's most humbly devoted servant,

H. BROWNE.

To the impartial Reader.

AS the poets feign, that the fair Nymphs brought forth ill-favoured satyrs; and as Lodovicus Cælius writes of an ewe that conceived, and brought forth a lion; so the fair nymph of Truth, in this little tract, will, I am confident, bring forth the foul satyrs of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness against me: the ewe of my innocence will bring forth lions, roaring with the loudest reproaches: so that I may say, as Leah, at the birth of Gad, *Venit turma*, 'a troop cometh,' which will shoot out their arrows, even bitter words, at this white and spotless mark. But, for my part, *Nil moror*, the Lion of the tribe of Judah is my defence; and although the kirk-crocodiles would devour me alive, yet will I fear no evil; for the Lord I trust is with me, and the blast of their fury shall be as a storm against the wall. For God is my witness, I honour pure religion, and undefiled, wheresoever I find it; and as for well meaning, though somewhat seduced, Christians, I rather pity and pray for them with tears, than in the least degree vilify them with taunts: hoping, that they will one day know Christ by experience, and not by tradition; own him as sit-

ting on the throne of glorious mysteries, and not lying in the manger of human inventions. When once their eyes are anointed, with the eye-salve of the spirit, they will cast away those spectacles with contempt, which they so much adore with reverence: they will cast anchor on the rock, Jesus Christ, and not upon the quick-sands of giddy brains: they will then go boldly to Christ, that door opened in heaven, without so much seeking for false keys on earth, whether they be popes, or presbyters. Against the errors of both, *auspice Christo*, will I fight; but, for their conversion, I will ever pray: and herein, though their malice should at any time fail me, yet I should be more than conqueror. Although I may be like Abraham's ram, in a thicket of thorns, pricked on every side, and at length sacrificed; yet will I forget myself, and (as it were) forget my soul, in a fiery zeal, with Moses and Paul, for my brethren's sake. For whose better information, I have written these few lines; where, if any be oblique, I desire they should be made right, by a candid interpretation. I know, as a man, I may err; but, if once convinced, I am so much a scholar in Christ's school, as to acknowledge and amend. If I should seem planetary in this revolution, as I hope I shall not, to the best judgments; yet I am fixed in this resolution, even to be led by any star, that points the way to Christ; in whom I rest.

Thy friend, to serve thee,

H. B.

WHEN I consider the glorious star-spangled canopy of heaven, the uniform motion and harmony of the spheres, with the influences of those heathenish gods, the stars; I cannot but at once behold and lament the irregular motions (or, rather, commotions) of some below, who only pretend to be heavenly; how planetary they are in judgment, who judge themselves alone to be fixed in truth; as the frantic Montanists vainly held, that the Holy Ghost was not given to the Apostles, but only to them: so the spurious brood of Presbytery in England account none holy, but such as are of their spirit; expelling all, by their bulls of excommunication, out of God's court, who are not of their wicked council; as if their convocation-house were the KING of king's presence-chamber, and every classis his closet. These fire-spitting malecontents would fain persuade us, that now God speaks unto us only out of the flaming Scottish bush: and as the pillar of the cloud was 'a cloud of darkness to the Egyptians, but gave light to the camp of Israel;' so they declare that God will be 'a sun and a shield' to the Scots, but a black cloud of destruction to the English. Thus resembling the serpents in Caria, which kill home-bred people, but hurt not any strangers: and as we read of the dragons of Armenia, that they have cold stomachs, yet spit fire out of their mouths; so we may well conceive, that these dragons have cold stomachs to our nation's prosperity, whilst they spit out of their mouths such a fire of zeal for Scotland's glory. But no marvel; for these hot-spurs ever opposed that present government, which might any way retard their present advancement; promoting no cause, but as it may be the cause of their own promotion; not caring for the public treasury; so they may fill their own coffers. *Cuncta venalia Romæ*, is now come home to their doors: and, indeed, the Romanists and Presbyterians, like Samson's foxes, may look several ways; but tied by the tails with fire-brands of sedition, able to set the whole land in combustion, both spurning at our commonwealth, as at a common foot-ball: and, oh miserable England, if either win the goal! They both play the game, yet intend, at last, to part stakes; the effecting of the one being the effecting of the other: so that we may well behold their harmony, tending to our discord; and to shew their mutual vote for England's ruin, I shall only declare these instances:

First, As the papists are great zealots of their law, yet the bow of their mind is only bent at their gain and domination, desiring to set up their trophies on the ruins of flourishing states: so the Presbyterians, pretending a zeal of God's glory seek only their own profit and supremacy; *Res ipsa clamat, non tam pro aris ipsos, quàm pro focus pugnare*: maintaining Presbytery, as the pope doth purgatory, only to keep their kitchen warm; they no sooner find that to cool, but they are hot with indignation against such as withdraw the

fuel. Whilst the lightning of their rage lasts, they thunder forth ireful execrations against that state, that shall eclipse their glory, or any way mince their upstart majesty; which they entitle to God's throne, under a specious pretence of *jus divinum*; which they buz in the people's ears, and keep such a noise, as if they were the geese that kept our capitol.

Secondly, As the pope curseth all by bell, book, and candle, for hereticks, who abhor his conclave; so the Presbyterian, all for sectaries, who contemn his classis: calling them enemies of the truth, atheists, haters of good men, soul-murderers, &c.

Thirdly, As the people must believe as the church, the church as the pope, and the pope as he list; so here, the people must believe as the church, the church as the Presbyterian, and this popeling as he list: saying, as Constantius, that Arian emperor, *Quod ego volo pro canone sit*; making his will the measure of their actions, and his idle fancy, the rule of the people's faith; thus making 'the commandment of God of no effect by 'their tradition.' So that, had this malignant planet been in the ascendant, *nimio traditionum onere gravata esset ecclesia*; as Augustine once complained. Their mouths, therefore, must be stopped, who subvert whole houses; teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.

Lastly, As the pope declares it piety to establish his religion by fire and sword, setting up his idolatrous images, by destroying God's image in man: so the Presbyterians, both by preaching and practice, strive to write their religion on the tables of men's hearts, in the bloody characters of their brethren's ruin. As if faith were not rather to be persuaded *palma expansa*, than compelled *pugno contracto*: or, as if a crown of glory were set on the head of the Prince of Peace, by setting a crown of thorns upon his people. Indeed, the blood of holy martyrs, shed by the hand of infidels, was the seed of the church; but, I am sure, it was ever an antichristian tenet, to sow the seed of the Gospel, by making deep furrows on our brethren's backs, or by beating our plough-shares into swords. Esay, prophesying of Christ's kingdom, saith, 'He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' The sword of the Spirit must be the spiritual man's weapon, else he can be no true commissioner of God's militia, in the advancement of Christ's kingdom, by a blessed reformation. God is not in the strong winds, that rend the mountains, and break in pieces the rocks; not in the earthquake, that shakes the foundations of a settled faith; not in the fire of cruel persecution for tender-conscience-sake, but in the 'still small voice' of an holy and humble admonition. Therefore, saith the great doctor of the Gentiles (who was *oceanus theologiæ*, as Theodoret of Moses:) "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. We ought to have an especial care of tender consciences, for to wound such is to sin against Christ." Wherefore, saith St. Paul, 'If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.' And the Wise-man seems to give the reason, saying: 'A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city, and their contentions like the bars of a castle.' Yet, *horresco referens*, these Presbyterians, like the Scribes and Pharisees, bind heavy burthens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. Witness the Presbytery in Scotland, where they make a man an offender, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just for a thing of nought. There, to distaste their rigid discipline is enough to make Christ's zealots of Satan's synagogue; and not to adore the kirk is to be anathematized, as unworthy heaven; as if the way to heaven were through their kirk-door: or, as if the King of Glory would not admit any into his presence, without Jack Presbyter's pass; none into his favour, without the kirk's approbation. What made Montrose persecuted of late to such an ignominious death? Surely, it was not so much, because he was an enemy to the state, but excentric to the opinion of the kirk, which domineers, pope-like, over their king and parliament; so as, in effect, the kirk is both

able to turn the chair of state into a stool of repentance, and the sceptre into a rod of correction. O brave kirk, which ingrosseth all jurisdiction and supremacy!

See how these reformers allow *that* in their ignorant selves, which they condemned in the learned bishops. It was a heinous crime in the prelates to negotiate temporal affairs, yet, in themselves, a virtue; whilst neither king must be admitted, nor army raised, but by their consent. The bishops only voted in parliament, but these controul: supposing the highest concerns of state to be like mount Sinai, not to be touched but by their sanctified selves. To this height they are already climbed: at this, our English jockeys have long time aimed, and would soon compass, if their gunpowder-zeal could but blow up the parliament-house, or their pulpit-granados fire the castle of Independency; which they have long besieged with their malice, but shall never overthrow by their power; notwithstanding their schismatical lectures, private fasts, and whining morning-exercises. No, no, God covers himself with a cloud of displeasure towards them, and will not bear them on eagle's wings, that they may 'build their nests on high.' Well may they attempt to soar high, but then let them take heed, lest, with Simon Magus (the father of all hereticks, as Irenæus styles them,) presuming to fly in the presence of all the people, from Mons Capitolinus to Mons Aventinus, they fall down, to their utter destruction: for severe punishment from heaven treads on the heels of the unjust on earth, if they pitch their tent in sin. No marvel, if God discharge his dreadful artillery, in a full volley of vengeance, against them; as Paul told Elymas the sorcerer: "O full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season." And immediately there fell on him a mist, and a darkness, and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand.

Whilst Cerinthus labours to build his own house, by pulling down Christ's, suddenly a house fell down to the ground, and slew him, with many of his adherents. Whilst Arius, being unable to answer the strong arguments of holy Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, accused him of sorcery; and, in his high towering thoughts, intending to make a battery against the bulwark of true religion, by disputing against Alexander, a reverend bishop; in the morning, when the hour of disputation was come, as this heretick entered among the auditory, a sudden pain in the belly began to seize him, in presence of a great multitude of bishops and common people; so that, being so constrained to go to some secret place, to discharge the burthen of his belly, his bowels fell from him into the privy; and there he suddenly died, as shamefully as he lived sinfully.

I wish, therefore, these new Arians to take heed, lest they hurt as much, under a colour of reforming and building up the church, as hereticks and open tyrants can do, by persecuting and pulling down. For, as Luther observes, often the greatest peril is on the right-hand: in this sense we may cry out, *Omnes amici omnes inimici*; they may have the face of friendship, but not without the hearts and hands of foes; dealing with Christ, as Herod once did, who, although he was troubled at the report of the wise-men, which came, by the direction of a glorious star, to worship the Sun of Glory, then in a cloud of humanity; yet, to put a good face upon his wickedly intended fact, he pretends also to come and worship him; his full purpose being only, under that cloke, to smother the tender princely Babe. As Satan, being the prince of darkness, is often transformed into an angel of light, to bring wretched men into utter darkness; thinking himself most happy, when he makes sinners, like himself, most unhappy; so the children of the devil have not seldom fair vizards to cover their foul faces. For where our enemy, the devil, cannot overthrow in open field of notorious wickedness, he labours to lie in the ambushment of dissembled sanctity; where he hangs not out bloody colours of defiance, as an open enemy, there he seeks to betray, as a seeming friend; when the lion's skin cannot, the fox's skin must then effect the design. They, that are 'inwardly ravening wolves,' delight to come 'in sheep's clothing,' which is indeed nothing else but precise titles of holiness, and mere outsides of Christianity; having linsey-wolsey garments, the plain

web of simplicity withoutside, but the subtle thread of deceit withinside; their outside is of lamb's wool, whilst their inside is of fox's fur.

In the forehead of the whore of Babylon is written a mystery: so Paul calls the working of Antichrist 'a mystery of iniquity;' because the man of sin doth covertly and cunningly, serpent-like, wind his abominations into the church of Christ. At first they may appear like Elijah's cloud, little like a man's hand; but, in a short space, the heavens become black, with clouds of displeasure against them. Corruptions in ecclesiastical matters, as diseases in natural bodies, creep in insensibly; and sometimes come to that height, that neither the malady nor the medicine can be well endured. As we may exemplify it in the Presbytery, which now assumes the infallible chair; having not the patience to have the truth of their doctrines, and dictates, tried by the sure touch-stone of the word of God, which is 'powerful to bring down strong-holds, and every imagination that exalts itself;' which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem, the praise of the whole earth. I dare appeal to the court of their own consciences, that spiritual chancery, Whether it be not enough to incur the censure of a sectary, either to dispute their infallibility, or for a layman to exercise the gifts of the spirit, especially that of prophecy? As if the charter in this kind belonged only to themselves, they maliciously deny this liberty to others; or, as if the Lord Jesus, who ascended up on high, and 'gave gifts unto men,' did ordain the disposing thereof only by the hands of the Presbytery; which, being not 'washed in innocency,' cannot present any to God's altar: whilst the pomegranate is wanting, their bells are out of tune. I am sure the word of God is not bound to their mouths, neither can they be the only oracles to be consulted: though Moses and Aaron have a special mission, yet Eldad and Medad may have a special commission to prophesy in the camp.

The holy apostle, Paul, makes a parænetical oration in general terms, without the least exception, saying, 'Desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy; for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.' Peter's vote goes also with Paul's: for, saith he, 'as every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold graces of God.'

Is the spirit of prophecy only mounted on the wings of Mercurius, or confined to the seven stars of the liberal sciences? Is Christ only learned in the schools of the philosophers, or only manifested by the knowledge of tongues? I tell you nay: for Paul had never been an apostle, by sitting at the feet of Gamaliel, but by casting himself down at the feet of Jesus: he was by the one a learned persecutor, by the other alone a most zealous professor. Yet I despise not human learning, acknowledging it a glorious ornament, and great instrument, where it is sanctified. But, if I should speak against it, I am confident the Presbyterian clergy, for the most part, have least reason to speak against me, who little fear them, knowing, that 'too much learning will never make them mad.' Yet I suppose them not to be well in their wits, whilst they strive to stop the mouths of God's saints, which, in a spiritual sense, are 'the heavens that declare the glory of God, and the firmament which sheweth his handy-work.'

What, shall such as sail by Christ's compass, on this sea of glass, be driven back by the north-wind of blustering Presbytery? Or shall they, that are guided by the pole-star of truth, be seized on by these pirates, who would rob God of his glory, and his people of that liberty, which is Christ's legacy; and hath continual residence with his Spirit, and therefore oppositely styled 'Glorious?' God forbid! we have not so learned Christ, as, in any such case, to fear his enemies; in the midst of whom Christ must reign, and over whom Christ will ever triumph. Though 'the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel against the Lord, and against his Anointed;' those his enemies, who will not that he should reign over them, shall be slain before his face. What must these his friendly enemies then expect; whilst they only wear Christ's colours, and fight not under his banners for tokens? Which I intend to display, to shew the mottos of their meaning.

Before Mars's dreadful artillery, with thundering echoes, resounded in our land; and the late king, with his bishops, were in their glory; these Goliahs of Presbytery, being then under a cloud, bemoaned themselves as the persecuted (though in most things complying) party. Whereupon, no sooner did a seasonable opportunity present itself to them, but each mouth of theirs was turned into a warlike trumpet, with a 'Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof,' &c. Nay, some of the clergy did not only animate the people against the said king, but did lead them on; making a covenant before men to preserve him, yet an agreement with hell to destroy him; which, if praying, preaching, fighting, lying, or the like, could effect; they were resolved to want no such ammunition.

Well; when their design prospered, by the adverse fate of the king and prelatical clergy, and they, like Pharaoh's lean kine, had eaten up all the fat kine; making themselves rich by others poverty, and great by their ruin; then they were, as the prophet speaks of the inhabitants of Babylon, mad upon their idols of Presbytery, compelling the people to 'bow the knee to Baal,' even in the picture of a lay-elder; which is an image in their kirk, and a dumb-show in their mask. He, forsooth, must be subject with silence, whilst the priest lords it with impudence; taxing all the world, with Augustus Cæsar, and making his little finger heavier than the bishop's loins: each provincial classis having the platform of a High-Commission-Court, or Star-Chamber, where each petty trespass should have been looked upon in a multiplying-glass, as a most heinous crime. The nobles and gentlemen, with the honest commoners, should have been made slaves to their idle humours, and all dissenting brethren, as tributary Canaanites, to these feigned Israelites, which deem themselves the only Joshuas and Calebs, that arrive at the Canaan of a pure reformation, out of the wilderness of cursed superstition.

But give me leave to ask you, What difference there is in the Presbyters' enjoining sitting at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the bishops commanding kneeling? I can assure you, in both you may perceive no small tyranny over the weak consciences of our dear brethren, whom we ought to receive, not to doubtful disputations; wherefore, saith the holy apostle in the same place, 'Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth; for God hath accepted and received him.' Again, 'Meat commendeth us not to God; for neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse.' If therefore there be so much indifferency in the matter of eating, surely there can be no less, but rather more in the manner thereof; the posture cannot speak so loud, as the mouth, of eating.

Moreover, what distinction is there between the bishops enjoining the observation of days, and the Presbyterians inhibiting it? Believe it, in both is a breach of conscience-liberty; for the Apostle holds it forth unto us very clearly, saying: 'One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own conscience. He that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.' I therefore suspect them to be hypocritical, who upon this account are so critical; and I fear they too much idolize their own chimeras, whilst they so much cry out against the people for, as they say, 'idolizing certain days.'

Furthermore, whilst the people are compelled to come to shrift before the priest and his lay-elders; what is this, but cousin-german to auricular confession, or at best, usurped jurisdiction over Christian souls; when they have liberty given by the Apostle, 'to examine themselves, and so eat of that bread, and drink of that cup?' All which, and more, I refer to the censure of the godly-wise: and shall now declare these reformers' carriage towards the parliament of England.

As Carolostadius, in Luther's age, did seem to desire the advancement of Christ's kingdom, in the flourishing of the Gospel; but yet, notwithstanding his pretended zeal of God's house, he despised authority, neglected human laws, and was altogether transported with his own private humours of ambition and covetousness: so the Presbyterians, seeing their dagon fallen, (notwithstanding all their great flourishes of piety, and brags

of reformation,) despise the present authority, because they are somewhat crossed in their ambition and avarice; the two poles which turn the heaven of their zealous pretences. For they came into the ministry, as Stratocles, and Dromoclidias, into the magistracy, *tanquam ad auream messem*, 'as it were to a golden harvest;' following rather their tithe than their text, and fishing not so much with Peter's net, as his hook. Oh! it is a fish with money they seek after, according to that of the prophet: 'The priests teach for hire, and the prophets divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us?' With the 'untempered mortar' of supposed sanctity, they raise up a Babel of presumption, from whose steep and elevated top, they precipitate their giddy followers; who shall at length, by woeful experience, find the tongues of these teachers heavier than the hands of Moses, when he was supported by Aaron and Hur. Yet, alas! how many poor creatures are seduced by them, who are honoured as the people of the Lord, though they be indeed of Korah's conspiracy? Their mouth speaketh 'great swelling words,' and these 'filthy dreamers' despise dominion, and 'speak evil of dignities;' God commanding the contrary, saying, 'Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.' 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; there is no power but of God;' &c. saith St. Paul. Besides, the Lord admonisheth the Jews, saying, 'Bring your necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him, and his people, and live.' Nay more, they were commanded to 'seek the peace of the city,' and pray unto the Lord for it.

They therefore that break the peace of our land, fighting with the sword of their mouth against the magistrates; thereby with the fogs of sedition to obscure their light, and with the whirlwind of reproachful words to blow out the lamp of their glory; such, I say, have their eyes put out, with Zedekiah, and are posting to Babylon, their soul's confusion. Yet such are our blessed Presbyterians, whose words are as a fire, to kindle flames of dissension, and as an hammer, to break in pieces the fabrick of our present government; stirring up the people now against the parliament, as before they did against the king; although they covenanted, to maintain the privilege thereof: yet they take so much privilege to themselves, that, by their consent, the parliament shall have none at all. With Absalom, they steal the hearts of the people; and, if not prevented, will at length openly rebel: such a whirl-wind must we expect to reap in England, whilst they sow the wind of their prating so much for Scotland. If the people, with Ephraim, feed on the wind of their words, no marvel if their stomach be nauseous towards the state's advancement.

It is observed truly, that the people are like the sea, and the preachers are like to wind: as the sea of itself would be quiet, if the winds did not move and trouble it; so the people would be tractable and peaceable, if such seditious orators did not set them in agitation. If such minstrels be permitted, no wonder if the people make a noise; if they shall be suffered to rail in the pulpits, let us not blame the people for murmuring in the streets; if they without controul may give a false alarm, the people will be too apt to take it. As the serpent Porphyrius is said to be full of poison, but wants teeth to vent it; so the Presbyterian is full of malice, but wants strength to put it in execution. Their hatred is now like a subterraneous fire, and thunder in a cloud; they only wait for a fit time when it shall break forth into a flame, and affright us with a terrible clap, that they may set up their three-headed Geryon, honour, riches, and pleasure.

Some of the most crafty foxes, although they covertly endeavour to spoil our vines, by planting their stinking elders, yet they openly pretend their preservation: so that they altogether look one way, and row another. Others not so cunning, but as malicious, stand in a diametrical opposition to all orders of parliament; and when they should fast, they will feast; and when they should feast, they will be sure to fast; turning days of thanksgiving into days of humiliation, and calling adhering to the parliament, 'a back-sliding from the truth:' surely, they mean their covenant; for as, if 'the way, the truth, and the life,' were exactly drawn in that libel, as the world in a map, they pressed it with rigour, as necessary to the commonwealth's well-being; and now, with bitterness of spirit, reject the engagement, as an engine of destruction. Therefore, *rebus sic stantibus*, let the

world judge, who are the Malignants; either they that desire to live 'under their vines, and under their fig-trees,' in peace, or these that labour to foment a new war; some of them having not only a finger, but a whole hand in the Scottish design against us?

Yet they would fain excuse themselves, by accusing others of malignancy, saying, or rather boasting with the Pharisee: 'God, we thank thee, that we are not as other men are;' neither indeed are they, for they are not half so honest. As Augustine writes of Faustus the Manichee; 'If this were to be just, to justify themselves:' assuredly, this generation of vipers had long since flown up into heaven. But, alas! they prefer themselves before others, upon no better ground than the Marcionites did extol the serpent above the Creator, because the Creator did forbid to participate of the tree of knowing good and evil, and the serpent freely did permit it. They would fain make us believe their *entia* to be *transcendentia*, and their sots to be Solomons: but let us examine their actions, and we shall find that they travail with iniquity, conceive mischief, and bring forth falsehood: *Verbis proferunt virtutem, & factis destruunt veritatem*; 'in their words they may seem to advance virtue, but by their works they overthrow truth;' not unlike the cunning lapidary, who sells a beryl for a diamond: but yet Christ suffereth such in his church, that the truth might break forth with brighter beams through the blackest clouds of opposition.

If Arius and Sabellius had not exceedingly vexed the church of Christ, the deep mysteries of the Holy Trinity would never have been so clearly and accurately determined by the orthodox doctors. If Manichæus had not maliciously railed upon the Old Testament, Augustine (that walking-library of learning in his time) would never have taken such indefatigable pains in answering all objections against it: so, if these mongrel Geneva proselytes had not, with a storm in their countenance, and a tempest in their tongue, opposed the saints of God; the glorious mysteries of Christ's kingdom had not been so much revealed to his people. Had not these enemies come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord had not thus 'lifted up the standard against them.' 'For brass God had now brought gold, and for iron, silver;' therefore let their stormy wind praise the Lord, and let the wrath of these men glorify his holy Name. Let the antiperistasis of their malice make the fire of our zeal more intense. And, although the interposition of these lunatics, as that of the moon, may for a very little while eclipse our sun, yet it shall never go down; for the Lord himself will be our everlasting light, we shall be ever clothed with the sun, and therefore tread the moon of variableness under our feet: insomuch, that the beast, which hath horns like a lamb, and speaks as a dragon, shall never exercise his power over us, though they say, 'Cursed be the man that obeyeth not the words of our covenant.'

Whoso then is a wise man, and endued with knowledge, among the Presbyterian party, let him lay his hand upon his heart, and consider; whilst oil is yet in his lamp, and those candles of nature, his eyes, not sunk down within their sockets; let him descend into himself, and search out the error of his ways; which being once found, let him not be ashamed to cry *peccavi* from the bottom of his heart: for this will be a key to open the wounds of Christ, and give a ready passage to the Mercy-seat.

This is all the harm I wish the worst of them; and, if Alexander the Great wept at the sight of Darius's dead corpse, and Julius Cæsar at the spectacle of Pompey's head, certainly (as severely as they may censure me) I should turn *lumina in flumina, in fontem frontem*, 'eyes into tears, and face into a fountain,' to behold their destruction: altogether desiring their speedy conversion; for which shall be always my fervent prayer.

And, as for me, the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded; therefore 'have I set my face like a flint,' and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near that justifieth me. Who will contend with me? Let us stand together. Who is mine adversary? Let him come near me.

A short, legal, medicinal, useful, safe, and easy Prescription to recover our Kingdom, Church, and Nation, from their present dangerous, distractive, destructive Confusion, and worse than Bedlam Madness: seriously recommended to all English Freeman, who desire Peace, Safety, Liberty, Settlement. By William Prynne, Esq. a Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn.¹

'Consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds.' JUDGES xix. 30.

'Deceit is in the heart of them that imagine evil, but to the
'counsellors of peace is joy. There shall no evil happen
'to the just, but the wicked shall be filled with mischief.'
PROV. xii. 19, 20.

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[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

THE ambition, treachery, turbulency, avarice, and late infused Jesuitical principles of some swaying officers in the parliament's army; aspiring after the supreme authority, government, and public revenues of our three kingdoms; having so far corrupted their judgments, seared their consciences, depraved their wills, and hardened their hearts, as openly, frequently to violate all sacred oaths, vows, covenants, obligations, trusts, commissions, engagements to the late king, his heirs and successors, the old parliament, kingdom, nation, for whose defence they were originally raised, and commissioned; and, to their own new-created anti-parliamentary junctos, conventions, protectors, and conventicles, (which they have all successively subverted,) engrossing the sovereign, royal, and parliamentary power into their own hands, opposing and advancing themselves (by mere treachery, perjury, violence, and other desperate ways of unrighteousness), like that man of sin, and mystery of iniquity, above all that is worshipped and called God; making no less than three public revolutions of our government, and forcibly dissolving two parliaments, as they deemed them, of their own modelling, convening, within six months space, last past; and thereby made our formerly renowned nations, the scorn, reproach, wonder, derision of all the world; themselves the monsters of men, the shame of Christianity, chivalry; exposed our three nations to the uttermost extremity of danger by new unprecedented ataxies, divisions, incroachments upon their hereditary rights, liberties, properties; caused a total decay of all sorts of trade, justice, legal proceedings at home; and occasioned a speedy much feared invasion from our potent combined popish adversaries abroad, when thus miserably distracted, discontented, impoverished, and totally disabled to repulse them: it is high time for every public-spirited Englishman in this strange, distracting confusion (which hath almost as much divided and discontented all conscientious

¹ [Vide an account of this industrious and voluminous writer in Athen. Oxon. Biog. Dict. &c.]

officers, soldiers in the army, navy, as the people of all callings, conditions,) to contribute their best advice, by all just, legal, hopeful, speedy ways; agreeable with the laws of God and the land, and those rights, liberties of the people (the defence whereof all officers, soldiers in the army, have so frequently and constantly avowed they were principally raised, and resolved to defend, though they have, hitherto, failed in their promises,) to recover us out of the labyrinth of our almost inextricable amazing confusions, settle our pernicious distractions, and prevent that visible, imminent, universal desolation else likely to fall upon our church, state, nation, religion, beyond all possibility of escape; through the army-officers' rash destructive counsels, and violations of their trusts, oaths, engagements, both as soldiers, Christians, and members of the kingdom.

The only just, legal, probable means, now left, that I can prescribe both for our nation's, church's, army's, present and future safety too (if they will cordially and christianly submit thereto, as they ought in conscience, justice, prudence), is,

i. For all ancient nobility of the kingdom (the hereditary great council and counsellors of the nation in all actual interregnums, and public confusions, as our historians, records, law-books, and the commons themselves in the Long-parliament resolved both by custom, law, right) to assemble themselves by common consent at Westminster, or so many of them at least, or their heirs, if dead, who constantly adhered to the Long-parliament, and there to issue out writs according to the statute of 16 Car. c. i.² on the third Monday of November next, under twelve or more of their hands and seals, for a free and legal election of knights, citizens, burgesses, barons, in every city, county, borough, port, according to former usage, to appear at the parliament-house in Westminster, the third Monday in January next ensuing, at a parliament then and there to be held, in such a manner and form as this act prescribes; wherein such proposals and counsels may by common consent be pursued, as may (through God's blessing) soon restore our pristine peace, trade, honour, wealth, prosperity, felicity, settlement, and secure us from all future changes.

ii. For all freeholders in every county of the kingdom, at the next county-court in November, to meet together, and make choice of the ablest, honestest, wisest, stoutest gentlemen for their sheriffs; to keep the peace of the county, command the militia, suppress all insurrections, elect, return knights, citizens, burgesses to serve in parliament, and execute the office of a sheriff: it being their ancient legal right and privilege, by special grants of our kings, both in and out of parliament, which none, in late or present power, ought to inroach upon, or deprive them of; and they are all now bound to exercise and maintain for their own preservation and safety. This their right I shall clearly evidence beyond contradiction:

First, By the people's ancient right in Edward the Confessor's time, or before, in their folk-mote to chuse an heretoch³, a baron, or person of quality, in every county, in nature of a captain, who had the power of the county and militia in every shire; *Sicut et vicecomites provinciarum et comitatum eligi debent per singulos comitatus in pleno folk-moto*;

² [By this statute it was enacted, that, if the king neglected to call a parliament for three years, the peers might assemble and issue out writs for choosing one; and in case of neglect of the peers, the constituents might meet and elect one themselves: but the act was esteemed so highly detrimental and injurious to the royal prerogative, that it was repealed by stat. 16 Car. II. c. i.]

The convention-parliament, however, which restored king Charles the Second, met above a month before his return; the lords by their own authority, and the commons in pursuance of writs issued in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of parliament: and the said parliament sat till the 29th of December, full seven months after the restoration; and enacted many laws, several of which are still in force. This (the sagacious Blackstone remarks) was for the necessity of the thing, which supersedes all law; for if they had not so met, it was morally impossible that the kingdom should have been settled in peace. And the first thing done after the king's return was to pass an act declaring this to be a good parliament, notwithstanding the defect of the king's writs. *Commentary*, i. 151.]

³ [The heretochs or dukes were constituted through every province and county in the kingdom; being taken out of the principal nobility, and such as were most remarkable for being *sapientes, fideles, et animosi*. Their duty was to lead and regulate the English armies, with a very unlimited power; *prout eis visum fuerit, ad honorem coronæ et utilitatem regni*. And because of this great power they were elected by the people in

* As sheriffs of provinces and counties ought to be chosen in every county: as you may read at large in Lambarde's Archaion, f. 135, *de heretochiis*. Spelm. Gloss. p. 232, 348, 349. *dux & heretochius*. Prynne's 'Sovereign Power of Parl.' pt. ii. p. 24, 25. 2 Coke's Inst. 174, 175.

Secondly, By *Claus. 16 Johan. reg. i. m. 2. dorso*.

Dominus rex concessit baronibus suis, militibus & liberè-tenantibus de Cornubiâ, quòd habeant vicecomitem de aliquo ipsorum ad electionem eorum. Idem verò barones, milites, & liberè-tenentes concesserunt Willielmo Wise, quòd habeat hundredum de Estweneleser ad feodi firmam, sibi & hæredibus suis imperpetuum, per dimidium marcæ argenti, ad festum sancti Michaelis reddendum.

Thirdly, By *Pat. 5 Hen. III. m. 6*.

Henricus, Dei gratiâ, &c. Archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, liberè-tenantibus & aliis omnibus de com. Cornub. salutem. Sciatis quòd concessimus vobis quòd liberam habeatis electionem eligendi vobis in vicecomitem nostrum unum de com. Cornub. Et ideò vobis mandamus, quòd eligatis tres fideles & discretos de com. Cornub. & illos nobis præsentari fac. apud London. in octab. clausi Paschæ & nos unum ex illis tribus, prout nobis placuerit, vobis dabimus ad vicecomitem. Et interim commisimus comitatum illum Cornub. cum omnibus illis quæ ad nos pertinent, dilecto & fideli nostro Reginaldo de Valletortâ custodiend. vobisque mandamus quatenus eidem Reginaldo usque ad prædictum terminum sitis intendentes & respondentes in omnibus, tanquam vic. nostro & ballivo nostro. Et in hujus, &c.

T. H. de Burgo, &c. apud Westm. xxviii^o die Jan. an. regni nostro quinto.

Fourthly, By *Pat. 10 Hen. III. m. 4*.

Rex, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, liberè-tenantibus, & omnibus aliis de communibus Somerset. & Dors. salutem. Sciatis quòd electioni quam fecistis de Will. fil. Henr. ad vic. nostrum faciend. de comitat. Somerset. et Dorset. assensum nostrum præbuimus. Et ideò vobis mandamus, quòd ei tanquam vic. nostro, quamdiù nobis placuerit, intendentes sitis & respondentes.

In cujus, &c.

Teste rege apud Winton. xxvii^o die Jan.

Fifthly, By *Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminster*, Daniel, and others, who record, that in the forty-fifth year of king Henry the Third, the king placed new sheriffs in every county; displacing the sheriffs the barons and people had made: whereupon, the people, in every county, manfully resisted the sheriffs, and would not obey, nor regard nor answer them in any thing; whereat the king was much troubled. Much less then ought they now to obey any sheriffs obtruded on them by the army-officers, or any other illegal usurped power.

Sixthly, By the statute of *Articuli super Chartas*, 28 *Edw. I. c. 8*. the king hath granted to his people, that they shall have the election of sheriffs in every shire, where the shrievalty is not of fee, if they will⁴. And, *c. 13*. forasmuch as the king hath granted the election of sheriffs to the commons of the shire, the king willeth, that they shall choose such sheriffs as shall not charge them, and that they shall not put in any officer for rewards or bribes: and that they shall not lodge too often in one place, nor with poor persons, nor with men of religion. By which statutes (being but confirmations of the people's former rights by custom, or kings' grants, on which some of them incroached, which was

their full assembly, or folkmote, in the same manner as sheriffs were elected: following still that old fundamental maxim of the Saxon constitution, that where any officer was entrusted with such power, as, if abused, might tend to the oppression of the people, that power was delegated to him by the vote of the people themselves.

Blackst. Com. i. 409.

Isti verò viri eliguntur per commune consilium, pro communi utilitate regni, per provincias & patrias universas, & per singulos comitatus, in pleno folkmote, sicut & vicecomites provinciarum & comitatum eligi debent. LL. *Edw. Confess. c. de heretochiis*. See also Bede, *Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 10.*]

⁴ [These popular elections becoming tumultuous, were put an end to by the stat. 9 *Edw. II. st. 2*. which enacted that the sheriffs should from thenceforth be assigned by the chancellor, treasurer, and judges; as being persons in whom the same trust might with confidence be placed. See likewise the subsequent statutes of 14 *Edw. III. c. 7*. 23 *Hen. VI. c. 8*. 21 *Hen. VIII. c. 20.*]

the occasion of these acts) all counties used to elect their sheriff: and if they elected any mean or unfitting person (as they sometimes did), he then commanded them by his writs to choose another, who was fit to discharge that office; witness this memorable record ensuing:

Claus. 31 Edw. I. m. 13. dorso.

Rex, coronatoribus & toti communitati comitatum Salop. & Stafford. salutem. Cum nuper pro communi utilitate regni nostri inter alia concesserimus populo ejusdem regni, quod habeat, si voluerit, electionem vic. in singulis comitatibus dicti regni cum opus fuerit vicecom. predict. in eisdem, ubi videlicet vicecomes de feodo non existit. Ac Ricardus de Harlegh, per vos in vic. comitatum predictorum nuper electus, ad officium illud faciendum minus sufficiens est, sicut ex testimonio fide digno accepimus: Vobis mandamus quod aliquem qui melius sciat & possit officio vic. dictorum comitatum intendere, & utilior fuerit ad idem officium exequendum, in vic. eorundem comitatum pro vobis, si volueritis, eligatis; & ipsum sic electum per aliquem legalem & circumscriptum hominem ex parte vestra cum literis vestris patentibus sub sigillis sex de discretioribus & probioribus mil. eorundem comitatum thess. & baronib. nostris de scaccario in crastino sancti Michaelis prox. futuri sine dilatione presentetis, ut ipse tunc ibidem prestito, sicut moris est, sacramento, extunc ea faciat & exerceat, quæ ad officium vicecomitis pertinent in com. predictis. Et habeatis ibi tunc hoc breve: Scituri, quod si talem per vos electum modo predicto non presentaveritis coram prefatis thess. & baronibus nostris in crastino predicto, predicti thess. & barones extunc nobis de alio vicecomite vobis præficiendo in defectu vestri providebunt.

Teste rege apud Sarum. 16^o die Aprilis.

Eighthly, By *Claus. 12 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 15. Claus. 13 Edw. III. p. 3. dors. 16. Claus. 14 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 3. De vicecomitibus eligendis per totam Angliam*; wherein are several writs issued, authorizing and commanding the people, to elect their sheriffs, in every county, throughout England; with other records, to the like effect, over-tedious to recite at large.

Ninthly, By Mr. Lambard's *Archaion*, f. 135. and sir Edward Cook's 2 *Institute on Magna Charta*, p. 174, 175, 558, 559, 566, who resolve: that sheriffs, in ancient times, were, and ought to be, chosen by the free-holders of the county, in the county-court; as conservators of the peace, coroners, verderers, constables, petty constables, were then, and since elected likewise by the people; as well by the king's writs, as without them, in cases of necessity.

Tenthly, By the constant custom of all corporations, which are counties within themselves, having power, annually, to choose sheriffs only by the king's charters, without any special writ; as London, Bristol, Gloucester, York, Canterbury, Coventry, &c. use to do. Therefore every county in England and Wales may do the like, without any special writs, being a necessary, annual, ancient standing office; especially, in these confused times, when none have any legal authority to issue out writs or commissions, to elect or swear sheriffs, by virtue of the premised statutes. And the army, officers with other self-created usurping powers, may as lawfully obtrude mayors, sheriffs, and other officers, on every corporation of England, without their election; and deprive them of their freedom to elect them; as thrust sheriffs, justices of the peace, coroners, or other eligible officers upon counties, and rob them of this their just, ancient right and privilege, now strenuously, to be revived, asserted for their common safety against all incroachments thereon. The statute of Westminster, 1 chap. 5, enacting, declaring, that all elections ought to be free, and not disturbed by force of arms, under great forfeitures, by no great men, nor others.

iii. Let all counties, cities, boroughs, ports, make choice of the wisest, ablest, stoutest, discreetest persons; such as are best affected to peace, settlement, and the nation's public interest, for their knights, citizens, and burgesses; not of raw, unexperienced, timorous, or time-serving, unstable, self-seeking, turbulent men.

iv. Let all counties, cities, noblemen, gentlemen, yeomen, clergymen, and freemen of the nation unanimously resolve, to obey no new, illegal, tyrannical, upstart powers, officers, conventicles, committees or councils of men whatsoever, forcibly obtruded on them; nor

to execute any of their orders or commands; but only to obey such legal officers, as themselves shall legally elect, or a free parliament duly elected by them: nor pay any taxes, customs, imposts, excises, contributions whatsoever, to any officers, soldiers, collectors, but such as shall be imposed by common consent, in a free and lawful parliament; it being their ancient birth-right (for defence whereof, the army was first raised), ratified not only by sundry ancient statutes and the late petition of right, but several acts, votes, declarations, judgments, the last long parliament of king Charles, acknowledged in the instrument of government itself, the late petition and advice, the army's own former declarations, and the late dissolved junto, in their very last knack, of the twelfth of this instant October, their plea and papers since.

v. If any officers and soldiers of the army, out of faction, ambition, self-ends, or jesuitical seduction, shall obstinately, traitorously, maliciously, or tyrannically oppose the people in their elections of sheriffs, knights, citizens, burgesses, or levy any taxes, excises upon them by armed violence, contrary to all their former forfeited, now expired commissions, declarations, engagements: let them then unanimously declare and proceed against them, as professed public enemies, traitors to their native country; who by their former and late treacheries, rebellions, and unwarrantable proceedings against all their superiors, transcending all precedents in profane or sacred stories, have actually in law and justice, forfeited not only all their commissions, commands, and arrears of pay, but all their very lives, lands, estates; and that our whole three nations, by their solemn league and covenant, for their own future preservation, are obliged to bring them to public justice, as themselves have proceeded against hundreds, nay, thousands of other delinquents, not half so criminal as themselves; and, thereupon, intreat all other officers, soldiers in the army, who have any fear of God, or love to themselves, their posterities, or native country, remaining in their breasts; as Moses did the congregation of Israel, in the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who mutinied the people against him and Aaron, Numb. xvi. "Depart, I pray ye, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins:" so they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram on every side. And as many officers and soldiers, as shall, thereupon, desert the tents of their rebellious commanders, and contribute their assistance for the speedy calling, and safe fitting of a free, lawful parliament, without any future mutinies, to interrupt or dissolve it; when convened according to the premised statute of 16 Car. chap 1. Let them be assured of their full arrears, and of indemnity, for what is past; which none else but a free and lawful parliament can grant them; all other indemnities being void in law. And if this will not satisfy, let them beware, lest the earth cleave asunder, that is under them; and then open her mouth, and swallow them up alive, with their houses, men, goods, and all appertaining to them, and they perish from among the congregation, (as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their families and adherents did,) by this or some other exemplary judgments, and a universal insurrection of our three whole discontented, oppressed, ruined nations against them; which they may justly fear and expect, if they believe there is 'a righteous God, that judgeth in the earth,' a Lord of Hosts able to scatter, punish, execute vengeance on them here, and cast them into hell for ever hereafter, for their manifold, unlamented, reiterated, transcendant rebellions; or repute these texts canonical, which I shall recommend to their saddest meditations: Prov. xxix. 10. 'He, that, being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy:' as the late anti-parliamentary juntos and protectors have been. Prov. xi. 21. 'Though hand go in hand, yet the wicked shall not go unpunished.' Psal. lxxviii. 21: 'God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such a one as goeth on still in his trespasses.' Ezek. xxiv. 14: 'I the Lord have spoken it, it shall come to pass, I will do it; I will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent; but according to thy ways, and according to thy doings I will recompense, and they shall judge thee, saith the Lord.' Col. iii. 25: 'He that doeth wrong shall receive according to the wrong done, and there is no respect of persons with God:' who can, in a moment, as easily destroy an whole

army, and great host of men, (as he did ⁵ Sennacherib's, Jeroboam's, and other armies,) as any one single person.

October the last, 1659, the day of king-condemning John Bradshaw's death, and translation to his proper place, and arraignment, in the highest court of justice.

⁵ 2 Kings, xiii. 35. 2. Chron. xiii. 16, 17.

Nennius, a worthy Briton, the very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject, encountering with Julius Cæsar, at his first coming into this Island, was by him Death-wounded: yet nevertheless he got Cæsar's Sword, put him to Flight, slew therewith Labienus, a Tribune of the Romans, endured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days after: and now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and usurping Enemies. About the Year before Christ, 52. [MS.]¹

I MAY, by right, some later writers blame
Of stories old, as rude, or negligent;
Or else I may them well unlearned name,
Or heedless, in those things about they went:
Some time on me as well they might have spent,
As on such traitors, tyrants, harlots, those,
Which, to their countries, were the deadliest foes.

Me, for myself, I would not this recite,
Although I have occasion good thereto;
But sure, methinks, it is too great despise,
These men to others, and their countries, do:
For there are Britons, neither one or two,
Whose names in stories scarcely once appear,
And yet their lives examples worthy were.

'Tis worthy praise, I grant, to write the ends
Of vicious men, and teach the like beware:
For what hath he of virtue, that commends
Such persons lewd, as nought of virtues care?
But for to leave out those praise-worthy are,
Is like as if a man had not the skill
To praise the good, but discommend the ill.

¹ [This seems to be one of the numerous poems written in imitation of those popular national legends contained in the 'Mirror for Magistrates:' of which a particular account may be seen in Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. and in Cens. Literar. vol. iii.]

I crave no praise, although myself deserv'd
 As great a laud, as any Briton yore ;
 But I would have it told how well I serv'd
 My prince and country ; faith to both I bore :
 All noble hearts hereby, with courage more,
 May both their foreign foes in fight withstand,
 And of their enemies have the upper hand.

Again, to shew how valiant then we were,
 You Britons good, to move your hearts thereby
 All other nations less in fight to fear,
 And, for your country, rather so to die,
 With valiant, haughty courage, as did I,
 Than live in bondage, service, slavery, thrall
 Of foreign powers, which hate your manhood all.

Do give me leave to speak but ev'n a while,
 And mark, and write this story I thee tell :—
 By north from London, more than fifty mile,
 There lies the Isle of Ely, known full well,
 Wherein my father built a place to dwell ;
 And, for because he liked well the same,
 He gave the place He Ely hight, his name.

'Tis nam'd the Isle of Ely ; yet, perdy,
 My father nam'd it so ; yet² writers miss,
 Or, if I may be bold to say, they lye
 Of him, which tell that far untruth-like is.
 What truth, I pray you, seems to be in this ?
 He Ely lov'd, a goodly place built there,
 Most it delighted, reign'd not full a year.

He reigned forty years, as others tell ;
 Which seems, as 'tis a tale, more true by far :
 By justice guided he his subjects well,
 And liv'd in peace, without the broils of war :
 His children's noble acts in stories are,
 In vulgar tongue ; but nought is said of me,
 And yet I worthy was, the young'st of three.

His eldest son and heir was after king ;
 A noble prince, and he was named Lud ;
 Full politic and wise in every thing,
 And one that will'd his country always good :
 Such uses, customs, statutes he withstood,
 As seem'd to bring the public weal's decay,
 And them abolish'd, broke, repeal'd away.

So he the walls of Troy the New renew'd,
 Inlarg'd them made, with forty tow'rs about ;
 And, at the west-side of the wall, he view'd
 A place for gates, to keep the enemies out :
 There made he prisons for the poor bankrout,
 Nam'd Ludgate, yet for freemen-debtors, free
 From hurt, till with their creditors they 'gree.

² Lanquet, Stowe, Grafton, Flores Historici.

Some say, the city also took the name
Of Lud my brother; for he it repair'd:
And I must needs, as true, confess the same.
For why?—That time no cost on it he spar'd.
He still increas'd and peopled every ward;
And bade them aye Kaer Lud the city call,
Or Ludstow: now you name it London all.

At length he dy'd; his children under age,
The elder named was Androgeus;
Committing both unto my brother's charge:
The younger of them hight Tennancius.
The Britons, wanting aged rulers thus,
Chose, for that time, Cassibellane their king,
My brother justice meant in every thing.

The Roman then the mighty Cæsar fought
Against the Galls, and conquered them by might:
Which done, he stood on shores, where see he mought
The ocean seas, and Britain cliffs full bright;
Quoth he, "What region lies there in my sight?
Methinks some island in the seas I see,
Not yet subdu'd, nor vanquish'd yet by me."

With that they told him, we the Britons were,
A people stout, and fierce in feats of war.
Quoth he, "The Romans never yet, with fear
Of nation rude, was daunted off so far;
We therefore mind to prove them what they are:"
And, therewithal, the letters hither sent,
By those ambassage brought, and thus they went.

C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator of Rome, to Cassibellane, King of Britain, sendeth
Greeting.

SINCE that the gods have given us all the West,
As subjects to our Roman empire high,
By war; or as it seemed Jove the best,
Of whom we Romans came, and chiefly I.

Therefore to you, which in the ocean dwell,
As yet not underneath subjection due,
We send our letters, greeting, were ye well;
In warlike cases, thus we deal with you.

First that you, as the other regions, pay
Us tribute yearly, Romans we require;
Then that you will, with all the force you may,
Withstand our foes, as yours, with sword and fire:

And thirdly, that by these you pledges send,
T' assure the covenants, once agreed by you:
So, with your danger less, our wars may end,
Else bid we war: Cassibelane, adieu!

CÆSAR.

No sooner were these Cæsar's letters seen,
 But straight the king for all his nobles sent :
 He shew'd them what their ancestors had been,
 And pray'd them tell, in this, their whole intent.
 He told them whereabout the Romans went,
 And what subjection was ; how servile they
 Should be, if Cæsar bore their pomp away.

And all the Britons, even as set on fire,
 (Myself not least inflamed was to fight)
 Did humbly him in joyful wise require,
 " That he his letters would to Cæsar write,
 And tell him plain, we pass'd not of his spite.
 We pass'd at little, of the Romans we,
 And less than they of us, if less might be."

Wherefore, the joyful king again reply'd,
 Through counsel wise of all the nobles had,
 By letters he the Romans' hosts defy'd :
 Which made the Britons' haughty hearts full glad.
 No doubt, the Romans more than half were mad,
 To hear his letters written ; thus they went,
 Which he again to mighty Cæsar sent.

Cassibellane, King of Britain, to C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator, sendeth Answer.

As thou, O Cæsar, writ'st, the gods have given to thee
 The West ; so I reply, They gave this island me.
 Thou say'st, You Romans, and thyself, of gods descend ;
 And dar'st thou then to spoil our Trojan blood pretend ?
 Again, though gods have given thee all the world as thine ;
 That's parted from the world, thou get'st no land of mine :
 And since likewise of gods we came, a nation free,
 We owe no tribute, aid, or pledge, to Rome or thee.

Retract thy will, or wage thy war, as likes thee best,
 We are to fight, and rather, than to friendship press'd ;
 To save our country from the force of foreign strife,
 Each Briton here is well content to venture life.
 We fear not of the end, or dangers thou dost tell ;
 But use thy pleasure, if thou may'st : thus fare thou well.

CASSIBELLANE.

When Cæsar had receiv'd his answer so,
 It vex'd him much : he fully straight decreed
 To wage us war, and work us, Britons, woe ;
 Therefore he hasted hitherward with speed :—
 We Britons here prepar'd ourselves, with heed,
 To meet the Romans, all in warlike wise,
 With all the force and speed we might devise.
 We Britons then far deem'd it meeter much,
 To meet him first at th' entry on this land,
 Than for to give an entry here to such,
 Might, with our victuals, here ourselves withstand.
 'Tis better for thy enemy to aband,

Quite from thy borders, to a stranger soil,
Than he, at home, thee and thy country spoil.

Wherefore we met him at his entry in,
And pitch'd our camps directly in his way;
We minded sure to lose, or else to win
The praise, before we pass'd from thence away:
So when that both the armies were in 'ray,
And trumpet's blast on every side was blown,
Our minds to either each were quickly known.

We joined battle; fiercely both we fought;
The Romans to enlarge their empire's fame,
And we, with all the force and might we mought,
To save our country, and to keep our name:
(O worthy Britons, learn to do the same!)

We broke the 'rays of all the Roman host,
And made the mighty Cæsar leave his boast.

Yet he, the worthiest captain ever was,
Brought all in 'ray, and fought again a-new;
His skilful soldiers he could bring to pass
At once; for why, his trainings all they knew.
No sooner I his noble corps did view,
But in I broke amongst the captain's band,
And there I fought with Cæsar hand to hand.

O God! thou might'st have given a Briton grace,
T' have slain the Roman Cæsar noble then;
Which sought his blood the Britons to deface,
And bring, in bondage, valiant worthy men:
He never should have gone to Rome again,
To fight with Pompey, or his peers to slay,
Or else to bring his country in decay.

It joy'd my heart to strike on Cæsar's crest;
O Cæsar! that there had been none but we:
I often made my sword to try thy breast,
But lady Fortune did not look on me.
I able was, methought, with Cæsars three,
To try the case: I made thy heart to quake,
When on thy crest with mighty strokes I strake.

The strokes, thou struck'st me, hurt me not at all,
For why, thy strength was nothing in respect;
But thou hadst bath'd thy sword in poison all,
Which did my wound not deadly else infect.
Yet was I, or I parted thence bewreck'd,
I got thy sword from thee, for all thy fame,
And made thee fly, for fear to eat the same.

For, when thy sword was in my target fast,
I made thee fly, and quickly leave thy hold;
Thou never wast, in all thy life, so 'gast,
Nor durst again be ever half so bold.
I made a number of Roman hearts full cold,
"Fight, fight, you noble Britons, now, (quoth I,)
We never all will unrevenge'd die."

What, Cæsar, though thy praise and mine be odd?
 Perhaps the stories scarce remember me;
 Though poets all of thee do make a god,
 Such simple fools in making gods they be.
 Yet, if I might my case have try'd with thee,
 Thou never hadst return'd to Rome again,
 Nor, of thy faithful friends, been beastly slain.

A number Britons, might'st thou there have seen,
 Death-wounded fight, and spoil their spiteful foes:
 Myself, maim'd, slew and mangled more I ween,
 When I was hurt, than twenty more of those.
 I made the Romans' hearts to take their hose:
 In the camp no Roman scarce I spy'd,
 Durst half a combate 'gainst a Briton 'bide.

At length I met a nobleman, they call'd
 Him Labienus, one of Cæsar's friends,
 A tribune erst, had many Britons thrall'd:
 Was one of Cæsar's legates, forth he sends.
 "Well met (quoth I), I mind to make thee mends,
 For all thy friendship to our country-crew:"
 And so with Cæsar's sword his friend I slew.

What need I name you every Briton here;
 As first the king, the nobles all beside,
 Full stout and worthy wights, in war that were,
 As ever erst the stately Romans try'd;
 We fought so long they durst no longer 'bide.
 Proud Cæsar he, for all his brags and boast,
 Flew back to ships, with half his scatter'd host.

If he had been a god, as sots him nam'd,
 He could not of us Britons taken foil;
 The monarch Cæsar might have been asham'd,
 From such an island, with his ships recoil,
 Or else to fly, and leave behind the spoil:
 But life is sweet, he thought it better fly,
 Than hide amongst us Britons, for to die.

I had his sword, was named Croceamors,
 With which he gave me in the head a stroke,
 The venom of the which had such a force,
 It able was to pierce the heart of oak,
 No med'cines might the poison out revoke:
 Wherefore, though scarce he pierced had the skin,
 In fifteen days my brains it rankled in.

And then too soon (alas! therefore) I dy'd:
 I would to God he had return'd again,
 So that I might but once the dastard spy'd;
 Before he went, I had the serpent slain.
 He play'd the coward cut-throat all too plain:
 A beastly serpent's heart that beast detects,
 Which, ere he fight, his sword with bane infects.

Well then, my death brought Cæsar no renown,
For both I got, thereby, eternal fame,
And eke his sword, to strike his friends adown ;
I slew therewith his Labiene by name :
With prince against my country's foes I came,
Was wounded, yet did never faint, nor yield,
Till Cæsar with his soldiers fled the field.

Who would not venture life in such a case ?
Who would not fight at countries whole request ?
Who would not, meeting Cæsar in the place,
Fight for life, prince, and country, with the best ?
The greatest courage is by facts express'd :
Then for thy prince with fortitude, as I,
And realm's behoof, is praise to live or die.

Now write my life, when thou hast leisure, and
Will all thy countrymen to learn by me,
Both for their prince, and for their native land,
As valiant, bold, and fearless for to be.
A pattern plain of fortitude they see :
To which directly if themselves they frame,
They shall preserve their country, faith, and fame.

St. Edward's Ghost, or, Anti-Normanism: Being a pathetic Complaint and Motion, in the Behalf of our English Nation, against her grand, yet neglected Grievance, Normanism¹.

Quænam (malum) est ista voluntaria Servitus?

CICERO, in *Orat. Philip. I.*

London, printed for Richard Wodenothe, at the Star, under St. Peter's Church, in Cornhill, 1647.

[Quarto ; containing twenty-eight pages.]

Ad LECTOREM.

Reader,

THIS essay, having long² waited for room and free audience on the public stage, doth now appear. If thou hast a mind to quarrel with it, it must be against the matter, or the form: against the matter thou who art English canst not, without betraying either thine ignorance, in not knowing thy nation's dearest rights³, or thine impiety in opposing them, being no other than what she enjoyed, and joyed in, till she lost them by perfidious robbers: but, if it be the form that thou disrelishest, I confess, it needs much favour; and therefore should gladly have seen thee, or some other, to have prevented it with a better. Yet, for thy better bearing with the prolixity of the historical part of it (occasioned by the copiousness of the subject, worth, and opposite arrogance) thou mayest remember, that it was king Ahasuerus's choice recreation to review the acts of his ancestors, and that the Jews could hear even St. Stephen reciting their high pedigree patiently: however, it shall suffice me in this business to have attempted to have done worthily, and I doubt not but every true Englishman will not only indulge the work's weakness, but also lend both his heart and hand in all lawful means toward the accomplishing of its demands; as without which obtained, at least in a good degree, this nation can never be honourable, nor, consequently, happy. *Vale.*

JOHN HARE.

WHILE I behold and revolve the great and laborious inversions and eversions of things effected by the representative body of this kingdom, in this and precedent parliaments, with that liberal and vast expence of English blood, lives, labour, and cost, which, with the height of animosity, and seeming magnanimity, former generations have bestowed, and the present doth not spare in asserting the public causes of this nation, and

¹ [This is the first of a series of three tracts which our author, John Hare, wrote and published against 'the wilful bearers with Normanism.' Of the other two, one, (viz. 'England's proper Way,' 1648,) has been already given in our Sixth Volume, p. 36, where the Editor (not being aware that the present tract had been included by the original compilers of this work) had referred the reader to his intended Supplement. The insertion of it there is now become unnecessary; but the intervening tract, intitled 'Plain English,' &c. 1647, has certainly a claim to appear in that place.]

² Being written *anno Domini* 1642.

³ i. e. The title and quality of a free nation.

all⁴, (excepting what is about some ecclesiastical niceties,) for the securing, or enlarging, of our estates and privileges from domestic oppression, and centered in the object of ease and commodity, and such like petty advantages; I cannot but with shame and grief of mind look upon the genius of our nation, as seeming to have transmigrated from that metamorphosed prince of Chaldea⁵, who (being transmitted from the top of humanity, into the condition of beasts of the field, for a great part of his ensuing age,) made fodder, and other brutish accommodations, the proper subject of his content and contentions; not harbouring, in the mean time, a back-looking thought towards that royal estate, by the possession whereof, he had been once the most eminent of the mortals of his age; or, as resembling some strange hero, who being captived, and marked for a slave, should have his senses so captivated also, as to be more ambitious to be chambered in his jail, and to glitter in gilt fetters, than to be restored to his lost freedom and reputation; contending with earnest extremity for the one, but not breathing so much as a wish for the procurement of the other.

That this is our case, I would that the heavy, long, and overlasting (Heaven grant not everlasting) groans of the hereditary liberty and honour of our nation (the choicest and most essential fundamentals of her temporary well-being, and the most precious part of her earthly patrimony, the happy ornaments of her youth) long since overthrown, and for many ages together, lying patients, most wretchedly, under a mass of unworthy oppression, did not too evidently evince; whilst we, her sons, in the interim, sparing no endeavours in the behalf of our less valuable rights, are, in this respect, so stupidly senseless, that whereas we have cause enough, with that *Ænean* prisoner *Enceladus*⁶ (the eternal monument of dejected greatness) to testify the weight of our disgraceful burden with fiery sighs, and sulphureous blasts of indignation; we, contrariwise, are so far from any reluctance, as to lie in a dead sleep under it, as under our grave-stone; having inscribed thereon the epitaph of our honour in red letters of shame; not daring, or not willing, so much as to breathe forth a complaint, or to wish for a removal of that, than which there is nothing under Heaven more insufferable to ingenuous men, and to such as would be accounted other than the progeny of Cham, pre-ordained to servility.

This mountain of dishonour, which the English name hath so long groaned under, (and yet we have never once adventured to complain of, much less endeavoured to remove,) is no other than that infamous title of 'A conquered Nation,' and that by so infamous a conquest; but, more especially, the still visible fetters of our captivity, the evidences of that title; those foreign laws, language, names, titles, and customs, then introduced, and, to this day, domineering over ours. Our stupid degenerateness consists in this, that in all our contentions by pen or sword, in all the essays of our poets or orators (excepting some few, whereof *Verstegan*⁷ deserves to be memorized) I could never yet find any considerable endeavour for our vindication from this thralldom and disgrace; but rather, like tamed creatures, or unnaturalled janizaries, we sooth and applaud ourselves in these gives and servile robes, as patrician ornaments; and (that, which, methinks, no true Englishman can observe without indignation) many of those that would be accounted to have honoured our land, with their pens⁸, have placed that their honouring us for a great part, in celebrating the glory of that Normanism and Francism, which the desert of our sins hath inflicted on us; and seem to have sacrificed their love and duty to their own nation, together with their discretion, for an holocaust on the altar of that name, which is diametrically enmity to the English: and such are those that ascribe so much worth to the Norman blood, and strive to pen up all nobility and gentry within the accursed catalogue of those names that came from the Gallic continent: indignities⁹ that merit a *Lucan's* genius, and *Tully's dicendi vis*, to lay open and explode them. But since the such of this nation, contrary to my perpetual and earnest wishes and expectation, are undutifully silent herein;

⁴ *Viz.* The abating of prerogative, abolishing courts, monopolies, &c.

⁵ *Nebuchadnezzar.*

⁶ [*Vide* *Æneid.* iii.]

⁷ [*The author of a 'Restitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities,' &c. Vide* *Athen.* Oxon. i.]

⁸ *Viz.* Some poets and heralds.

⁹ *Ejusdem tolerati redargutio.*

duty to my country shall make it no indiscretion in me to undertake the task; though, alas! performing it rather by an intimation, than due illustration of the truths which follow.

¹⁰ There is no man that understands rightly what an Englishman is, but knows withal, that we are a member of the Teutonic nation, and descended out of Germany: ¹¹a descent so honourable and happy, if duly considered, as that the like could not have been fetched from any other part of Europe, nor scarce of the universe; which will be plain and manifest, if we take a just survey of the gloriousness of that our mother-nation¹², and that in the sundry respects of her ancient and illustrious original, her generous qualification, and magnific and warlike nature; her achievements, domination, greatness, and renown; her majesty and other heroical points of excellence, wherein she is so transcendent, and which make her so princely, as that no other nation in every respect, the Scythick excepted, may, without arrogance, dare to compare with her.

¹³ To begin with her original: of it I may say, as Virgil of Fame, *Caput inter nubila condit*; she is a primitive nation, and vaunts her descent to be from no other place, than from the top of Nimrod's tower, where was made the first division of mankind into nations: she derives not herself (like those of her neighbours that boast so much of their great birth) from the conquered relicks of ruined Troy, whence also Virgil took so much pains to deduce his Romans, or from any other nation; but, as most conceive, the first transmigration that the Teutones made, was (as is aforesaid) from the building of Babel, from whence they were conducted by the great Tuisco, whose name they still retain, and placed in those seats, which they have not only ever since defended against all invaders and intruders, but also most notably enlarged the same upon their neighbours: others¹⁴, in more ignorant times, conceited they had their original and spring (like the giants, Myrmidons, Cadmus's new men, and other warlike breeds) from the soil and earth under them, as which was never known otherwise, than appropriate to their name and possession.

¹⁵ To this antiquity of the Teutonic house, there wants not a conspiring quality of blood effectual to make it the most illustrious and first nation of Christendom; for Gomer, Japheth's eldest son, is acknowledged, by historians, to have been the first king and possessor of Europe, whose heir and first-born was Askenaz, the father and denominator of the German nation; the Jews, at this day, calling the Germans Askenites, and the Saxons, our progenitors, as the most noble tribe, still retaining, with a little metathesis, as well the name as blood of the same royal patriarch: but whether he were one and the same with Tuisco, or else his progenitor, is left uncertain.

¹⁶ For the general qualification of these our ancestors, it hath ever spoke them to be no other than the true sons of Tuisco; that is, of Mars, as some interpret him. The first character that was given of them to the world, was by great Alexander himself; and resulted from that compendious discourse betwixt him and their ambassadors, when, upon their worthy answer to his proud question, (as the Supplement to Curtius's History¹⁷ recordeth,) he pronounced them an haughty and cavaliering nation, envying that any should be as magnanimous as himself.

¹⁸ The next light that was given of them to the southern world was in lightning terror: this was by that famed expedition of the Cimbri and Teutones; peculiarly so called, when those our more immediate ancestors, wanting elbow-room in their native country of Low-Germany, and the Cimbrick Chersonese, undertook, in a party of three-hundred thousand adventurers, to seek and mend their fortunes in foreign countries. The first country they took in their way was France, then called Gaul; a country preordained for the exercise and subject of our conquests, and bearing a nation, at that time esteemed the paragon of the world, and for strength, valour, and numerousness, invincible: this France, and

¹⁰ *A turpitudine demonstratâ.*

¹¹ *A claritate generis nostri.*

¹² *Hi gentis Teutonice.*

¹³ *Ejusdem antiquitas.*

¹⁴ *Tacitus, &c.*

¹⁵ *Prænobilitas seu protogenia.*

¹⁶ *Genii excelsitudo.*

¹⁷ *Germanos superbos esse.*

¹⁸ *Bellicositas seu præstantia animi corporisque cum rebus gestis.*

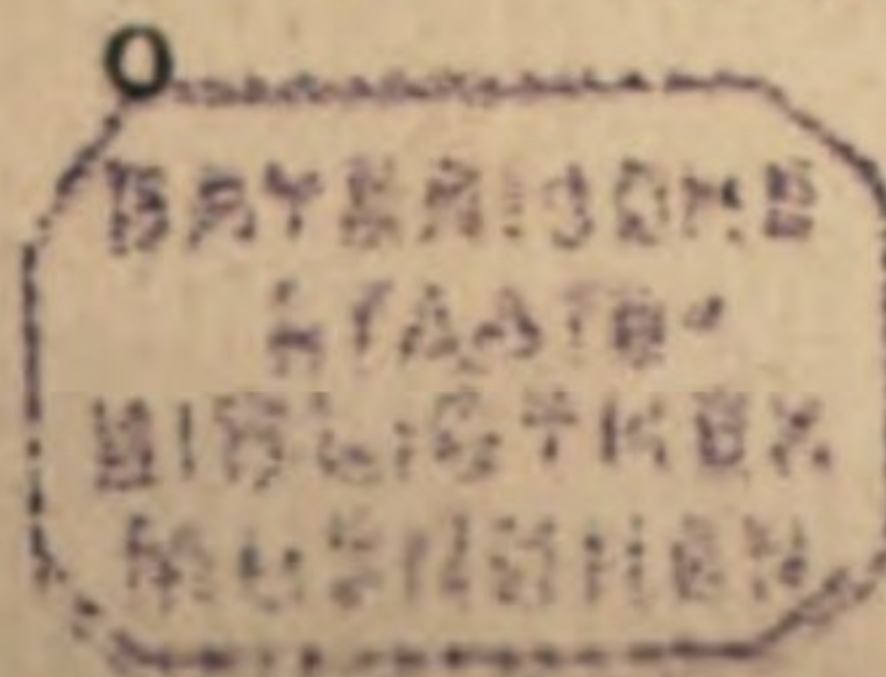
French nation, till then unconquered and in their maiden glory, that Almain army overran, subdued, and trampled under foot ; thereby leaving to us, the progeny of their nation, the prime right and title of conquering them again : this province being ransacked, over the belly thereof, those second Anakites bore on their uncontrolled march towards the Alps and Italy, where lay the term and scope of their resolution and design, which was to try masteries with Rome for the empire of the world. Rome was not then in her infancy, under the displeasure of Heaven, and propugned by a disorderly and unskilful multitude, as Brennus found her, but flourishing in the height of her fortune, strength, and youthful vigour ; her discipline unmatchable, her armies almost invincible, and those managed and conducted by the greatest general of that age, Caius Marius ; so that well might these positive advantages, concurring also with sundry accidental ones, (which last were, indeed, the most efficacious occasions of the event,) lend the Romans the fortune at that time over those our ancestors. But, although by the disposition of the supreme will, they fell short of their design, and left the honour of Rome's destruction for some (the Goths) others of their countrymen, in ensuing ages ; yet did they shew forth such famous symptoms of more than human daringness and abilities, that the affrightment, which they cast before them, shook all Italy, and loaded the Roman altars with prayers at that time, and long after, with praises to their deities, for the deliverance of their city from so formidable an invasion ; a deliverance that endowed Marius with the pre-eminent name amongst Rome's preservers, as being from the invasion of such whose performances proclaimed them a gigantean army, and the most valiant men that ever the Romans had to deal with.

²⁰ Neither did our ancestors' glory fail to increase with the increase of time ; for the next age produced Ariovistus, with his martial army from Germany over the Rhine to the second conquest of France : so that twice was that nation subdued and broken by our ancestors the Teutones, before ever the Roman eagles durst assail it. And had not the Romans then interposed, all France, as well as Belgia, had, long before the time of Pharamond, fallen into the Germans' possession. These Germans, at that time (as Cæsar recordeth) had the French in such vassalage and subjection, as that they durst not so much as mutter out a complaint, or petition to their Roman friends for relief against them ; nor did the French, who had been accounted of all nations the most valiant, in that age, presume in any sort to compare themselves with the Germans ; but (as the same great author witnesseth) confessed in plain terms, that they were not able so much as to withstand their fulminating looks : and by their reports of the Germans' formidableness, concurring with the Cimbrick memory, so scared even Cæsar's legions, that all his centurions fell to a-disposing either of their persons to a more security by flight, or of their estates to their friends by testament. And whosoever surveys the writings of Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Roman authors of those times, no less eminent for judgment than authority, shall find in them the Teutones, our ancestors, to have been always accounted, in effect, the Anakitish and most soldiery nation of the world ; and for personage, the flower and quintessence of mankind, chosen and advanced above all nations to the dignity of the Cæsarian guard ; by nature consecrated to heroic activeness, disdaining other than sanguinean desudations ; and who, during the whole age of the Roman monarchy, resisted the violence thereof, and were as often invaders as invaded.

²¹ After the dissolution of the Roman empire, how did the Teutonick glory and puissance break forth and diffuse themselves ? The German colonies filled all Europe ; the Franks seized upon the Transalpine Gaul, since, from them, named France ; the Lombards upon the other Gaul, afterwards called Lombardy ; the Goths on Spain ; and the Saxons, or English, our peculiar progenitors, in a more plenary way, upon the best part of Britain, which we now possess ; to which we have since also added the command of the Welsh, Irish, and Scots. So that in all the regions aforesaid, as the sovereignty and royalty, so also most of the nobility, and in England the whole commonalty, are German, and of the

¹⁹ *Exrescentia:*

²⁰ *Exuhdationes.*



German blood; and scarcely was there any worth or manhood left in these Occidental nations, after their so long servitude under the Roman yoke, until these new supplies of free-born men from Germany reinfused the same, and reinforced the then servile body of the west, with a spirit of honour and magnanimity; insomuch, that (as Du Bartus hath well observed) that land may well be stiled the *Equus Trojanus*, or inexhausted fountain of Europe's worth and worthy men; which was also apparent and conspicuous in that ever-glorious and renowned expedition of the west, for the Holy Land under the conduct of Godfrey of Bulloigne, wherein there was scarce a personage of worth, but who, together with the plurality of the inferior soldiery, was German by birth or blood.

²² As this our mother-nation hath been transcendent above others in her achievements, and her noble and fruitful issue of transmigrators and colonies, wherewith she hath replenished and re-edified her sister-nations of the rest of Europe, and thereby enabled them to hold up their heads, as now they do among the potent monarchies of the world; so is she no less eminent in the vast bulk of her own body, and the ample tract of land which she holds and possesseth, and so ever hath done against all the world; being indeed the heart and main body of Europe, as reaching from the Alps, near to the Frozen Ocean one way, and from France and the British Sea, unto Poland and Hungary, the other way; containing for members, her several tribes of the Imperial Germans, the Switzers, Belgians, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, besides us English. It is true, that the Celtick nation was once very great and famous; as possessing both the Gallia's and Britain: but she hath long since, in all her three seats, surrendered up her possessions, or liberty, together with her name, to the encroachments of her Teutonick neighbours; and doubtless, were all the aforesaid limbs of the Teutonick nation as united in the political association of one head and heart, as they are in the natural ligaments and communion of blood, laws, language, and situation; that empire would not only be the head of the West, as now it is, but also able to wrestle with the Oriental competitor²³, for the command of the world, or at least to shoulder out of Europe his intruding usurpation.

One more flower of this our mother nation's royal garland,²³ and a point of her prerogative above other nations, (not only of Europe, but also of the rest of the world, the Scythick excepted,) is her unconqueredness; her untainted virginity and freedom from foreign subjection, which, from her first foundation and cradle, she hath so conserved and defended, that none can truly boast to have been her ravisher. The Roman invasions indeed often assayed her, but could never force her: as for Alexander, the Germans heard of him, but never saw him otherwise than by their ambassadors, who gave him and the world notice by their honourable answer to his insolent question, how much they feared him: and, lastly, for Charlemain's German wars, they were but as civil and domestic; his Franks, and more particularly himself, being then in all things, but habitation, Germans; and consequently also his achievements may by good right also be reckoned among the German acts. What other nation can glory of the like? It is confessed, that the Greeks and Gauls were, for many ages, famous assertors of their liberties; but the latter of the two never enjoyed theirs since the time of Ariovistus and Julius Cæsar, and the poor (never-enough-to-be-lamented) Greeks, beside their ancient subjection to Rome, have in these latter times lost not only their liberty, but also an empire to boot, together with their laws, religion, honour, and never-before-conquered language, to the cruel oppression of Turkish barbarism; all which the Teutones have (by the special favour of Heaven) from their first beginning, preserved inviolate against all invaders. Indeed our neighbours the Scots boast much of the like privilege, but upon no equal grounds; for their remoteness and inaccessibleness, together with the unprofitableness of their soil, have been their chief protection from following the fortune of their mother-nation of Ireland; and yet not so protected them but (as their own chronicles confess) their land hath been won from them, and they forced into exile for sixty years by the Romans, and

²¹ *Amplitudo.* ²² The Turk.

²³ *Libertas intemerata, seu ἀδέλωσις.*

their nation more than once subdued by our Edward the First, when they so often swore fealty and subjection to the crown of England; and for the Scythians, as they of all the world have the best right to compare themselves, as having never submitted their necks to any external power, so may they also for that privilege in part thank their remoteness and barren climate, that have rendered their vast country not worth the conquering, and themselves as difficult to be found as vanquished by strong and well appointed armies.

But that which makes up the sum and apex of this nation's pre-eminence, is her imperial crown, the crown of Christendom, which the divine Providence upon special choice hath devolved on her, that so she might be no less in title than merit the 'Queen of Nations!' This her possessive dignity, was long since foretold by the Druids, who (as Tacitus recordeth) prophesied that the empire should be translated from Rome over the Alps; and is no other than what she was born to, in the right of Askenaz's blood, educated to an inviolated freedom, and generous exercises, and settled in by the purchase of the sword, and Rome's adoption: and the same hath been for many ages by her, without competition, enjoyed; she possessing also most of the other kingdoms and principalities of these parts by her colonies, insomuch that the German nation may justly seem to have been created and appointed, for heir of the Western world, even as the Scythick of the Eastern, as betwixt which two nations and their colonies, both the sovereignty and possession of the most part of Europe and Asia is divided, they being in all things parallels and competitors. Heaven grant, that at length our Teutonicks, shaking off their enervating vices and divisions, with the same manhood wherewith in ancient times their ancestors retunded that Scythick invasion of the Huns, mawling that *orbis malleum*, and in after-ages chased the Turks (another tribe of the same nation) from the Holy Land, and repressed their encroachings on Christendom, may also in these last times, at least un-europe the same enemy and his barbarism; and re-advancing the eagle in the midst of Constantinople, recover, to great Tuisco's name, that right and honour in Thracia, which (as may be conceived) his person there sometime enjoyed under the name of Mars, confirmable by the still lasting analogy both in roots and accidents betwixt the Greek and Teutonick idioms.

Such is the transcendent quality of our mother-nation, and in these sundry respects she sufficiently appears to be the chief and most honourable nation of Europe; of all which honour of her's we are true inheritors and partakers, either as members of that body, or as children of that mother; we being flesh of her flesh, and bone of her bone, yea of the most ancient and noble of her tribes, according to the Germans' opinion; the Saxon still retaining the name (with a little metathesis, as is before related) of the patriarch Askenaz, and this so totally and entirely, that whatsoever blood among us is not Teutonic, is exotic; for, as is also before intimated, our progenitors, that transplanted themselves from Germany hither, did not commix themselves with the ancient inhabitants of this country, the Britons, as other colonies did with the natives in those places where they came, but totally expelling them, they took the sole possession of the land to themselves; thereby²⁴ preserving their blood, laws, and language, incorrupted: and in this panegyrick of the Teutonic blood, I have so prolixly insisted, not only to vindicate our own, as being a stream of the same, and to evince the nobility thereof; but withal to convince the folly of those wretches among us, who aversing ours, do so much adhere unto, and dote upon descents from France and Normandy.

But, lest any that cannot reproach us as Germans,²⁵ should calumniate us, as transmigrators, the consideration of the general quality of such will be our sufficient apology, for that it is well known that most colonies and transmigrators are made up, and consisting of the flower and choice youth of that country from whence they are transplanted; and

²⁴ *Quæ contraria apud quosdam Nomographos reperiuntur sunt inepta figmenta, à Galfrido Monmuthensi & ejus affectis dictata.*

²⁵ *Pueritia gentis nostræ ingenua & liberalis.*

being such, *cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*, ' though they change air, ' they retain their spirits : ' and this is moreover observable for our advantage, that we left not the land of our fathers, either as exiled for demerits with the Parthians, nor forced and profligated by neighbours, as many others ; nor yet with the mind of rovers, that go unjustly to despoil others of their goods and country ; but, (than which nothing could be more honourable) the first cause and occasion of our coming into this land was, at the earnest suit and entreaty of the distressed Britons, the ancient possessors of the same ; to relieve and succour their oppressed nation, against the barbarous and more than unneighbourly vastations and invasions of the Scots and Picts, who with the height of insolence and ferocity, domineered, at that time, over this part of Britain. This was no less honourably atchieved than undertaken by our ancestors ; for prince Hengistus, with a small band of English volunteers, which he brought over from Saxony, renownedly repressed and quelled the pride and insolence of the Scots ; and with his additional forces so secured this land against them, that for many ages after, they dared not to set foot out of their own limits : nor ever since could the most successful of their incursions penetrate to the walls of York.

But did we therefore leave the free country of our ancestors, and come over hither to relieve and deliver others from foreign subjection, that we ourselves might succeed in servitude ? Sure it will scarce appear, that we had any such intent by our ensuing doings and sufferings ; for after that, upon our fatal falling out with the Britons about pay, we had long wrestled with that nation, for the possession of this land, and with infinite expence of blood and labour, gained it wholly to ourselves ; Hengistus's assistance to the Britons being much of kin to that of Ariovistus, unto the Sequanish Gauls ; what inundations of invasions did we sustain, what numberless conflicts and encounters did we continually maintain, for the keeping of our possessions, and preservation of our honour and liberty, as they were derived inviolate from our progenitors ? And all but against Danish intruders, a people that were our consanguineans, our ancient countrymen and brethren, whose prevailing over us would have introduced scarce strange laws or language, nor other blood than Teutonick : and although in process of time, (being overladen with their inexhausted numbers, and to avoid further profusion of Christian and Teutonick blood,) we condescended to some composition with them, and permitted them a cohabitation with us ; yet afterwards did we sufficiently quit ourselves of them, and their intruding ; and by a general execution, made them an example for such like usurpers : such was our ancient antipathy to servility, and the abhorringness of our nation's genius from closing with dishonour.

Neither was this our generosity of blood, and freeness of descent and condition, the sum of our inheritance, or the whole stock of honour, that the bounty of Heaven had committed to our possession. We were also blessed with a hopeful language, and happy laws ; laws envied, but not equalled in Christendom, and, by historians,²⁶ admired, as most plain and compendious, and of such a politic structure, as made our prince a true and happy monarch, and yet ourselves as free as any people of Europe. Our language was a dialect of the Teutonick, and although then but in her infancy, yet not so rude as hopeful ; being most fruitful and copious in significant and well-sounding roots and primitives, and withal capable and apt for diffusion, from those her roots, into such a Greek-like ramosity of derivations and compositions, beyond the power of the Latin, and her off-spring dialects, as might have, with majesty, delight, and plainness, interpreted our conceptions, and the writings of foreigners, to the capacity of any Englishman, without the help of a dictionary, or the knowledge of two or three other languages ; which now is requisite to him, that will rightly understand or speak even usual English : and our laws and language being not only thus laudable, but also congenite, and appropriate to our name and nation, were most essential parts of our honour ; and no less dear unto us, and that worthily, than our blood, and so the pleasant subjects of our delight and study :

²⁶ Vide Daniel's History.

as also our princes and nobility, being no less naturally our own, were the just objects of our zeal and affection, as was testified in that title of the prince Edgar Atheling; who was styled England's darling, for his blood's sake, and in opposition to the Norman.

And is it then suitable to the dignity, or tolerable to the spirit of this our nation, that, after so noble an extraction and descent, such honourable achievements performed, so much done and suffered for our liberty and honour, against the most mighty of monarchs, and puissant nations, and, after such privileges conferred on us from Heaven; we should have our spirits so broken, and un-teutonised, by one unfortunate battle; as for above five-hundred years together, and even for eternity, not only to remain, but contentedly to rest under the disgraceful title of a conquered nation, and in captivity and vassalage to a foreign power?

*Siccine in antiquam virtutem animosque viriles
Et pater Æneas & avunculus excitat Hector?*

Did our ancestors, therefore, shake off the Roman yoke, with the slaughter of their legions, and, during the whole age of that empire, (as Tacitus confesseth) resist the puissance thereof; that the honour and freedom of their blood might be reserved for an untainted prey to a future conqueror? Could not they endure the sight of a Cæsarian trophy, set up by Germanicus²⁷ in their land? And can we not only endure, but embrace the title and ensigns of a conquest over us, that even still triumphs in our land, in her full insolence; while we can turn our eyes and meditations no where about us, but we meet with some object that reproacheth us as captives? If we address a look towards our laws, they still scorn to speak otherwise, than in the Conqueror's language; and are (if master Daniel and others write true) for the most part, his introductions; shutting up the remaining liberties of our nation, under the name and notion of franchises, as if we were no further to be accounted free, than infranchised; that is, adopted into the quality of Frenchmen, or made denizens of France, whereby, the first point, that occurs to the reader of our laws, is our shame. If we survey our language, we there meet with so much tincture of Normanism, that some have esteemed it for a dialect of the Gallick; if we contemplate the heraldry and titles of our nobility, there is scarce any other matter than inventories of foreign villages, that speak them to be not of English blood; but tell us, (as their ancestors sometimes told king John,) that their progenitors conquered this land by the sword; and, lastly, if we but hear the royal title rehearsed, we hear it likewise attended with a *post Conquestum*; so that we cannot move with our senses, but we hear the chains of our captivity rattle, and are put in mind that we are slaves; *vinci humanum est*, no people but may be overcome; that may be born withal: but *sub victoriâ acquiescere*, for so many hundred years together, and in a so long continued possibility of excusing dishonour, and regaining liberty; to sit, as it were, snoring in a captive and servile condition, and to be fed with the bread of captivity, were more proper to an Asiatick nation (those *natis ad servitutem*, as Tully calls them) than to one of Europe; and to any European, than a Teutonick; and indeed to tame creatures and cattle, than to those that profess themselves free-born men.

But let us a little reflect upon the nature and quality of these conquerors, with their conquest over us; perhaps, they may be such, as, for their dignity, may say unto our nation, as that hero in the poet:

*Solamen habeto
Mortis, ab Æmonio quoddam sis jugulatus Achille.*

And their domination over us such, as against the right and equity whereof there is no pleading. But, alas! what was that tenth worthy, whom we are not ashamed even still to surname our *Conqueror*, but a Norman bastard (as a Scottish writer well terms him), or,

²⁷ *Vide Tacitum.*

at best, a vassal-duke of a French province; and what his Argyraspides, his gallant followers the Normans, but a people compacted of the Norwegians and Neustrians; that is, of the off-scowering and dross of the Teutonick and Gallick nations; whose ambitious leader, upon a pretence of a various title to this crown, intruding upon us in a time of disadvantage, and being thereupon put to try it out by the sword with his then usurping competitor, (by subtlety, not valour,) obtained the hand over him; and so, as legatee and kinsman of St. Edward (the last rightful English king), and, upon his specious and fair vows and promises, to preserve inviolate our laws and liberties, was admitted to the throne. So that all the alteration and dishonour that followed was, by his villainous perjuriousness and treachery, introduced upon us, and that title of a *Conqueror* was not at first, but by the flattery of succeeding times attributed to him; and hath been ever since, by our sordid treachery against our country, continued: whereas, had he assumed it at first, (as was well observed by an illustrious personage²⁸ of our neighbour-nation, the Scots, who are generally more sensible of our dishonour in this respect, than most of ourselves; perhaps, worthily mindful of the ancient extraction of the most and chief of their south-landers from the English blood; as he, I say, hath well observed in a late speech of his made to his majesty,) he must either have come short of his ambitious ends, or have sought after a new people to have exercised his title upon; so odious at that time was the title of a conquered nation to our ancestors.

But admit it were so, that he won this land by the sword (as he and his followers afterwards boasted), and that he obtained such a dismal victory over us, as the Norman writers predicate; whereas, notwithstanding, if we may believe Æmilius Veronensis²⁹, in his French History, (a more impartial writer in this cause,) there was no such matter; who, taxing those Norman writers of arrogance, reports that the truth of it was, that our English soldiers, whom Harold, the usurping king, brought into the field against the Normans, were no less displeased with him, than with his adversaries; and that they only put themselves in a posture of defence, without caring to offend the enemy; and that, when, in the beginning of the battle, Harold chanced to be slain by an arrow, the controversy was presently ended, without more blood-shed³⁰; an agreement made, and the Norman admitted in respect of his claim, and upon his promises aforementioned: this he reports. But were it so, that our English nation was directly vanquished and conquered by the Normans, (at the sound whereof every true Englishman's stomach may well rise;) have not we more than once requited their nation in the like kind? How often have our armies vanquished and conquered, not only Normandy, but also France itself; whereof the other is but a vassal-province? And why one victory of theirs over us should be of more moment and effect against us, than so many of ours against them; I see no other cause or reason, than injuriousness towards us, and retchlesness in us.

But were it so also, that the Norman race were as lawful lords, and domineered by the same right, of an absolute conquest over us; as the Turks do, at this day, over the Grecians, betwixt whose case and ours (religion excepted) there is a near affinity; will any reasonable man be so unjust, or any Englishman be so impious, as to define it for unlawful in us, to endeavour to recover our right, and lost honour and liberty? Would any man be so absurd, as to stigmatize and detest it for rebellion in the Greeks, to shake off (if they were able) the Turkish yoke; and to recover from that enemy's usurpation their ancient honour, laws, liberty, and language, that now lie overwhelmed and buried in Turcism, as ours in Normanism? Surely, we ourselves should condemn them, if they would not endeavour it; while our own laws attribute not to the wrongful disseizer, any such right to his forcibly gotten possessions, but that he may, with more right, be redisseized by the first owner, or his heirs: and indeed, it were so far from injuriousness, both in the Greeks and us, to dispossess the usurpers; that, in the mean time, we are most injurious

²⁸ The duke of Lenox in his speech to the king concerning war against the Scots.

²⁹ *Paulus Æmilius Veronensis de rebus gestis Francorum.* fol. 91.

³⁰ *Non ipsi homines sed causa defuncti victa extinctaque.* ib. fol. 91.

to ourselves, our progenitors, and our posterity, while we so traitorously yield up, to those robbers, what our ancestors so dearly purchased, and preserved for us to enjoy, and afterwards to transmit, and leave to their and our name and blood, in all succeeding ages. But, in this, we are far more inexcusable than the Greeks, for that they never yet enjoyed the means of a deliverance, which we, either in a fair or forcible way, scarce ever wanted; and surely, if our right doth call, our honour doth cry out upon us, that if our progenitors massacred the Danish garrisons that usurped over them, we should not (like the Jews, ear-boarded slaves,) for ever serve the progeny of their subjects, the Norwegians; that we, who instead of being conquered with other nations, by Charlemain, have conquered even the French themselves, would not live captives to their vassals, the Normans; and that, since our ancestors never submitted their necks to the yoke of Rome, we should not suffer ours to be for ever wedded to one brought over from Neustria, the meanest shire of one of Rome's (anciently) captive provinces; unless, perhaps, it be more honourable for our country to be a Norman Municipium, than a Roman province; to use the Norman laws, than the civil of the empire, and the Norman language, rather than the Latin; any of which notwithstanding, the Roman emperors, during their prevailing over some skirts of our ancient country of Germany, (as Batavia, Rhætia, and the borders of the Rhine,) never obtruded on our countrymen there; but desiring only, for their worth, their personal assistance in the wars, permitted them, and them only of all nations, the continuance of their own laws, language, and liberties in all things. But all these, we, their degenerate posterity, have, in a large degree, betrayed to the usurpation of a Norman colony.

But if we think we have not yet received shame enough by this Norman conquest; in being thereby stripped and spoiled of all that stock of honour, which might have descended to us from our ancestors, and of all that our nation had to take pleasure in; we want not a further degree of the same shame to consider ourselves in; that is, as we are by this pretended conquest cast into such a predicament and condition, as makes us incapable of acquiring new honour ever after, so long as we remain therein. The evidence of this we may descry in our own laws, wherein we find, that such as are in the nature of villans are incapable of enjoying free-hold lands, but, though they purchase never so much, it belongs to all their lords. Should the Turk's janisaries, under their master's conduct, conquer the whole world, yet could they not justly gain to themselves the name of men of honour, but only of stout and dutiful slaves; which is also illustrated by that apophthegm of Tully, who defining the way for one that would attain to highness; *Tunc* (saith he) *incipiat aliis imperare, cum suis iniquissimis dominis parere desierit*; 'Let him first unslave himself, before he talk of getting honour in enslaving others:' and therefore, though both France and Spain should be by us never so often conquered, yet could our name thereby take no true lustre, till it be cleared of this fast-sticking blemish, and that we have unconquered ourselves: but as an ill-humoured, or deformed body, is not rectified by nourishment, but finds its pravity to increase and dilate with itself, so should our name and fame, by our atchievements, be extended to the world's, both temporal and local, ends; yet thither also would our disgrace accompany it in equal characters, and proclaiming that we are a conquered, and still captive people, quash all honour, that otherwise might accrue or adhere unto us.

I should be voluminous, should I fully describe how injurious and dishonourable it is to our nation for to continue under the title and effects of this pretended conquest; being such as we see and feel even the barbarous and contemptible Irish to be more than sensible and impatient of the like, while, with so much hazard of their lives and fortunes, and, against such formidable opposition, they endeavour the excussion thereof. But I am far enough from exhorting to an imitation of their violent and horrid practice; we feel too much thereof among us, although for lighter ends: neither, I hope, is any such way needful; since we all, from the greatest to the least, profess ourselves English, and would seem to aim at the honour of the English name; his majesty, for his part, having, by many passages, shewed himself the most indulgent patron thereof, and our nobility and

commons on both sides contending, or, at least, pretending, for no other ; none, I hope, amongst us dissenting, that if any should oppugn it, he were worthy to be proscribed and prosecuted either as a viperous malignant, or as a public adversary : so that it is but the carcase of an enemy that we have to remove out of our territories, even the carcase and bones of the Norman duke's injurious and detested perpetrations, much more meriting to be dug up, and cast out of our land, than those relicks of his body that were so unsepulchred from his grave in Caen.³¹ Let us therefore, until we have wiped off this shame of our nation, and demolished the monuments thereof, no more talk of honour ; as being a thing that we have least to do withal ; but, yielding that and the glory to the Norman name, reserve unto ourselves nothing but the inheritance of shame and confusion of face : yea, let us either confess and profess ourselves for ever mere vassals and slaves, or else attempt to uncaptive ourselves ; the end and scope of this whole discourse, that is, effectually, yet, orderly and legally, to endeavour these following particulars.

1. That William, surnamed *the Conqueror*, be stripped of that insolent title (which himself scarce ever assumed after his victory, much less pretended to before, but hath been since imposed on him by Norman arrogance and our servile flattery), and that he be either reputed amongst our lawful kings by force of St. Edward's legacy, or adjudged an usurper : however, that he may no longer stand for the *alpha* of our kings in the royal catalogue.

2. That the title to the crown be ungrounded from any pretended conquest over this nation, and that his majesty be pleased to derive his right from St. Edward's legacy, and the blood of the precedent English kings,³² to whom he is the undoubted heir ; and that he restore the ancient English arms into the royal standard.

3. That all the Norman nobility and progeny amongst us, repudiate their names and titles brought over from Normandy, assuming others consistible with the honour of this nation ; and disclaim all right to their possessions here, as heirs and successors to any pretended conquerors.

4. That all laws and usages introduced from Normandy be, *eo nomine*, abolished ; and a supply made from St. Edward's laws, or the civil ; and that our laws be divested of their French rags, (as king James of worthy memory once royally motioned,) and restored into the English or Latin tongue ; unless, perhaps, it may seem honourable for Englishmen to be still in the mouth of their own laws no further free than Frenchified ; and that they only, of all mortal men, should imprison their laws in the language of their enemies.

5. That our language be cleared of the Norman and French invasion upon it, and depravation of it, by purging it of all words and terms of that descent ; supplying it from the old Saxon and the learned tongues, and otherwise correcting it, whereby it may be advanced to the quality of an honourable and sufficient language ; than which there is scarce a greater point in a nation's honour and happiness.

To which may also be added the removal of an indignity of kin to the former in quality, though not in cause ; namely, the advancing of the French arms above ours in the royal standard, as if, by our ancestors' conquest of that nation, we had merited nothing but the public subjection of our honour to theirs : the Scots, though an inferior nation, denying us any such privilege in their own kingdom.

These things thus obtained, and Normanism thus abolished, we may then, and then only, have comfort in our name, as after our excussion of that which is utterly destructive to the honour of our nation ; which is the motive unto us to demand and require these things : neither want there reasons sufficient on the other side, why they may and ought to be granted ; some whereof are these :

1. For his majesty, it will be no prejudice to his title, nor impeachment of the honour of his blood, should he wave his descent from Normandy, but rather an improvement of

³¹ Vide Daniel's History.

³² As being descended both of David the male heir, and of Maud the heir female of the English blood.

the same ; by how much it is more honourable to be derived from free kings, than vassal dukes ; and from Saxony, the heart and noblest part of Germany, than from Neustria or Norway : and it will, moreover, settle him as well in the true affections, as on the throne of this nation, which none of his predecessors, since the pretended conquest, could rightly enjoy ; there being too much tincture of domination in their rule, and of captivity in our obedience : and this is confirmed by that love and honour which the most glorious kings of this realm have here gained by their inclining this way : witness Henry the First, approved and beloved above his Norman predecessors, who, for that sole purpose, took to wife Edgar Atheling's niece, the female heir of the English blood : next, Edward the First, whose memory is no less acceptable for his being the first reviver of that name in that line, than for his enlarging the honour and dominion of this state : thirdly, Edward the Third, the most glorious, renowned, and precious of all our kings, not only for his famous victories, but withal, for restoring, in a good degree, the use and honour of the English tongue, formerly exiled, by Normanism, into contempt and obscurity ; to which purpose also it is observable, that none of our kings since William, the pretended conqueror, and his son, have bore their name ; the imposing whereof on our princes, their royal parents seem purposely to have avoided, as justly odious to the English nation ; whereas, with what honour they have continually used both the name and shrine of St. Edward, I need not recount. And if these kings, so lately after the Conqueror, and while the Norman blood ran almost fresh in their veins, thought it their duty, in some sort, to profess, for the English name, against Normanism ; how little mis-becoming will it be for his majesty, after his so many ages ingraftment into this nation, and disunion from the other, and having in him, for one stream of the Norman blood, two of the true English, to profess himself altogether English ; and to advance that nation to the greatest lustre he can, whereof he professeth himself the natural head : yea, it will so far transfer him above the honour and felicity of his predecessors ; as it is more honourable and happy for a prince to be called and accounted the natural father of his country, than the exotic lord of the same ; of which titles the very tyrants of Rome were ambitious for the former, but rejected and detested even the one half of the latter.

2. For the Norman progeny, they may consider, that themselves, as Norwegians, are originally (as Verstegan hath well observed) of one and the same blood and nation with the English, namely, the Teutonic ; and that, in doing what is here required, they shall but shake off that tincture of Gallicism, which their ancestors took in Neustria, and rejoin themselves with their ancient countrymen ; which also even their own honour requires of them, even according to the opinion of the ancient Treviri, who (as Tacitus recordeth) though inhabitants of France, yet disdained to be accounted of the French blood, but ambitiously adhered to their descent from Germany ; the Gallick nation having been servile ever since the time of Julius Cæsar ; and no other their language (which we so much dote upon) than an effect of the Roman conquest over them, and a testimony of their long vassalage and subjection to that empire.

But if they can relish no honour but what must arise, and fetch life, from our shame, let them revolve how loth they would be to be served, as sometime the Romans dealt with the insulting Gauls, the relicks of Brennus's army, whom they utterly rooted out of Italy, *Nequis ejus gentis superesset qui incensam à se Romam jactaret*, as an historian hath it ; and if they will needs continue the Danes succeeders in insulting over us, they may also remember that we are the posterity of those English who massacred them ; and that when they had a potent kingdom at hand to revenge it, which these others are to seek for.

3. Lastly, State-policy requires it ; it being requisite to the good and safety of the kingdom in general : for, if ingenuous valour in the people, and their love to their king, state, nobility, and laws, with regard to honour, be the chief strength of a realm against foreign invasions, (for instance, and testification whereof, we need look no further than the Scots) it is necessary, that if our state should enjoy that strength, our nation enjoy these demands : for, how can we love and fight for those laws which are ours only by our enemies'

introduction, and are our disgrace instead of honour; or for that sovereignty and nobility, in whose very titles (as before is related) we read our country to be already in captivity, and that the alteration of the state will be, to us, but changing of usurpant masters? Neither will the recordation of our ancient honour be any better a provocation to that purpose. Should the Turk go about to exhort his Grecian soldiers to valiantness in his cause, and against his foreign enemies, by commemorating unto them the ancient glory and prowess of their nation; would not that cohortation merit to be taken as an insulting irrision? And should not the first effect thereof, be a vindictive incitement of them against himself, as the most proper object thereof in all respects? So also cannot the remembrance of our ancient glory, if we consider ourselves aright, incite us to any thing more, than the clearing of ourselves from this insulting conquest; as already, and long since, pressing us with that dishonour, which other dangers at most but threaten? And as, upon these grounds, we can scarce find courage to fight for the safety and preservation of the state; so, for the same reasons, have we as little heart to pray or wish for the same, until our national honour be restored to a coexistence therewith.

Since, therefore, these things are so behoveful for our nation to demand, and for our state to grant; if, after due consideration thereof, we continue to want the happy fruition of the same, it must be ascribed either to an overgrown baseness of mind in the one, or an unnatural malignity in the other, as indulging rather to a foreign name, than to a nation whereof the said state is a part, and intrusted with the welfare and honour thereof; and in this still-servilising case, it will be ridiculous for us, the nation, to pretend to honour or renown, but more proper for us for ever to profess ourselves of that quality wherein we take up our rest; to wit, captivity and servility. But, if we may descry a glorious morning, and ἀνατολή of our benighted honour, refulging in the happy accomplishment of these our desires; then shall we with alacrity press all that the English name investeth unto the defence and enlargement of the English dominion; and, instead of disclaiming our nation, and transfusing to others, as many of us now do, and have done especially in Ireland, we shall joy to make Anglicism become the only soul and habit of all, both Ireland and Great Britain. *Dixi.*

Octob. 1642.

J. H.

Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the speedy Demolishing of all Organs, Images, and all Manner of superstitious Monuments in all Cathedral or Parish Churches and Chapels, throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales; the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun, and to remove all Offences and Things illegal in the Worship of God.¹

Die Jovis, 9 Maii, 1644.

‘Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that these
‘Ordinances shall be forthwith printed and published,’

Jo. Brown, *Cler. Parliamentorum.*

London, Printed for John Wright in the Old-Baily, May 11, 1644.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

Die Jovis, 9 Maii, 1644. An Ordinance for the further Demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition.

THE lords and commons assembled in parliament, the better to accomplish the blessed reformation so happily begun, and to remove all offences and things illegal in the worship of God, do ordain, That all representations of any of the persons of the Trinity, or of any angel or saint, in or about any cathedral, collegiate, or parish-church or chapel, or in any open place within this kingdom, shall be taken away, defaced, and utterly demolished; and that no such shall hereafter be set up. And that the chancel-ground of every such church or chapel, raised for any altar or communion-table to stand upon, shall be laid down and levelled. And that no copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, hoods, or roodlofts, or holy-water fonts, shall be, or be any more used, in any church or chapel within this realm. And that no cross, crucifix, picture, or representation of any of the persons of the Trinity, or of any angel or saint, shall be or continue upon any plate or other thing, used or to be used in or about the worship of God. And that all organs, and the frames or cases wherein they stand, in all churches and chapels aforesaid, shall

¹ [The abolition of the Liturgy (as sir John Hawkins remarks) was attended not barely with a contempt of those places where it had been usually performed; but, by a positive exertion of that power which the then remaining reliques of the legislature had usurped, the Common Prayer had been declared by public authority to be a superstitious ritual. In the opinion of these men it therefore became necessary, for the promotion of true religion, that organs should be taken down; that choral musick-books should be torn and destroyed; that painted glass windows should be broken; that cathedral service should be totally abolished; and that those retainers to the church, whose duty it had been to celebrate its more solemn service, should betake themselves to some employment less offensive to God than that of singing his praises. In consequence of these, which were the predominant opinions of those times, collegiate and parochial churches were spoiled of their ornaments; monuments were defaced; sepulchral inscriptions engraven on brass were torn up; libraries and repositories were ransacked for ancient musical service-books; and Latin or English, popish or protestant, they were deemed equally superstitious and ungodly; and, in short, such havock and devastation made, as could only be equalled by that which attended the suppression of religious houses under Henry VIII.]

be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places. And that all copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, and fonts aforesaid, be likewise utterly defaced: whereunto all persons within this kingdom, whom it may concern, are hereby required, at their peril, to yield due obedience.

Provided that this ordinance, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to any image, picture, or coat of arms, in glass, stone, or otherwise, in any church, chapel, church-yard, or place of public prayer, as aforesaid, set up or graven only for a monument of any king, prince, or nobleman, or other dead person, which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint: but that all such images, pictures, and coats of arms, may stand and continue in like manner and form as if this ordinance had never been made. And the several churchwardens, or overseers of the poor, of the said several churches and chapels respectively, and the next adjoining justice of peace, or deputy-lieutenant, are hereby required to see the due performance hereof: and that the repairing of the walls, windows, grounds, and other places, which shall be broken or impaired by any the means aforesaid, shall be done and performed by such person and persons, as are for the same end and purpose nominated and appointed by a former ordinance of Parliament, of the eight-and-twentieth of August, 1643, 'For the utter demolishing of monuments of superstition or idolatry.'

Die Lunæ, 28 Augusti, 1643. An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the utter Demolishing, Removing, and Taking away of all Monuments of Superstition or Idolatry.

THE lords and commons in parliament, taking into their serious considerations how well-pleasing it is to God, and conducive to the blessed reformation in his worship, (so much desired by both houses of parliament,) that all monuments of superstition or idolatry should be removed and demolished, do ordain, That in all and every the churches and chapels, as well cathedral and collegiate, as other churches and chapels, and other usual places of public prayer, authorized by law within this realm of England and dominion of Wales, all altars and tables of stone shall, before the first day of November, in the year of our Lord God 1643, be utterly taken away and demolished: and also all communion-tables removed from the east-end of every such church, chapel, or place of public prayer, and chancel of the same; and shall be placed in some other fit and convenient place or places of the body of the said church, chapel, or other such place of public prayer, or of the body of the chancel of every such church, chapel, or other such place of public prayer. And that all rails whatsoever, which have been erected near to, before, or about any altar, or communion-table, in any of the said churches or chapels, or other such place of public prayer as aforesaid, shall, before the said day, be likewise taken away: and the chancel-ground of every such church or chapel, or other place of public prayer, which hath been, within twenty years last past, raised for any altar or communion-table to stand upon, shall, before the said day, be laid down and levelled, as the same was before the said twenty years last past. And that all tapers, candlesticks, and basons, shall, before the said day, be removed and taken away from the communion-table, in every such church, chapel, or other place of public prayer: and neither the same nor any such like shall be used about the same, at any time after the said day. And that all crucifixes, crosses, and all images and pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, or of the virgin Mary, and all other images and pictures of saints, or superstitious inscriptions, in or upon all and every the said churches or chapels, or other places of public prayer; church-yards, or other places to any the said churches and chapels, or other place of public prayer belonging, or in any other open place; shall, before the said first day of November, be taken away and defaced, and none of the like hereafter permitted in any such church, or chapel, or other places, as aforesaid.

And be it further ordained, That all and every such removal of the said altars, tables

of stone, communion-tables, tapers, candlesticks and basons, crucifixes and crosses, images and pictures, as aforesaid, taking away of the said rails, and levelling of the said grounds shall be done and performed; and the walls, windows, grounds, and other places, which shall be broken, impaired, or altered by any the means aforesaid, shall be made up and repaired in good and sufficient manner, in all and every of the said parish-churches or chapels, or usual places of public prayer belonging to any parish, by the churchwarden or churchwardens of every such parish, for the time being, respectively: and in any cathedral or collegiate church or chapel, by the dean or sub-dean, or other chief officer of every such church or chapel, for the time being: and in the universities, by the several heads and governors of every college or hall respectively: and in the several inns of court, by the benchers and readers of every of the same respectively; at the cost and charges of all and every such person or persons, body-politick or corporate, or parishioners of every parish respectively, to whom the charge of the repair of any such church, chapel, chancel, or place of public prayer, or other part of such church or chapel, or place of public prayer, doth or shall belong. And in case default be made in any of the premises, by any of the person or persons thereunto appointed by this ordinance, from and after the said first day of November, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1643, that then every such person or persons, so making default, shall for every such neglect or default, by the space of twenty days, forfeit and lose forty shillings, to the use of the poor of the said parish, wherein such default shall be made: or, if it be out of any parish, then to the use of the poor of such parish, whose church is or shall be nearest to the church, or chapel, or other place of public prayer, where such default shall be made. And, if default shall be made after the first day of December, which shall be in the said year 1643, then any one justice of the peace of the county, city, or town, where such default shall be made, upon information thereof to him to be given, shall cause or procure the premisses to be performed, according to the tenour of this ordinance, at the cost and charges of such person or persons, bodies-politick or corporate, or inhabitants in every parish, who are appointed by this ordinance to bear the same.

Provided that this ordinance, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to any image, picture, or coat of arms in glass, stone, or otherwise in any church, chapel, church-yard, or place of public prayer, as aforesaid, set up or graven only for a monument of any king, prince, or nobleman, or other dead person, which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint; but that all such images, pictures, and coats of arms may stand and continue in like manner and form, as if this ordinance had never been made.

JOH. BROWN, *Cler. Parliamentorum.*

A Diary of the Siege of Luxembourg, by the French King's Forces, under the Command of the Marshal De Crequi; containing a full Account of all that passed in the Siege and Surrendry of the Town.

London, printed by J. G. for D. Brown, at the Black Swan, without Temple-Bar; and are to be sold by W. D. in Amen Corner, 1684.

[Quarto; containing fifty-six pages.]

LUXEMBOURG, the metropolis of the duchy bearing the same name, is finely seated, commodious, of a great compass, and very strong: being also indifferently full of houses: the principal church is dedicated to St. Nicholas. There is, besides, a very fair convent, which, as it is said, (the inscriptions also upon the walls thereof testifying as much,) was one of the first of St. Francis's order, built in his life-time. This town has undergone many misfortunes; having, upon all occasions of war, served for the butt, whereat Fortune discharged her arrows. It was, in the year 1542, taken and plundered by the French, under the command of the duke of Orleans, son to the great king, Francis the First. In the year 1543, it was again taken and plundered by the French, and was finally, on the fourth of June, in this present year, 1684, brought under the dominion of the French.

The town of Luxembourg is built upon a rock, washed almost on every side, by a little river called Alsiette, which comes from the South; and, having almost encompassed that place, continues its course towards the North. The part of the rock, environed by the river, is exceeding steep, and needs no other defence but its natural situation; so that they have scarce built any fortifications on those sides. The side not environed by the river, which looks towards the west, is fortified with four bastions cut into the rock; as is also the ditch, which is very deep. There are before these bastions, counterguards, half-moons, and ravelins cut into the rock; as are also the ditches that cover them. Before all these works, there are two open ways, with their causeys; the first whereof is defended by four redoubts of stone in the angles, bearing out from the counterscarp. This side which is not environed by the river was the only place, whereby the town could be assaulted; all the rest being found too steep; and, of this side, the part attacked was the new gate, which is on the north, near the place where the river begins to turn away from the town.

The French army, commanded by the marshal De Crequi, invested the place, April the twenty-eighth, 1684, N. S. Some days were spent in preparatives for the siege, and taking their quarters.

The head quarters were settled from the height of Bambuche, to the village of Merle; and there were quartered eight squadrons and battalions, with four companies of cannoniers. The quarters of the count Du Plessis, the marquis De Genlis, and the sieur De Joyeuse, lieutenant-generals, were thus ordered: The first, from Linsing, to the hill of the Abbey of Bonnevoie, with seven squadrons, and eleven battalions; the second, from the same hill to the stream, which goes up towards the village of Hant, with five battalions; the third, from the river of Alsiette, as you go back again up to Hant, as far as the village of Homeldange, and there were posted eight squadrons, and six battalions. There were also quartered, in the bottom of Homeldange, two squadrons of Dragoons of the baron De Hasfield, with two battalions of fugeliers, and the company of miners and gunners.

May the 8th. The marshal De Crequi gave orders, to open their trenches.

The count Du Plessis, lieutenant-general for the day, the count De Broglio, marshal de camp, and the duke De la Ferte, brigadier of foot, posted themselves between five and six in the evening, on the hills of our Lady of Consolation, with two battalions of Champaign, (which had, at their head, the bailey Colbert, colonel of that regiment,) one battalion of Enguien, and one of La Ferte. The two first battalions marched in a bottom, behind the chapel, and two others on their left-hand, upon the reverse of these hills. The count De Talart, brigadier of horse, came upon the same hills with the horse under his command, which were four hundred to guard the trenches, having before him two-hundred foot to make use of, in case the besieged should make any sally. At nine in the evening, they opened (about half a musquet-shot from the counterscarp) a trench, parallel to the attacked side of the place, about five-hundred toises long; and this work was carried on two several ways, the one by the chapel, on the left-hand of the head-quarters; and the other, on the side of Passendal, on the other side of the opposite place. The pioneers of the attack of Champaign carried on the work, from the right to the left, within fifty or sixty toises of the chapel of Miracles, which is about a pistol-shot from the counterscarp; and those of the attack of La Ferte and Enguien, carried on the work from the left to the right; and these works met about the mid-way. The sieur De Vauban, marshal of the king's camps and armies, who had been, at noon, to view the counterscarp, and who had the inspection over these two attacks, caused to be traced this night two batteries, with lines of communication to the trench, upon a rising ground, about thirty or forty toises on this side the chapel, in respect of the besiegers. The marquis De Renti, marshal de camp, made a false attack upon the height of the Fauxbourg of Gromp, or of the Basseville, with a battalion of Conde; the marquis De Crenan made another by the bottom of the abbey of Bonnevoys, with five hundred detached men; and at the same time there was a battery traced upon the hill of Passendal, where there was a battalion of Orleans, with a detachment of two hundred men. The prince De Conti, and the prince De la Roche sur Yon, his brother, were present at the opening of the trenches, and passed the night there. The besieged, for above five hours, made not one shot; but about two, in the morning, they began to fire very briskly at us, with their musquets. There were not, however, above eight or nine of our men killed and wounded, which were of the regiment of Champagne. About break of day, they played also smartly upon us with their cannon, which yet had not any considerable effect. Some horse sallied out of the town, about four or five in the morning, but hastily retreated at the first firing of the detachments, which were commanded to shelter the labourers. They persisted, all that day, to play upon us, with their cannon; but still without much success. On our side they continued to work on the batteries.

9th. There was a man stopped, who endeavoured to get into Luxembourg; and there was found about him a passport from the marquis De Grana, dated August the twenty-eighth, with bills of exchange, for five and thirty thousand florins, payable in Luxembourg, and many letters in ciphers. We knew also, by the same way, that there were several officers who designed to get into the town, to join with their regiments there.

In the evening, the marquis De Genlis, lieutenant-general for the day, and the sieur De Josseaux, brigadier of foot, relieved the count Du Plessis, and the duke De la Ferte, who had the right-hand of the great attack; and the sieur D'Erlac, marshal de camp, relieved the count De Broglio, who had the left. Two battalions of Navarre relieved on the right the two of Champagne; and the battalions of Vaubecourt and Conti, (at the head of which, was the prince De Conti, accompanied by the prince De la Roche sur Yon, in the quality of a volunteer,) relieved on the left that of Enguien, and that of La Ferte. The besieged, at the time we went to relieve the trenches, set fire to the houses of a part of the Fauxbourg of Passendal; they quitted also a mill, which was but fifty paces from it, having prepared a mine to blow it up, in the belief they had, that our men would seize thereon: but we went not thither, and the mine sprang without the success they expected. During the night we carried on a second trench, parallel to the first of the great attack, within sixty toises of the covered fore-way of the place: and the communications were

made, without any of the workmen's being killed or wounded; although the enemy fired stiffly upon them, with their musquets. The sieur De Montmeillant, captain in the royal regiment, and the sieur De Favigny, captain and aid-major of Piedmont, and four or five lieutenants were slightly wounded. We continued also to work diligently on the batteries raised on the hills of our Lady of Consolation. The besieged, about break of day, played briskly with their cannon; but we had not above six or seven soldiers slain.

10th. Two of our batteries, of seven pieces of cannon each, began to play about eight in the morning with great success; and a battery of nine mortar-pieces (which had been put in order by the sieur De Vigny) began about noon to cast its bombs against a platform of the bastion on the right; and we dismounted three pieces of a battery of four pieces, which the besieged had erected there, and from whence they fired very vigorously. The same day a battery of five pieces, which was upon the hill of Bonnevoys, began also to play. We raised one of two pieces upon the rising ground, which looks into the Fauxbourg of Gromp, and we continued to work upon one of fifteen on the hill of Paffendal; which was finished with the loss only of nine soldiers killed, and seven or eight wounded, with three or four officers.

In the evening, the sieur De Joyeuse, lieutenant-general for the day, the marquis De Renti, marshal de camp, and the sieur De Refuge, brigadier of foot, relieved the marquis De Genlis, the sieur D'Erlac, and the sieur De Josseaux, with the two battalions of Piedmont, the first battalion of Auvergne, and the first battalion of the royal Roussillon, which entered the trenches in the place of the two battalions of Navarre, and the two of Vaubecourt and Conti. In the night there was carried on a third trench, parallel to the second, about thirty paces from the first covered way, which comprehended all the out-works of the attack. The besieged burnt this night the other part of the Fauxbourg of Paffendal; and fired also at us briskly with their musquets.

All the following day they played upon us with their cannon, and yet killed us but about seven or eight men, and wounded ten or twelve. The same day, viz. the 11th, the besiegers finished their battery of fifteen pieces; and with their cannon and bombs entirely ruined the platforms and defences of the bastion on the right.

In the evening, the count De St. Geran, lieutenant-general, and the marquis De Nesle, brigadier of foot, relieved the sieur De Joyeuse, and the sieur De Refuge, who were on the right-hand of the great attack; and the chevalier De Tilladet, marshal de camp, relieved the marquis De Renti, who was on the left. The trenches were mounted on the right by two battalions of Normandy, who took the post of the two battalions of Piedmont; and the battalions of Lyonnois and Turenne relieved, on the left, the battalions of Auvergne and the royal. The trench which comprehended all the outworks of the place, was carried on within twenty paces of the first open way. The sieur De Vigny made a battery an hundred and fifty paces to the left, from the first he had made; to ruin with bombs the platform and batteries which were upon the bastion on the left. The lieutenant of the grenadiers of Normandy, a sub-lieutenant of Enguien, and nine soldiers were slain, and six or seven wounded.

The morrow, being the 12th, the other batteries were finished, and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and fifteen mortar-pieces, began that day to play continually. The same day about noon, a cannon-bullet of the besieged's set on fire thirty bombs of the besiegers, which were on the sieur De Vigny's first battery: seven gunners and two soldiers were killed, and there were six grievously wounded. The sieur De Caillemote, second son of the marquis De Ruvigny, was wounded in the throat with a musquet-shot.

In the evening, the marquis De Lambert, lieutenant-general, the sieur De Rubantel, and the marquis De Crenan, relieved the general officers which were in the trenches: two battalions of the marine relieved the post on the right hand; and two battalions of the queen's relieved the post on the left. During the night the besiegers lodged themselves on the causeway of the covered way; and there was a communication made from one lodgment to the other. The work was carried on at the attack of Bonnevoys, within thirty paces of the ditch, on the side of the gate of Thionville, where a battery of five pieces was

raised. At the same time we advanced five of the great battery of Paffendal; for to batter on the reverse the bastion and outworks of the great attack on the left, and to beat down the gate of Paffendal. There was opened at the attack of Gromp, within twenty paces of the ditch, a trench, parallel to the front; which has upon one and the same line four towers, and which faces the hill of Crompt. We brought down the battery which was upon this hill, with a design to beat in pieces the gate of this fauxbourg; and so to be able to dismount two pieces which were on a platform within an hundred paces on the right hand of this gate, and which much incommoded the besiegers. We seized on a church within half a musquet-shot of the place, situated upon a rising ground between Gromp and Paffendal; the enemy not making any resistance. Fifty men were left there to keep it. There was this night a serjeant killed, with about ten soldiers, and twenty wounded.

13th. In the morning, a soldier of the place came into the camp. He told us, that the Prince de Chimay had been obliged to commit the defence of the outworks to the townsmen, and to draw the soldiers into the town, for fear of their running away. About noon the besieged sprang two little mines under a lodgment we had made on the right-hand, upon the causey of the first covered-way: there were three soldiers slain, and about fifteen wounded.

In the evening, the count Du Plessis, lieutenant-general, the sieur De Cournay, marshal de camp, and the sieur De Maumont, brigadier of foot, relieved the general officers in the trenches: a battalion of Bourbonnois, one of Humieres, one of the Crown, and one of Languedoc, relieved those which were at the great attack. The marquis De Humieres (only son to the marshal De Humieres) was slain by a musquet-shot, which hit him in the head. About midnight, four parties of grenadiers of ten men each, had order to enter at the same time, by four several places, into the first covered-way; to settle themselves therein, if they found not too great resistance; and to seize on a redoubt, called the Redoubt of St. Mary, which is between the two covered-ways. But, after they had borne a violent charge of musquets, grenadoes, and fire-works, they were forced to retreat; because this redoubt was revested in the same manner as the ditch, wherein there was a caponiere filled with musqueteers; and because there was no getting into it but by a gallery under ground, the end whereof joined to the covered-way nearest the place.

Thus were we obliged to proceed along by digging as far as the palisadoes, whence we carried on a lodgment in the covered-way; which the besiegers extended on the right and left of the bottom of the ditch of the redoubt; and the miners, to overthrow it, wrought under the ditch. At the attack on the left, our men lodged themselves on the causey of the covered-way; whence was a communication made to the lodgment on the right. A lieutenant of the royal regiment was killed, with three serjeants, nine or ten soldiers, and five canoniers; and a captain with about twenty soldiers wounded.

In the evening, the posts of the trenches were relieved by the marquis De Genlis, lieutenant-general, the marquis D'Uxelles, marshal-de-camp, and the duke De la Ferte, brigadier of foot, with two battalions of Champagne, that of La Ferte, and one of Orleans. There was finished, on the right-hand of the great attack, the lodgment in the covered-way, upon the brink of the ditch of the redoubt, where the miners could not easily go on, because of the rock they there met with. We brought on two pieces of cannon; endeavouring to break the communication of the redoubt with the second covered-way. On the left-hand of the attack, was sent forth a detachment of grenadiers of La Ferte, to see if the enemies had quitted the first covered-way on that side. They could not come to know it, because the enemies were there couched on their bellies, and at the appearance of our men, rose, and obliged them to retire. Ten of the grenadiers were slain, and two mortally wounded; the captain had his arm broken, and the sub-lieutenant was wounded: the marquis De Genlis's aid de camp received a mortal wound, and two officers of Orleans were slightly wounded.

15th. Three fugitives from the place related, that the governor of the town, the prince De Chimay, was that night wounded in the leg, and that the major was killed. That day we advanced two batteries, each of two pieces of cannon, for to batter a redoubt, which

is near the two covered-ways on the left; and, in the mean time, we played the most advantageously we could from the batteries that were in condition, for to ruin the out-works and defences of the bastion on the same side. We seized also two redoubts on the back-side of Paffendal, which the cannon of the besiegers had very much damaged.

In the evening, the guard of the trenches was relieved by the sieur De Joyeuse, the count De Broglie, and the sieur De Josseaux, with the two battalions of Navarre, that of Vaubecourt, and that of Conti, in the head whereof was the prince De Conti. The marquis De la Valette had, at the same time, his thigh broken by a cannon-shot, from one of our batteries which had passed over the town. In the night, the besiegers made themselves masters of a third redoubt on the back-side of Paffendal. We carried on the lodgment, which was upon the causeway of the first covered-way, near fifteen toises to the right and left; and, in the midst of this advance, were raised two platforms, for to look backwards into the covered-way. The besieged fired fiercely all the night, but with little success. About five in the morning, they quitted the covered-way, and sprang a mine, which they believed must be under our lodgments; but it had not any effect. The besiegers took the advantage of an enforcement, which this mine had made near the palisades, and made use of it to lodge themselves there: but this design would not easily have succeeded, had not the prince De Conti, by his presence and bounty, encouraged the soldiers, whom the fear of a second mine hindered from working. An engineer and four soldiers were slain on this occasion, and a captain of Navarre, one of Burgundy, the sub-lieutenant of the grenadiers of Conti, and nine or ten soldiers were wounded. We extended the lodgment, which was on the brink of the ditch of the redoubt.

16th. The besieged battered with much success the redoubt which was on their left, between the two covered-ways; and a mine, which had been made to open the ditch of that redoubt on the right, had all the effect they desired. The sieur De Court, major of Conti, was killed in coming down from the trenches. We have since the 16th ruined, with the great battery of Paffendal, a traverse of stone, about six toises long, which was at the point of an half-moon, that covers the bastion on the left, to hinder us from looking between the opposite hills into the covered-way of the place: we likewise ruined, with the same battery, two towers which covered the gate of the tower on that side.

According to the last news, come from the siege, they continued to batter many little works, full of earth, and in confusion against this gate, the bastion, and the three redoubts, whereof ours had made themselves masters, which flanked the reverse of the hills. The besiegers were resolved to set afterward the miner to the bastion; and they hoped to succeed easily therein, because there was no ditch on that side.

16th. In the evening, the count De St. Geran, lieutenant-general for the day, and sieur De Refuge, brigadier of foot, mounted the trenches on the right; and the sieur d'Erlac, marshal de camp, mounted on the left. Two battalions of Piedmont relieved those of Navarre; and two battalions of Auvergne, and the Royal, relieved those of Vaubecourt and Conti.

We carried on, during the night, to the mine, the trench which is on the brink of the ditch of the redoubt on the right, advancing towards the second covered-way; and we continued to batter a breach in the redoubt. On the left, we extended in the first covered-way to the lodgment which had been made there; and we wrought for the communication of the three redoubts, which are on the back-side of Paffendal. The enemy fired vigorously this night, and there were nine or ten soldiers killed, and about twenty wounded. The same night we extended, at the attack of Grondt, the lodgment all along the ditch, and brought thither a battery of three pieces. There was not any new work made on the side of the attack of Bonnevoie.

In the evening of the 17th, the marquis De Lambert, lieutenant-general, and the marquis De Crenan, brigadier of foot, relieved the guard of the trenches on the right, with a battalion of Normandy, and that of Soissons; and the marquis De Renti, marshal de camp, relieved it on the left with a battalion of Lyonnois, and that of Turenne.

We continued on the right to batter the redoubt, and to work through the mine, with a

design to enclose it. We perfected on the left the lodgments and communications which had been made there; and we discharged abundance of cannon and bombs, to finish the ruining the defences of the attacked side, and the palisadoes which remained on the second covered-way. The besieged also fired fiercely during the night, and killed us about twenty soldiers, and wounded twenty-five or thirty, with four or five officers.

18th. In the evening, the count Du Plessis, lieutenant-general for the day, and the marquis De Nesle, brigadier of foot, relieved the posts on the right with two battalions of the marine; and the chevalier De Tilladet, marshal de camp, relieved the posts on the left with two battalions of the Queen's.

The redoubts of this attack are of very good stone, and every where cannon-proof. They have three stories of battlements, with a revested ditch, sixteen feet broad, and fourteen deep; in the revestment whereof are caponieres, which command round about. These redoubts have communication with the ditch of the place, and the covered-way, by three galleries under ground, built one upon another, of six feet in height and four in breadth.

The count Du Plessis visited all the posts of the trenches. He sent to view the breach which our cannon had made in the highest story of the redoubts on the right, and to which the breaches of the mines made an ascent. We found nobody there; and the count Du Plessis sent thither only six grenadiers and a serjeant, for fear there might be mines. They saw through the holes of the arches, that the enemies kept yet the lower story, and they cast grenadoes at them; but they were not sufficient to drive them away. The count Du Plessis caused bombs to be thrown at them, which yet dissipated them not, till they had had their effect, and he sent to charge them sword in hand.

At the same time, we carried on the mine-work to the galleries of communication from the redoubt to the ditch, and the covered-way of the place; and we lodged ourselves by this mining in the midst of the second causeway. The enemies, perceiving the besiegers ready to pierce the communication, were afraid to be cut off without being succoured, and retired with so much precipitation through the middle gallery into their ditch, that they left many musquests, and some hats in the redoubt.

We rolled afterwards two great casks full of faggots into the second gallery, notwithstanding the besieged fired furiously upon us from the gate; and, after two hours fight under ground, we set up a traverse to hinder their return to the redoubt.

The enemy did also the same on their side, to stop the progress of our workmen. They had prepared four mines at the four corners of the redoubt, but they could not set them on fire, because of the water, which was in the lowest gallery.

We continued to batter a breach in the redoubt on the left, to make a mine to open the ditch, and to enclose this redoubt by mining, as we had that on the right. We made a lodgment on the back-side of Paffendal, the length of the traverse, and the face of the half-moon, within four paces whereof the works were advanced. But we were constrained to quit it by the abundance of bombs, grenadoes, and fireworks, which the besieged cast from the half-moon, and the covered-way. The communication of the two attacks was made during the night, notwithstanding thirty toises of the rock, which were between the two lodgments.

The same day, being the 19th, four miners were set to the attack of Grondt, from the gate unto the nearest tower; and they wrought with so much diligence, that in the evening they began to charge the mines. A captain of the Queen's, and two or three inferior officers were wounded: five or six soldiers were slain, and about twenty wounded.

19th. In the evening, the marquis De Genlis, lieutenant-general, and the marquis De Crenan, brigadier of foot, mounted the trenches on the right-hand with the battalions of Bourbonnois and Humieres; and the sieur De Rubantel, marshal de camp, mounted on the left with the battalions of the Crown and Vermandois.

In the night we extended on the right the lodgment, which was upon the communication of the redoubt with the second covered-way, above five and thirty toises to the right and as much to the left: and this lodgment was in some places within twelve paces

of the palisadoes. We perfected on the left the lodgment which was made to enclose the redoubt.

We had proceeded very slowly in battering it, because we judged it not fit to finish the making a breach therein, before the miner (who was set to the exterior wall of the ditch, and who had required two days to open it, because of the rock he found there,) was nearer finishing his work. There was made also a place of arms, capable to contain a thousand or twelve-hundred men in the trench, which communicates with the two lodgments.

We re-established with great gabions along the traverse, as far as the point of the counter-guard, the lodgment we had there the night before, and which we had quitted in the day. The besieged cast store of bombs and grenadoes, to hinder us from re-establishing it. The count De Gass, colonel of the Vermandois regiment, who supported the head of the work on the left, had there twenty grenadiers killed or wounded. The enemy cast an extraordinary number of grenadoes, when we were got within an halbard's length of the angle of the second counterscarp.

20th. In the morning they sprang a mine, which they had under the two angles. That on the right overthrew twenty gabions, without hurting above two soldiers; and the damage was repaired in two hours, by the care of the sieur Lapara, engineer. The mine on the left had not any considerable effect. The besiegers also at seven in the morning sprang the mine of Grondt; and it made a breach for six men to enter a-breast. The grenadiers of Languedoc and Burgundy ascended first, with so much vigour, that they drove away fifty soldiers, which defended it; and made, ten paces beyond the breach, a lodgment forty toises long, notwithstanding they were fiercely shot at from the rampart, and the ravelin of Grondt. The captain of the grenadiers of Burgundy, and he of the grenadiers of Languedoc, two inferior officers, and thirty soldiers were wounded; and there were nine or ten soldiers slain.

About three in the afternoon, four soldiers of the besieged came into the camp; and they averred, that the besiegers had killed or wounded them since the siege above three-hundred men: that captain Gregory, a famous officer amongst them for commanding of parties, was killed; and not the major of the town, as the report went: that the prince De Chimay made the women and children work upon the retirades; and that he was still resolved to make a vigorous defence.

20th. In the evening, the sieur De Joyeuse, lieutenant-general, and the marquis De Nesle, brigadier of foot, mounted the trenches on the right with two battalions of Champagne; and the marquis De Renti, marshal-de-camp, mounted on the left with a battalion of La Ferte, and one of Orleans.

We extended, during the night, a great line, which made the place of arms, from one redoubt to the other; and we put it into a condition to contain above three-thousand men. On the left the lodgment, which was along the traverse, was continued to the middle of the face of the counter-guard, notwithstanding the enemy fired all night briskly upon us with musquets, bombs, and grenadoes.

We began also a platform on the right to look backwards into the covered-way of the place; and there were seven or eight soldiers killed, and about thirty wounded, with two officers. The count De Tonnerre, colonel of the regiment of Orleans, was wounded in the head.

21st. At three in the afternoon, the besieged quitted the redoubt on the left-hand; seeing that it was entirely enclosed by the works of the besiegers, and seeing also the great breach their cannon had made therein. They retired into the caponieres of the ditch of the same redoubt, and from thence fired fiercely upon those that were in it. The besiegers put two pieces in battery, to drive them thence.

21st. In the evening, the count De St. Geran, lieutenant-general, and the sieur De Josseaux, brigadier of foot, relieved the guard of the trenches on the right, with two battalions of Navarre; and the marquis D'Uxelles, marshal-de-camp, relieved it on the left, with the battalion of Vaubecourt, and that of Conti, at the head whereof is the prince De Conti.

About seven o'clock, the enemy sprang a mine between two lodgments, which the besiegers had upon the reverse of Paffendal; but it neither killed nor hurt any body.

At nine the miner was put to the middle of the counterguard, which covers the bastion. The besieged, an hour after, sprang a second mine, on the same side. There were three soldiers killed, and six or seven wounded. Some time before, we had discovered a mine in the redoubt on the right-hand, and taken out the powder. During the night, we brought a battery of seven pieces, within thirty paces of the counterscarp; and perfected the platform, and place of arms, which joins the two redoubts.

22d. At break of day, the cannon of the great battery of Paffendal, fired by misfortune at the counterguard, and there were two miners killed, and three others wounded, with a lieutenant of the regiment of Conti, and three soldiers. Four soldiers of the regiment of Conti, animated by the presence and liberalities of the prince, (who executes all the function of a colonel,) continued to work in the mine, whence many had been repulsed by the enemies' fierce firing.

The miners found at nine in the morning a gallery in the wall of the counterguard, pierced with battlements, which flanked the reverse, and seized thereon. They found another underneath, which cut the counterguard a-cross, and which gave us room to put ten miners into this last, to make therein as many branches, to the end, to cast a part of the earth into the ditch.

The enemy, having perceived the work of our miners, cast ineffectually great store of fire-works and barrels full of powder, to drive them away, and to oblige the besiegers to quit the lodgment. The same morning the prince De Conti caused to be attacked by a captain, who commanded sixty men of his regiment, a traverse, which the besieged possessed in the fauxbourg of Paffendal, fifty paces from their gate, for to go securely to fetch water at the river. The enemies were driven from this traverse, although they resisted very stoutly: and we seized on an out-gate of the town, fortified with good towers.

About eleven in the morning, we knew that the enemies had made many traverses within their counterscarp; and the besiegers, doing their utmost to hinder their finishing this work, made themselves masters of the first redan on the right, and that on the left.

The besieged endeavoured to drive them thence, with a shower of grenadoes and stones; but it was without any success; and they were also, in fine, repulsed by the great firing and extraordinary vigour of the besiegers.

During the guard, about twenty soldiers were slain, and there were four officers, one engineer, and forty or fifty soldiers wounded; at the attack of Grondt, during the night of the 21st, to the 22d, and all this day, the besiegers laboured to get ground on the right, leaving the ravelin on the left; and they brought cannon to ruin the communication of the gate with the castle, which they batter incessantly.

The marshal De Crequi continues to visit and press the works, and to give all the orders, necessary for advancing the siege, with all the vigilance and good conduct imaginable.

There arrive daily at the camp many noblemen-strangers, whom curiosity, excited by the report, which is spread about of the beauty of this siege's works, and of the good order of the attacks, brings thither from all the neighbouring countries.

The enemies have done their utmost to endeavour the putting some succour into the place.

The count De Valsassine, and the duke De Bejar, undertook to get in, at the head of four-hundred reformed officers, and three-hundred dragoons, and they came within three leagues of the place: but having learned, from the guides of the country, the disposition of our works, and that it would be impossible to execute their design; they retreated, and took their way to Bruxelles.

The works, which have all been conducted by the sieur De Vauban, with such success, that they have hindered the enemy from making any sally, are in very good condition. They would have been farther advanced, had not the marshal De Crequi (according to the king's orders) ordered the attacks, with all the precautions necessary to spare the troops, and moderate the ardour of our gentry.

May the 22d. In the evening, the marquis De Lambert, lieutenant-general, and the sieur De Refuge, brigadier of foot, relieved the posts on the right-hand of the trenches with two battalions of Piedmont. The sieur De Langallery, marshal-de-camp, relieved the posts on the left, with one battalion of Auvergne, and two battalions of the Royal.

During the night, and the following day, our men wrought on the right-hand upon a battery of three pieces of cannon against the palisadoes of the counterscarp; for to batter the face of the bastion of that side, and that of the half-moon, which is on the left; and for to dismount a piece of cannon, the enemies had put there a little while since. We began also a battery of mortar-pieces behind the first battery; for to hinder the firing which the besieged made from the bastion and half-moon.

The two lodgments of the besiegers were lengthened, and there were finished two or three-and twenty mines in the counterguard; to be made use of, when we should have seen the effect of three others, which had been made at the point of this counterguard. The enemies cast, during the night, a great quantity of grenadoes and fire-works upon the workmen, and into the first posts, for to retard the works. But, in the day, the besiegers fired so fiercely, that it hindered them from appearing to shoot: and the work went on without any opposition. There was made, at the attack of old Munster, a battery of mortar-pieces; for to endeavour to drive the enemies out of the third part, which was left them of the castle, and to make a lodgment there without much loss. At the attack of Grondt, the houses whereof the besieged had this night burnt, the works went still on; leaving on the left the ravelin, which they possessed, and pushing towards the gate of the castle of Munster; which was, in the mean time, continually battered by our cannon. The marquis De Montpesat was killed at this guard, this day, in the morning. We lost there an engineer, with ten or twelve soldiers; and there were two captains of foot and three inferior officers wounded, with fifty soldiers.

The same 23d, in the evening, the count Du Plessis, lieutenant-general, and the sieur De Morton, brigadier of foot, relieved the posts of the trenches on the right with a battalion of Normandy, and that of Soissons. The sieur D'Erlac, marshal-de-camp, relieved the posts on the left with the battalions of Lyonnois and Turenne. In the night we extended, and perfected, the two lodgments on the counterscarp; and we wrought to make the communication of the one with the other. The besieged sprang a mine under the lodgment on the left; but no body was hurt by it, because our men were retired, to free themselves from a very great number of grenadoes and fire-works, which the enemies cast there, during the space of two hours: we resettled ourselves there afterwards, much better than we were before. At six in the morning, the enemies pretended they would make a sally; but they durst not advance; having seen our grenadiers march towards them with great resolution. An hour after, the battery of three pieces of cannon began to play; and, at the same time, we cast store of bombs from the battery of mortar-pieces, which was behind it. The fifth of these bombs fell upon two or three-thousand grenadoes, which were in their half-moon, and set them on fire. The fire was very great for above an hour; and we saw in the air abundance of hats and pieces of clothes, which made us judge, that many of the enemies were killed and wounded.

24th. Our men charged the mines of the counterguard; and we battered, with two pieces of cannon, the caponieres, which are in the ditch, that runs along the right-side of this work. The great battery of Paffendal continued to batter a breach in the face of the castle, which looks towards this fauxbourg; and we continued also to cast therein store of bombs with good success. The besieged possessed no more of the counterscarp, but the redan, which covers the half-moon; and the two parties were so near one another, that the enemies, with hooks, plucked away our gabions and faggots, and drew them into their ditches. These great progresses began to shake the besieged. Two run-aways, come from the place to the camp, affirmed, that the colonels, and a part of the officers of the garrison, spoke of capitulating, to preserve their soldiers; the besieged having then lost above six hundred men, killed or wounded, by our bombs, or by shot from the trenches. These fugitives added, that the inhabitants, and the women, incessantly besought the

prince De Chimay to prevent, by a capitulation, the miseries whereunto they should be exposed, if they expected the last extremities. The besiegers lost, at this guard, the sieur De Valorge, captain of the grenadiers of Lyonnois, with eleven soldiers; an engineer, two inferior officers, and about forty soldiers, were wounded. My lord Howard, son to the earl of Carlisle, who was a volunteer, was mortally wounded, as he was giving marks of a great courage.

In the evening, the marquis De Genlis, and the marquis De Nesle, mounted on the right-hand of the trenches with two battalions of the marine; and the count De Broglio mounted on the left with two battalions of the Queen's. In the night, the enemies fired very fiercely, to drive the besiegers from their lodgments; who yet failed not to keep themselves there. They made also an attempt against the miners of the counterguard, and were repelled, with the loss of some soldiers. The besiegers abandoned the attack of Grondt, after they had drawn thence their cannon. At the attack of the castle of old Munster, we brought two pieces of cannon, wherewith we made a breach of twelve paces in the gate, which the besieged held; and we made two batteries of mortar-pieces, which continually cast bombs there. There were, at this guard, five or six soldiers killed, and about twenty wounded.

In the evening of the 25th, the sieur De Joyeuse mounted on the right, with Bourbonnois and Humieres; and the marquis De Renty on the left, with the Crown and Vermandois. The besieged, at the beginning of the night, cast so great a quantity of fireworks, that the besiegers had no small difficulty to preserve the powder they carried to charge the mines. They had already burnt two of our soldiers, who carried some in bags. The besiegers began three covered-ways upon the reverse of Paffendal, between the place and the three redoubts; for to go to the breach of the counterguard, when it should be made. They continued to batter a breach in the point of the half-moon, to ruin the caponieres of the ditch of the counterguard, and to extend the mine-work to the right and left of the redan of the counterscarp, which the besieged were, in fine, obliged to quit. There were, at this guard, a captain of foot, and ten or twelve soldiers slain, and about twenty soldiers wounded.

26th. In the evening, the count De St. Geran, and the duke De la Ferte, relieved the posts of the trenches on the right with two battalions of Champagne; and the chevalier De Tilladet relieved the posts on the left with the battalions of La Ferte, Condé, and Orleans; the battalion of Enguien went on the side of the castle. During the night, the besiegers finished the three ways, begun on the reverse of Paffendal; they carried on the mine-work, as far as the bottom of the ditch of the counterguard, and they wrought at the descent of the ditch of the half-moon; in the point whereof, there was already a breach, for two men to get up a-breast. There was not, however, any appearance of hazarding to get up by this breach, though it had been even greater; because we were assured, that there were mines there, and because it was but in the first envelope of the half-moon, which was double. The besieged sprang two mines in the last redan of the counterscarp; the first had not any effect, and the other killed three soldiers, and wounded nine or ten.

27th. In the morning, we finished the charging of the mine; and we made the powder be carried by soldiers, disguised like labourers. We made them be thus disguised, because we had, for some time, observed, that the besieged shot not much at the labourers; believing that they were countrymen thereabouts, whom the besiegers constrained to work. We employed ourselves diligently in closing the mine, and disposed all things, with great care, for springing it the morrow-morning; and for mounting afterwards to the breach. There were ten soldiers killed, and about twenty wounded.

In the evening, the marquis De Lambert, and the sieur De Rubantel, relieved the posts of the trenches on the right with two battalions of Navarre; and the sieur De Josseaux relieved the posts on the left with the battalions of Vaubecourt, of Conti, and of Auvergne. During the night, according to the orders of the marshal De Crequi, we made all the preparatives necessary for the attack, which was to be made the morrow-morning upon the

counterguard ; and things were disposed with so much prudence, that never any action was begun and continued with better order, less confusion, more constancy, and greater success. At break of day, the marquis De la Freseliere put the batteries in so good a state, that the cannon of the besiegers played incessantly for two hours. The sieur De Vigny caused also the batteries of the mortar-pieces to be ordered with so much care, that the bombs, which fell without discontinuation into the bastions, tormented the besieged. At the same time, the troops, which were to be employed upon this attack, marched to the rendezvous, assigned them by the marshal De Crequi ; who, notwithstanding his indisposition, (and an incision which had been made in his leg the day before,) caused himself to be carried to the head of the trenches, that he might there be nearer at hand to give his orders, and might put more life into what was to be executed. The grenadiers of Vaubecourt were destined to attack the right-side of the counterguard of the bastion of Barlemont, after the mine should have had its effect ; being seconded by the two companies of grenadiers of Piedmont, and by an hundred men of the regiment of Vaubecourt, which had, at their head, the company of grenadiers of the regiment of Auvergne. The grenadiers of Conti were commanded to attack a redan, ruined by our cannon, on the left-side of the counterguard ; being backed by two companies of grenadiers of Normandy, one of the Royal, and an hundred men of the regiment of Conti. The two companies of the grenadiers of Navarre were appointed their post on the left-hand of the attack of Conti, over-against the buttress of the bastion of Barlemont ; being seconded by the companies of grenadiers of the marine of Bourbonnois, and of Rovergue, with an hundred men of that regiment. Each regiment, in a body, was to support its attack, except that of the grenadiers of Navarre, which was maintained by the battalion of Rovergue.

The labourers were ranked in three troops, with the engineers, to be ready to march when the detached troops should have seized on the breaches ; and it was in fine resolved, that as soon as the second mine was sprung, they should march by the ways which were shewn them. All things being thus disposed, about four in the morning, all the troops that were at the foremost posts, were caused to withdraw from the trenches ; to the end they might be out of the fall of the ruins, which the mine might make. The miners were also made go out of their hole ; and there were left only the pikes, planted with the colours, and some soldiers, to hinder the enemy from knowing the design of the besiegers.

28th. About seven in the morning, the mine was sprung, and its effect was very considerable. Nevertheless, the ascent of the counterguard, and the other works, was so rough and difficult, that the detached men, who attacked at the same time, (that the enemies might not have leisure to retrench themselves,) were obliged to scramble, and thrust one another, to get to the top of the breach.

The troops being advanced to seize on the breaches, and make lodgments there, (according as it had been proposed ;) those, which marched first, extended themselves under the bastion on the left, where were thrown at them a great number of grenadoes. The others, which followed them, extended themselves along the curtain, and the bastion on the right, at the foot of the breach ; after which they ascended together with much order to the top of the breach, to settle themselves there. But those, who advanced to the end of the curtain, which joins the bastion on the left, met with a vigorous opposition.

At the same time the enemy sprang two mines in this place, which obliged the commanded men to retire to preserve themselves ; but having presently recovered the right-hand of these mines with the other troops, they chased thence the besieged, and began on all sides to settle the lodgments, by means of abundance of faggots, which were incessantly brought thither. The troops, which were in the bastion on the left, to re-settle themselves there, were disquieted by the grenadoes, which the besieged cast also from the side of the ditch. But we caused them to be driven by some officers and soldiers, as far as the wall, which is on the left, that goes down from the place to the

ditch, and flanks the bastion of Barlemont, where they laboured to retrench themselves.

The besieged, in their retreat, set on fire a little magazine filled with bombs, grenades, and powder, whereby many of the besiegers were killed or wounded. Four companies of Spanish foot defended the counterguard, and the other works, which are joined thereunto, were defended by detachments. They made so obstinate a defence, that our troops, though using their utmost endeavours, had, for half an hour, much difficulty to get possession of the top of the breach; the place of itself being very high, and the ruins of the mine not being solid enough to make it firm. But, after a fierce charge of musquets and grenades, our men so vigorously disputed the matter with the sword's point, that the enemy was, with much loss, driven from this post; and many Spaniards, who would not ask quarter, were cut in pieces. Some carried on, with an extreme desire of signalizing themselves, went as far as the ditch of the place. The lieutenant of the grenadiers of Rovergue, followed by ten or twelve, bore up with great constancy, against the charge of forty masters; and the greatest part of the horse was killed, and the rest put to flight by help of the firing of the grenadiers, which were in the counterguard. The commandant was also killed by the count De Mailly, who went to meet him, having seen him advance his sword on high. Our men would have made a lodgment near the ditch, over-against the right-hand front of the bastion; but the extraordinary firing of the besieged, which killed us some men, obliged them to take the resolution to retire along the battlements of the wall. The besieged had placed three little pieces on the terraces, covered with trees, on the side of Grondt; having judged, that they should be attacked thereabouts; and the troops, which they played upon in the flank, were very much incommoded by them; as also, by the ordnance, which they had on the flank of the bastion, opposite to that of Barlemont. There was not for five or six hours any intermission of firing. We lost twenty or five and twenty officers, with about three-score and ten soldiers, and there were many wounded; amongst whom, was the chevalier De Megrigny, and the sieur De Marny, engineer. The captains of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Conti were killed. The sieur De Sainte Marthe, captain of the grenadiers of Auvergne, and the sieur De Castillon, captain of Navarre, were wounded. The marquis Bourlemont, brother to the duke D'Atri, was slain. The duke De Choiseut was wounded with the shiver of a bomb, above the left eye, whereof he died some days after; and the vidame De Laon, son to the count Du Roy, was wounded with a musquet-shot through the body, both of them giving testimonies of a singular courage.

The prince De Conti, and the prince De la Roche sur Yon exposed themselves to the greatest danger, with a valour worthy their birth; and the last received on the stomach a blow with a stone. All the volunteers signalised themselves there, particularly, the prince De Tingry, the marquis De Crequi, the count De Luz, the count D'Estrees, the marquis De Thiange, the marquis De Nogent, and the marquis De la Batie. The duke of Grafton, and the duke of Northumberland, his brother, and many other English lords, who came to the siege in quality of volunteers, signalized themselves on this occasion.

The sieur De Vauban, marshal-de-camp, was one of the first in the counterguard, and gave there with his ordinary sufficiency orders, very beneficial for the security and continuation of the lodgments, which were made there. All the foot, which were at this action, acquitted themselves very well of their devoirs; and many soldiers made themselves be taken notice of.

It was necessary, after the effect of the mine, and the lodgment built upon the counterguard, to make a descent into the ditch. The count Du Plessis, lieutenant-general for the day, undertook this care with all the success that could be expected. He made the ditch be viewed; he killed, or put to flight, all the enemies that were found before him; and afterwards caused the lodgments to be made, notwithstanding all the effects of the besieged, who cast, from above the bastions, a prodigious quantity of grenades, bombs, and fire-works upon the workmen and soldiers. He received, under the elbow, a blow

with the glancing of a grenado, which made him for some time unable to stir it. He ceased not to continue present, at the work of the lodgment, till such time as it was extended from the gate of the gallery of the counterguard, which leads to the ditch, as far as the bastion of Barlemont, which made fifteen toises. Two hours after, he put the miners to work in two places, one upon the right, towards the point of the bastion, and the other on the left, drawing towards the flank; the enemy not being able to incommodate them.

The works were continued the 30th, and the 31st, with much success; and we will give you the particulars thereof, in the following relations.

May the 29th. In the evening, the count Du Plessis, lieutenant-general, mounted the fifth time the trenches; and made the descent of the ditch, with very good success.

30th. In the morning, we attacked the third division of the castle of Old Munster; and made ourselves masters of it, after some resistance of the enemies. They soon quitted this work to retire upon the rampart; hoping, by their fierce firing, to hinder our men from lodging there. About two in the afternoon, a company of the grenadiers of Rovergue, one of Languedoc, and two of fuzeliers, supported by a battalion of that regiment, wholly carried this castle. The besieged had raised behind the division a battery of three pieces. We could not go to them, above seven or eight a-breast; and we were exposed to the shot of the place. Nevertheless, they abandoned this post, near half an hour before the besiegers came against it, and left there their cannon all charged. Our men made afterwards many winding traverses, to lodge themselves safely upon the brink of the ditch; where they extended themselves, as much as the ground-work could permit. An engineer, and fourteen or fifteen soldiers, were killed upon this occasion, and there were about forty wounded. About five, in the evening, the enemies quitted the half-moon of the counterguard, which they still held at the great attack. The general officers of the guard, having been advertised thereof, thought fit, before they seized this work, to send some men by the breach, which was at the point of the counterguard, to see whether there were no mines; and to open those, they should find there. There were happily discovered, under the counterguard, the trains of thirteen or fourteen toises of mines, which were all charged. We took thence the powder, and we detached workmen to make a lodgment, which exteriorly embraced all the parapets. We delayed to put people into the half-moon, till we had had time to search the mines; which was done the following night. We found there two pieces of cannon, which the enemies had left; and we judged thereby, that fear had made them retire from this half-moon. The sieur Parisoc, major of Cambray, engineer, was wounded with a piece of a grenado, on the stomach; as he was setting the miner to the bastion of the place.

30th. In the evening, the sieur De Toyeuse, lieutenant-general, the sieur D'Erloc, and the marquis De Nefle, relieved the trenches, with two battalions of the Marine, and two of the Queen's. We finished, during the night, a battery of two pieces of cannon, which had been begun upon the counterguard on the left; and we carried on by the mine-work about twenty toises of a trench, drawing from the counterguard to the curtain, which is on the reverse of Paffendal.

31st. We continued to work, to make the descent of the ditch; and to erect a battery of three pieces of cannon on the same ditch, which were to play with another battery of seven pieces, which had begun, in the morning, to fire briskly against a bastion, which remained before the besiegers, to hinder them from entering the place. We wrought also, upon all that was necessary for the springing several mines; to the end, to give afterwards the assault, in case the enemies shewed no design to yield.

But the prince De Chimay, knowing that the town was no longer defensible, and seeing himself pressed by the principal officers of the garrison, and by the townsmen; to prevent the misfortunes, which befal a place taken by assault, caused (June the 1st) a parley to be beaten, and demanded to capitulate. Hostages were soon sent on both sides, and all acts of hostility ceased. The prince De Chimay desired a truce for some days, that he might

send to Bruxelles, to represent to the marquis De Grana the extremity wherein he was. He added thereunto some other requests, ; but the marshal De Crequi thought not fit to grant him any of them. The truce was thus broken ; and the same evening, the besieged and the besiegers began to fire upon one another.

2d. We perceived a white cloth, whereby the townsmen would declare, that they would no longer defend themselves, nor shoot any more. But the garrison ceased not to fire at us with their musquets, all the night ; and our men fired also briskly both their musquet and cannon, to answer them.

3d. The firing of the besieged diminished by degrees till ten o'clock, when they entirely left off to shoot and appear. They were above half an hour in this condition ; and, in fine, seeing that the besiegers erected in the ditch a battery of four great pieces, they made appear at the attack, where the prince of Conti was, some men who made a shew of desiring to speak. We could scarce make them leave fire on our side, that we might hear them. They said, that the besieged had beaten a parley on the side of the castle ; and desired, that we would not level our cannon. They were answered, that the besieged should beat the parley on the side where they caused the battery to be erected, and that they should cease working. They said, they expected a drum ; in the mean time the work was discontinued ; and, in fine, the drum arrived. He cried out, after he had beaten, that they had made this call to capitulate. Some time after the hostages were brought to the guard of the trenches, where the prince De Conti was ; and he sent them to the marshal De Crequi, who sent also his into the town. The deputies arrived afterwards at the camp with the articles of capitulation, which the prince De Chimay demanded. There was one in favour of the deserters of our troops, for whom the besieged demanded an amnesty ; and another to obtain four pieces of cannon, which were not granted.

After many difficulties, the capitulation was, in fine, regulated and signed ; the extract whereof follows.

The Articles and Capitulation of the Town of Luxembourg.

I. **T**HE prince De Chimay, governor, the intendant, the commissaries of the armies and provisions, the officers of the ordnance and of the troops, and all the garrison, their families, domesticks, and servants, shall go forth of the town in full liberty, with their moveables and effects ; and, without having their baggage visited, they shall be conducted by the passage of the Moule to Stoken, or the places thereabouts ; and they shall not, in any sort, be molested by our troops for the space of four days ; during which, they may take the way of Louvain, or of Malines, without being any way opposed.

II. The foot shall go out by the breach of the castle, taking their way by the gate of Paffendal ; and the horse, artillery, and baggage by the same gate, or such other as the governor shall think fit, with arms and baggage, drums beating, trumpets sounding, colours flying, match lighted at both ends, ball in mouth, with two pieces of ordnance of brass, to wit, two demi-cannons ; besides which, the marshal De Crequi gave them two others, which make in all four cannons, and one mortar-piece, in respect to the prince De Chimay, with their carriages, furniture, and ammunition, necessary for six charges for each piece ; and, to this purpose, the besiegers shall furnish them with carts, horses, harness, and other things necessary for their carriage and remove.

III. There are granted three-hundred carts, and more, if need be, for the carriage of the baggage, mails, and effects, which can be removed.

IV. The garrison shall not march above two leagues the day of their going forth, and three the day following. The commissaries which shall be at the conduct, provide for their subsistence ; and they may, at parting, take bread and meat for five days.

V. Concerning deserters.

VI. The prisoners shall be rendered on both sides without ransom ; but those,

which have been rendered before this capitulation, shall not be freed from paying their ransoms.

VII. There shall be care taken of the sick and wounded, which cannot be removed.

VIII. The spoils, already taken, shall be enjoyed by those that have them.

IX. The wives and widows of the officers and soldiers shall have liberty, if they will, to remain in the town.

X. The inhabitants shall enjoy all their franchises, as they were before the siege.

XI. There shall be granted six months to the officers and soldiers for to dispose of their estates.

XII. The military officers shall not be arrested for debt on the day of their going forth; but they shall give sureties and promises to pay.

XIII. The receiver, and commissaries of the provisions, shall not be searched.

XIV. The officers and soldiers of the besiegers shall approach no nearer the place than their works, till the day of the garrison's going forth.

Articles concerning the States of the Town.

XV. There shall remain no other inhabitants, but those that shall make profession of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion.

XVI. Concerns the pretensions of the prelates, nobles, and deputies of the towns, representing the three estates.

XVII. The officers of the council, and others, shall continue in their offices.

XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, and XXVI Articles, which concern the particular privileges of the country and territories depending on the duchy of Luxembourg.

XXII. There shall be an agreement made with the marquis De la Fresiliere, for the bells and metals which belong to the artillery.

XXVII. The officers and soldiers, which continue in the service of his majesty's enemies, shall be subject to the pains appointed by the ordinances.

XXVIII. Orders the registering of the capitulation.

XXIX. The garrison shall be obliged to go forth of the place on Wednesday the seventh of this present month of June, at farthest, by noon; and shall, at eight in the morning, put into the hands of the besiegers a gate, which shall be taken into possession by an hundred men of the ancientest regiments, near which the besieged may, for their security, put a guard; that, for the security of the garrison, shall be given three hostages of equal condition, and the articles signed double by the marshal De Crequi and the prince De Chimay; and that the inventories of pieces of ordnance, provisions for war, and victuals, which are in the town, shall be faithfully delivered up.

According to this capitulation, the garrison went out of the town, the seventh of this month in the morning, to the number of about twelve-thousand men, the prince De Chimay marching at their head.

A List of the Officers which have been killed, or wounded, during the Siege of Luxembourg.

THE marquis De Humieres, colonel of foot, killed.

The count De Tonneree, colonel of the regiment of Orleans, wounded.

The marquis De la Valette, brigadier of horse, wounded.

Volunteers killed.—The marquis De Montpesat, the marquis De Bourlemont d'Anglure.

Volunteers wounded.—The duke De Choiseul; the vidame De Laon; my lord Howard, son to the earl of Carlisle. These three dead of their wounds.—The chevalier De Megrigny; the sieur De la Caillemotte.

Of the Regiment of CHAMPAGNE.

Captains wounded.—The chevalier De Mablauc. The sieurs De St. Clement; Mablauc, the elder; Gasquet; Bousquetardon; Du Plessis, aid-major.

Lieutenants killed.—The sieurs De Laval, Desmoulins.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De la Villette, Dandron, Tillieu, La Bastide, Bellies, St. Hippolite, Pradel, Beauregard, Dagare.

Of the Regiment of VAUBECOURT.

The sieur De Lispinay, captain, killed.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De Constaty, D'Arman, De Chaulnes, La Combe.

The sieur De Beaulieu, lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De St. Franc, La Boissiere, Vendal, La Combe.

The sieur De Bonvouloir, sub-lieutenant, killed.

Of the Regiment of ANJOU.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs Durant, Extremos, Battinguant, De Maure, De Mont.

The sieur Loumagne, lieutenant, wounded.

Of the Regiment of LA FERTE.

Captains killed.—The sieur Menoux, major; the sieur Patigny.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De la Rodie, Lanty, Nosce, St. Bonnet, D'Aubarede, Picquet.

The sieur De Renoncourt, lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs de Montefaux, La Vignerie, Choisé, Fumé.

Of the Regiment of NAVARRE.

Captains wounded.—The sieur Dorignac, major; the sieurs Du Pont, La Harliere, Carbonnieux, Rieutor, Sormel, Du Ribal, La Forest, Mossan, La Salle, Massiliac, Castillon, Macaye, Desus, Du Pre.

Lieutenants killed.—The sieurs De la Tournelle, Puget, Du Ham.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs D'Orgeval, Des Essarts, Carignan, Bevilliers.

Of the Royal Regiment.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De Montmelian, Dorigny, Corbé, La Fuitte.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De la Croix, Boulanger, Du Beuil, Sainte-Maison.

The sieur Paco, sub-lieutenant, wounded.

Of the Regiment of ENGUIEN.

The sieur De Toury, captain, wounded.

The sieur De Bichot, lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs Du Bouy, Ferrant.

Of the Regiment of PIEDMONT.

Captains wounded.—The sieur D'Ormois; the sieur Tavagny, aid-major; the sieurs Chadigny, Chastré, Siccard, Merie, Saint Marie, Dezers, Lamanon, La Fleur, Robert.

Of the Regiment of AUVERGNE.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De Sainte Marthe, Rigal, Dargon.

The sieur Du Glost, lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs Loger, Breyne, Fournier; the Father-almoner of the regiment.

Of the Regiment of LYONNOIS.

The sieur De Valorge, captain, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieur De Lavore; the chevalier De Raousset; the sieurs Broccard, Saligny, Le Normand, St. Jean, Pelou, La Tour; the sieur Chaudel, aid-major.

Of the Regiment of CONTI.

The sieur De Gour, major, killed; the sieur De Moreuil, captain, killed.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De St. Ange, St. Seve, Courange, Marege, Romieu.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De Fenneton, Faruze, De Vaux, La Tour, La Semmerie, Bussi Du Mine, Du Peroux.

Of the Regiment of NORMANDY.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De Lisle, Polignant.

The sieur De la Roque-Inpugeade, lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieur De Givresac; the sieur Langon, dead of his wounds; the chevalier Dus; the sieur La Martine.

Of the Regiment of the Crown.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De la Forcade, De Pille.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De Novion, Malvoisin, Flusi, Charlet.

Of the Regiment of CONDE.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De la Guezeric, Baumi, Canac, De Jean.

Of the Regiment of LA CHASTRE.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs Milon, Boislandry.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs Durant, La Salle, Perré, Brucaval.

Of the Regiment of TURENNE.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De Larzac, Baltazar.

Of the Regiment of SOISSONS.

Captains wounded.—The sieur De Farnaville; the sieur Mignare, De la Colonelle, lieutenant, wounded; the sieur De la Borde.

Of the Regiment of BOURBONNOIS.

The sieur Piblard, captain, killed.

The sieur Dhiery, captain, wounded.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De Campersan, Baudouin, Salure, La Bruyere.

Of the Regiment of ROVERGUE.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs Daffesq, Fregere, Descombies.

The sieur De Luzam, lieutenant, killed.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De Monblanc, Bienfait, Valonne, Meusnier.

Of the Regiment of BURGUNDY.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De Belcastel, La Sibliere, Saint Vincent.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs De Bourdesoulle, La Pauze, Maison-Neuve, La Fuye, Chircourt, Du Coutroye, Ferrandiere.

Of the Regiment of VERMANDOIS.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs De la Touche, Savigny, La Factiere.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs Arnault, De Daix, Amiere, Vergeuse.

Of the Regiment of LANGUEDOC.

The sieur De St. Leger, captain, wounded.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieurs Olivier, St. Martin, Goviabat, Rouville, Langlois. Marelau, Marestan, Bonafaux.

Of the Regiment of HAMILTON.

The sieur De St. Geniès, captain, wounded.

The sieur De la Moline, lieutenant, wounded.

Of the Regiment of FUSILIERS.

The sieur Darquet, captain, killed.

Captains wounded.—The sieurs Paschal, De Mouene, Rabar.

Lieutenants wounded.—The sieur De la Vigne; the sieur De la Garde, dead of his wounds.

Of the Marine Regiment.

The sieur St. Franc, captain, killed.

Officers of the Artillery.

The sieur De Chevrigny, provincial commissary, wounded.

The sieur De Cavées, commissary of the artillery, slain.

Commissaries of the Artillery wounded.—The sieurs De Fleury, De Cret, Villedot; the sieur De la Loutardiere, aid-de-camp.

Captains of the Vessels wounded.—The sieurs Du Fort, Roquefeuille, Gruillon.

Engineers killed.—The sieurs De Chastillon, Perrault.

Engineers wounded.—The sieurs Parisot, Rouselot, D'Harmant, Le Pautre, Racine, Grand Combe, Despaigne the younger, Mace, Morin, Pauhome; father Maximilian, a recollect, wounded in the trenches.

There were between four or five-hundred soldiers killed, and about seven-hundred wounded.

The besieged lost above eight-hundred men.

A Justification of the present War against the United Netherlands. Wherein the Declaration of his Majesty is vindicated, and the War proved to be just, honourable, and necessary; the Dominion of the Sea explained, and his Majesty's Rights thereunto asserted; the Obligations of the Dutch to England, and their continual Ingratitude: In Answer to a Dutch Treatise, intituled, 'Considerations upon the present State of the United Netherlands.' By an Englishman.¹

Pompeii omne Consilium Themistocleum est: Existimat enim, qui Mare teneat, eum necesse rerum potiri.

Cicero ad Atticum, Lib. x. Ep. 7.

Pudebat nobilem populum, ablato mari, raptis insulis, dare tributa quæ jubere consueverat. *Lucius Florus.*

London, printed for Henry Hills and John Starkey, and are to be sold at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Mitre within Temple-bar, 1672.

[Quarto; containing eighty-eight pages.]

The Author to the Reader.

SINCE the author of the 'Considerations' is pleased to conceal his name, and suffer his book to pass as the work of a private person; it seems requisite, that I do declare this ensuing treatise to proceed from an hand, not less private, if not more; and this I am the more obliged to own, lest by any mistake of mine, through haste, ignorance, or misinformation, some prejudice might be created against the just and unquestionable rights of his majesty. The interests of princes are not proper subjects for ordinary pens; yet in this juncture of our affairs, in these times of universal danger, I hope my attempt shall not be liable to misconstruction, since it hath no other source and original, than the service of my king and native country; and I do profess, that I have not, to my knowledge, made use of any officious untruths, nor in any allegation, or asseveration, imposed upon the credulous reader; nor have I asserted the less probable opinions at any time, out of compliance with the present exigencies of the state, in opposition to those which are strengthened with greater authority and reason. I have thoroughly convinced myself

¹ [The belligerent dispositions manifested by England, upon this occasion, are looked upon by the greater part of our historians as having very little foundation in justice. Rapin, (vol. ii. p. 663.) in particular, asserts that 'war was first resolved, and reasons or pretences afterwards sought;' and that it was 'so contrary to the interests of England, and all Europe, (the defence of which Charles had so often boasted to undertake, by means of the triple-league;) it was so directly opposite to equity, faith, and the religion of the English, publicly professed by the king, that no man could believe it till the blow was struck.'

Let the reader be left to weigh the arguments elicited by Rapin, and others, with the ponderous evidence brought forth by the author of the 'Justification.']

in the first place, and therefore hope the discourse may prove more satisfactory unto all others.

The infant republick of the United Netherlands, after that it had got some considerable strength by the assistance of England, began to be sensible of the advantages they drew from navigation, and how necessary it was for them, not only to open the commerce unto both Indies, but to secure themselves of the fishing in the British seas. The death of queen Elizabeth (who would otherwise have been jealous of their growing power, and tender of her own rights), together with the peaceable disposition of king James, seemed to make way for their ambitious designs; and the cabal of Holland (whereof Grotius was one) did publish an anonymous treatise, called *Mare Liberum*², wherein the freedom of the sea, to navigate, or fish in, was maintained as a due right of mankind, according to the law of nature, and nations; which foundation they esteemed more suitable to their ends, than if they should depend upon a revocable privilege, or tacit permission. The book was the less resented at that time, because it was in appearance levelled against the Spanish Indies, and the prohibition of commerce there; and then all Europe was willing to see the pride and power of Spain abated by any means. Howsoever, king James was angry at the pretended liberty of fishing; and his ambassador Carleton complained thereof to the states; but they never avowed the principles, but owned the rights of king James, though indeed slighted them, and usurped upon the fishing, in such manner, as I have shewed in this treatise. That single book hath occasioned a multitude of discourses upon that subject; Mr. Selden defended the English dominion over the British seas; others, that of Venice, and Genoa; the Dutch advocates undermining by their writings all the regalities of princes, as their masters have done by their actions. After that the troubles of Scotland and England had disabled king Charles the First from attending unto the dominion of the sea, according as he most generously purposed; the Dutch thought that the English, being weakened with the civil wars and distracted with intestine factions, by reason of the alteration of the government, could not resist their ambition, should they usurp the universal dominion of the seas; and to secure themselves therein, they sent Van Tromp to destroy the English navy, without declaring any war; but neither did that attempt, nor the war ensuing thereupon, prosper, as they hoped they would. But ever since that fierce war, they have determined upon the ruining the English navigation; and not only to exclude the English from the East-India trade, but to expel them from, and deprive them of, the dominion of the British seas. It is a received aphorism amongst the Hollanders, that the flourishing condition of England is a diminution of their glory; also, that trade, and the repute of strength, are inseparably linked together; and hereupon they have so many ways contributed to the embroiling of our kingdoms, and omitted nothing that might represent us as ridiculous and contemptible unto foreign princes. After they had usurped the fishery, they began to assume a freedom to act all manner of hostilities upon our allies (if at enmity with them), not only upon our seas, but in our ports; and hereof there are many instances, besides the destruction of the Spanish fleet, in 1639. After this, their pride increasing with their power, they refused to strike sail to our ships of war; now they will allow it to be but a ceremony and civility, and dispute the paying thereof, unless we come up to such terms as are insupportable. Thus by degrees they have reduced the nation to the present weakness and contempt; nor can any concessions, any indulgence, satisfy their arrogance and covetousness. They who covet all, will not acquiesce in any grants, that are not

² [The celebrated treatise of Grotius, *Mare Liberum*, was published in 1609, without his knowledge or consent. There came out several answers to it; particularly that of Selden, intitled *Mare Clausum*, published in 1636. Selden had been before employed by king James in making collections, to shew the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the sea; and he had engaged in the work; but, upon the affront he received by his imprisonment, he laid it aside. However, upon the arising of contention between the English and Dutch, concerning the herring-fishery in 1634, Selden was prevailed upon by archbishop Laud to draw up his reply to Grotius, which recommended him highly to the favour of the court. It was afterwards translated into English, by Marchamont Needham, at the special command of the celebrated 'Long Parliament.']

answerable to their desires, how unjust or vast soever they be: and their friendship is sooner purchased by a brisk opposition, than complaisance. If we look upon the number and quality of the injuries which we have received from the Dutch; the Turks of Algiers, and Tunis, are less offensive, and less perfidious. If we consider the courses, by which the Dutch attack us; the Algerines are more supportable to an English spirit, since they act by force, and open piracy, what the Hollanders do by finesse and deceit. And since it is our unhappiness to have so ill neighbours, that we must either fall by a lingering and inglorious death, or hazard, by war, a more precipitate end; I think his majesty hath made that choice which is most conformable to the genius and temperament of his subjects; and instigated by his honour, justice, and necessity, put into the hands of the English an opportunity at least of perishing bravely. But, as we ought not in a righteous cause to distrust the mercy of God; so upon so auspicious a beginning as the Lord of Hosts hath favoured us with, under the conduct of our undaunted admiral,³ we may hope for a prosperous success, over our treacherous and ungrateful enemies. It becomes the nation now to express their generous resolution and courage; whereby the first advantages may be timely and vigorously pursued. It is true, war is expensive; yet it is not to be esteemed so, when the effects of peace will be more fatal, and cost us more. It is expensive; yet in the beginnings of war, even prodigality is wisdom; and he that lays out most, lays out least. Small supplies may foment and continue a war, but great ones put a speedy end thereunto. Let us then shew ourselves unanimous and resolute. Let us add to our usual boldness all that fury which despair infuseth. Our circumstances are such as admit of no after-game; either we must be the distressed kingdom of England, or they once more the distressed states of Holland; and it will be more insupportable for us to fall into a condition we never yet understood, than for them, who return only to their primitive estate. The Dutch presume not so much upon their own strength, as upon our divisions, animosities, and poverty. Let us undeceive them in these surmises; let us convince them, that the English have yet much to give, as well as all to lose; and that they can abandon all private emulations and jealousies, where the publick is so highly endangered; and either totally extinguish them, or lay them aside till they have a more fitting time to resume them. If we can form our minds to such sentiments as these, we may have in a short space, what peace we desire; if we act by other principles, we can have no peace, but what pleaseth the insolent and enraged Hollander.

WHEN I perused the treatise, intituled, ‘Considerations upon the present State of the United Netherlands,’ I could not but recal to mind that raillery of Charles the Fifth, who, when he adjusted the usefulness of several European languages, said, “That the Dutch was fittest to be used unto an horse.” Certainly, the expressions they use against his sacred majesty, the present king of Great-Britain, are so rude and barbarous; the suggestions so palpably false; that, in a controversy betwixt private persons, such a procedure were intolerable in any part of the civil world? How much more then ought we to resent it, where the dignity and honour of our prince, (upon whose reputation abroad and at home, not only the national renown, and general commerce, but the welfare and being of each particular man is suspended,) is concerned? I do not endeavour to serve the present juncture by this high insinuation of what importance it is, that the majesty of our sovereign be upheld; I do not act any thing of the courtier herein; it is a document of the best politicians, and the experience of all ages doth confirm it for a truth. It is no vain, or empty design, for a prince to preserve that credit and renown which appertains unto his quality; it is hereby, that he shall insure himself of those that waver in their friendship or allegiance; it is hereby, that he shall retain his armies in discipline and courage; it is hereby, that he shall continue in his other subjects their due

³ [i. e. Blake.]

reverence and respect : in fine, the reputation of a prince is all in all ; and, that being once lost, the most powerful and prudent remedies become ineffectual to the support of his crown, and tranquillity of his dominions.

Neither do I upbraid the Dutch with the violation of those edicts, whereby Christianity regulates men so in their deportments, as, ‘ Not to speak evil of dignities ;’ ‘ not to blaspheme the gods, or magistrates ;’ ‘ being reviled, not so much as to revile again ;’ ‘ whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any praise, if there be any glory, to think thereof.’ No, no, I should injure Christendom to reckon the United Netherlands a part thereof ; such are their practices, that it is a crime in them to profess that religion, and a great mistake in those that intitle them thereunto. I know not, whether I do not speak too mildly concerning those deluded persons, since it is a wilful error in them that imagine so ; the Dutch themselves have avowed it, and those that managed their trade in Japan, when the Christians there, at the instigation of the Dutch, were all, by horrible tortures, put to death ; and every housekeeper enjoined to declare in writing, ‘ that he was neither a Christian, nor retained any Christians in his family.’ Melchoir Santvoort, and Vincentius Romeyn, subscribed themselves, ‘ that they were Hollanders ;’ most impiously, for lucre’s sake, declining that profession of Christianity, to which Christ and his apostles oblige them, If they were ashamed or afraid to acknowledge Christ then, I know what our Saviour will do to them hereafter ; and if we be ashamed to own them now, or positive in denying them to be Christians now, we are justified by an infallible authority. I would willingly palliate the matter, by casting the scandal upon a few particular persons, who might be surprized with the imminent danger at that time : but their reputation is not to be salved so ; for the conditions (upon which the trade continues to be managed there, with the knowledge and approbation of the States-general) and the provincials of Holland, are these :

They are, at their first arrival, faithfully to deliver up all the books, which they bring along with them to Japan, (not a Bible, or Prayer-book, is reserved) which are not to be restored till their departure again. They are to refrain from all manner of outward profession of Christianity, in word or deed, amongst the Japanners ; insomuch, that it is death and confiscation of their ships and goods, if they do so much as verbally give God thanks for the meat they eat ; or, by any motion of their hands or eyes, testify any inclination thereunto. Upon these terms, the emperor permitted them to trade thither ; the conditions were sent into Holland to be approved of there ; it being added in the close of the letter, ‘ that, if they did make any of the least shew that they were Christians, they should not obtain any favour at the hands of the emperor.’ And the Dutch have so exactly submitted to these conditions, and do so absolutely, in words and deeds, dissemble their Christianity, that not only the common people, but the rulers and magistrates of Japan, do really believe, that they are as perfect heathens as themselves. What would those ancient Christians do to these irreligious Hollanders ? what sentiments would they entertain against these practices, who proceeded so severely against such of their number heretofore, as did, amidst a fierce persecution, deliver up the sacred Scriptures into the hands of the Paynims⁴ ? with what zeal would they exterminate these Traditores, these Gnosticks out of the church, and sacred society of Christians ? I cannot parallel these actions with any exorbitancies of the primitive hereticks, how detestable soever they were. But it is most manifest, that by their rigour against those Traditores, &c. they would have ejected the Hollanders out of the number of Christians, and anathematized them above any upon record ; since the Dutch act that for gain, which no terrors could excuse under a Dioclesian, or Maximianus. Whatsoever may be alleged in behalf of Vincentius Romeyn and his associates, (if any thing can be said,) extends not to the subsequent traders ; and, even before the persecution in Japan, the Hollanders demeaned themselves

⁴ The Portuguese refused to trade there upon those terms. Which are the best Christians, those Papists, or these Protestants ? Is it not manifest, that the Dutch are hereby obliged to deny themselves absolutely to be Christians, in case any Japanner doth put such a question unto them ?

no otherwise than afterwards; for, amongst the motives which induced the emperor of Japan to allow them to trade, it is expressly said, 'that he permitted them this liberty, because that, during all the precedent years in which they traded thither, he never observed that they intended the propagation of their religion, or seemed at all concerned for it.' One would think, that any professing Christianity would not demean themselves thus unworthily; but these men proclaim and publish to the world their impiety, without remorse or shame. The director of their factory there, Francis Caron, printed this in his description of Japan; and Varenus, upon strict inquiry, found it to be really true. Their books were printed at Amsterdam. And let who can style them 'Christians,' 'Reformed Churches,' or 'Protestants,' I am sure none can communicate with such publicans and heathens; and, had an Hollander been bishop of Carthage, then Donatism had been no schism. An Hollander! this is the name of a people that esteem nothing sacred but their own profit; and live under no obligations of honour, morality, or religion, but interest. I must ravage over Africa, so famed for monstrous productions, and, in the most inhuman parts thereof, seek a parallel for these European monsters; they are not to be ranked amongst the tolerable Paynims. Old Rome would have taught them that there are certain laws of war, as well as peace, and those such as cannot be silenced by the noise of cannons: and I will, from Athens, borrow an expostulation against them. We do not complain, that, being enemies, they act as enemies; there are some conditions and laws of war, which may be equitably practised on both sides; to harass the fields, plunder towns, kill, slay, and take captives, how miserable soever these things be to those that suffer them, yet they are not unjust actions. We do complain that these Netherlanders, who, even in the treatise which I now animadvert upon, do so highly pretend to piety and protestancy, should violate all divine and human rules of civility; that they rail instead of fighting; that they attack us with contumelious language, and aggravate their unjust enmity with an insolence that is not to be endured. I am as much perplexed to find out the rules of their politicks herein, as I am elsewhere to seek for those of their religion; seeing that this deportment must needs exasperate all mankind against them, and common humanity obligeth every one to endeavour their extirpation. Provocations of this kind, injuries of this nature, admit of no composition, and render the most bloody wars to be most just. The indignities done to our king do extend unto all princes, and become examples of what they universally must expect, in time, to suffer from the continuance of their high and mighties; but these affronts particularly, and most sensibly, touch the subjects of the king of Great-Britain, and turn their just anger into implacable fury. As the Dutch are to the English, such were the Vejentes to the Romans; they were a vexatious rather than terrible enemy, and irritated them more by their contumelies, than their armies. But it is observable, that there never was a fiercer or more cruel war, and the Romans did never testify so high resentments as for those indignities; and, from such like considerations, arose that cautious advice of Scipio Ammiratus and Machiavel, (no Dutchmen) 'that men ought to be cautious how they irritate an enemy by contumelious language, and other indignities; since the impressions thereof are more violent and durable in the minds of men, than what are occasioned by common, and even grievous injuries.'

I smiled when I read the high commendations which they bestow upon their country and government. O! the rare situation of it! It is a Canaan, but seated in a bog; and overflows with water instead of honey. It is a Canaan, in which there are many Jews, but scarce one 'Israelite without guile.' No espials yet have informed me of those prodigious grapes, such as the Israelitish discoverers met with in Canaan; and these cheating Hollanders obtrude upon us turnips for pomegranates. Yet do they assure us, their land is a true Canaan: but it is more true, which they add, that it is a land of promise; for all Europe and the East-Indies do complain there is nothing of performances there. They magnify their excellent government; which is an anarchy. They subsist not by any wise reiglement, but combination of interest, and sense of common danger. They have been

an⁵ hundred times in danger of a total rupture; each province is sovereign, and independent of the rest, and can send ambassies, contract leagues, and otherwise negotiate with foreign princes, without the privity of the others. Never was there sheaf of arrows so ill made up into a bundle. Their liberty, whereof they boast, consists of paying more taxes than any prince in the world exacts; and in being subjected to the most arbitrary proceedings, as to life, exile, and imprisonment, that ever I read of. And, if I am deceived, Grotius, in his 'Apologetic,' who suffered thereby, with many others, deluded me into that sentiment. But though these Canaanites do live under an ill government, in a bad country, upon pickled herrings, groot, butter, and cheese; yet they enjoy, for their souls, that immortal part, as much as from God they can desire; namely, the food of his word, which nourisheth them to life eternal. And this is the celestial diet of all the Jews, Socinians, Anabaptists, Papists, &c. that abound there. The States-general have nothing to do with religion; the several provinces and towns can only intermeddle therewith; and that they so do, that the ecclesiasticks can neither preach otherwise than what the magistrates please, nor exercise any church discipline as they ought. Upon these terms the ministers are pastors, and feed them with heavenly food; being servants rather of the burgomasters, and of mammon, than God. Were our nonconformists there employed, they would find it unlawful to assert the *jus divinum ministerii evangelici*; and they would be⁶ banished, should they discourse there about the duty of magistrates, and power of ministers, as they do in England. These zealous Protestants have declared, 'That it was indifferent to them what religion any province or city were of, so they would but unite with them.' The league at Utrecht, which is the foundation of their union, doth run thus, and Grotius shall justify all I say: They say, 'They have always highly interested themselves in the friendship of his majesty; and to preserve his friendship, they have made all those ignominious pictures, medals, and monuments.' They refused him the honour of the flag, and informed his majesty, 'That the dominion of the sea is an usurpation, and that upon God Almighty; to whom alone this state attributes it.' They say, 'Their great interest consists in the peace and tranquillity of Christendom.' Oh! happy interest of a Christian state.—I believe their interest now consists in the peace of Christendom; because that war menaceth them, which they would have turned upon England; and, I believe, they did not swerve from their interest, when they formerly sowed divisions betwixt the Swedes and Danes, and other German princes; and of late endeavoured to embroil all Europe in wars, thereby to counterpoise France. I might reflect upon their confining their interest to the peace of Christendom, whereas they place it otherwise in the East-Indies; embroiling those parts as much as they can in wars, and destroying our merchants upon all occasions. But it is very observable, that the real interest of these most amicable Dutch consists in Europe, in doing all those things which may justly incense princes to make war upon them; and yet in cajoling them into a tame and dishonourable acquiescence.

Such passages as these, I confess, did add to my divertisement upon the reading; but a different passion seized me, when I met with those insolent expressions with which they affront our sovereign;⁷ who, not only by reason of his personal excellencies, but by the right of his English crown, is ranked amongst the *reges superillustres*. Had his majesty been of a lesser quality; yet, since his ancestors have (by their favour, protection, and vast expence of men and money) raised the Dutch into a republick; ordinary gratitude might have engaged them to civiler language. To give the lie to any man, is reputed a just cause of quarrel; and if we allow princes but equal concerns for their honour, this alone authenticates the war. They charge him with injustice, dissimulation, and piracy. They call his courtiers a company of stupid fellows, and say, 'His majesty can as little

⁵ The provincial states of Holland and Westfriesland demonstrate this, in their 'Declaration' printed at Leyden in 1654.

⁶ See the Apology of Oldenbarnevelt, printed in English in 1618.

⁷ [Charles the Second.]

‘ adhere to reason, as with reasonable offers he will be satisfied.’ They say, ‘ That the war hath no other prospect, than the limits of an unlimited ambition, endless covetousness, and a spirit of revenge not to be glutted. That his mind is misled and obnubilated with a desire of war; the most accursed and unruly of all desires. That his Declaration contains plain untruths, malicious interpretations, and gross impertinences. That no precedents of violated faith, out of any chronicles, can be produced, which, in this case, can parallel the example of the said king.’

These, and many other such like passages, occur frequently in this treatise. I should not have presumed to repeat them, but that I am confident they will be efficacious to animate all the subjects of his majesty, to vindicate the honour of their injured prince; especially when they shall understand how undeservedly he is aspersed by these ignoble, ungrateful, arrogant, and perfidious Netherlanders. Behold, how unfortunate his majesty is, to contend with a mean and ungenerous adversary! How civil and prince-like was the king of Great Britain in his Declaration! What was there that could exasperate, besides the truth of his allegations? Let any man impartially consider the motives whereupon his majesty proceeds; let him forget himself a little while that he is a subject, thereby to judge the better of the actions of his sovereign, and I am assured he will concur with me in opinion, that the present war with the Dutch is honourable, just, and necessary: and, consequently, if his majesty’s loving subjects do value, either their allegiance to their king (which is not to be doubted), or the honour and prosperity of the nation, and of each particular member thereof (all being involved in this contest, and depending upon the issue of it), they will unanimously assist his majesty in the present juncture, as far as their prayers, lives, and fortunes can advantage him.

I acknowledge myself to have been of the number of those, who by reason of their ignorance of private negociations, and the real transactions of state, together with that epidemical jealousy of court designs, did believe that this war was needless and unseasonable: that it was projected by some courtiers, and others, who sought to advantage themselves by the public calamities, or by pensions from the crown of France: that the Dutch were so humble and submissive, that it was our obstinacy to refuse all satisfaction, not any perverseness and pride in them so as to deny us any. I was jealous of the growth of popery, and thought it to be the interest of this kingdom, not to weaken or destroy a republick pretending to protestancy; and for the erection whereof, so many of our progenitors had hazarded and lost their lives. I brought with me all those surmises and misapprehensions which any Netherlander or English male-content could wish infused into me: but when I came to a better intelligence concerning affairs; when I had seriously inquired into the transactions betwixt the Dutch and us; how condescending his majesty had been, and with what insolence the Netherlanders had deported themselves; when I found the reality of his majesty’s pretensions, and that the Declaration was so penned, that the contents were capable of much higher aggravations, but no way to be extenuated or invalidated: then did I begin to detest the petulant humour of this age, whereby every one is prone to examine the actions, and censure the prudence of his governors, without understanding the prospect those elevated spirits have concerning such affairs, or the grounds and circumstances by which they regulate their councils; and most commonly we, not being able to determine of matters, were every punctilio and intrigue represented unto us. I thought the times happy, when men employed themselves in other discourses, and practised obedience, rather than disputes: when they believed that prudent and solid doctrine of the casuistical divines; That it was only for the counsellors of kings to debate and examine the utility and prejudices, the justice and injustice of wars; the other subjects not being to expect an ample account of all the motives and inducements by which their king is swayed; nor to be so infatuated, as to think they can debate or decide such matters, without any better cognizance, than what ariseth from a vulgar brain, a narrow prospect of things, and popular reports and suggestions: but to presume so well of their superiors, as to imagine they understand what is right or wrong, honourable and dishonourable, advantageous and inutile; and that they have so much of common sense as to

understand, that the welfare of the people is the grand interest of the prince, and that the king is the greatest sufferer in the ruining of his kingdoms.

To the end that others may be undeceived as well as myself, and fortified against all misapprehensions, which either their own ignorance, or the clandestine artifices of these ungrateful and most malicious Netherlanders may subject them unto; I shall represent unto the world the most important passages, whereby they endeavour to elude or refute the most just and sincere Declaration of his majesty, and evince unto the most suspicious or prejudiced persons, that it is incumbent upon the subjects of his majesty, and there is an unavoidable necessity of reducing these insolent and treacherous Dutchmen into such a posture, that they may not only pay their due submissions, with reparations of honour, unto our king, but be obliged to continue them for the future. They are a nation, with whom no league can take effect, any longer than their advantage leads them thereunto, or want of strength and opportunity doth restrain them. It is impossible for any civilian to fetter them by a treaty. If they cannot evade it by equivocation, mental reservations, common elusions, and such artifices as become not sovereigns; these Hollanders will impudently deny all such matters as interfere with their designs, and supply the injustice of their actions by violence and fraud. They have no honour to lose, no conscience to stain, no certain principles to recede from. The Tartars and Moors prove the sincerer confederates; and humanity itself is concerned, that there should not be any longer upon earth so fatal an instance; that there are not in men, naturally, such seeds of morality, such inclinations to civil society, such laws of nature and of nations, as those authors teach us, who never thoroughly understood an Hollander. I might give evident proofs of this so heinous a charge several ways, but I shall confine my discourse to what these 'Dutch Considerations' lead me unto; and it is from thence that I will manifest to the most ordinary capacities, and the most prepossessed judgments, that these adversaries are not injured by this character; and, to make the case more plain, I will write their words.

' Considerations upon the present State of the Affairs of the United Netherlands. Published by a Lover of his Country, for the Encouragement of his Countrymen in these troublesome Times.

' **W**HOSOEVER looks upon the first beginning of the state of the United Netherlands with a curious eye, and serious consideration of the histories; and discreetly observes by what means the fabrick of the said state, out of the lowness of its original, is raised to this present height; must needs be induced to confess, that Divine Providence (which not always appears visible to the eyes of the world) hath so clearly been manifested in the framing and exalting of this state, that with just reasons it must be acknowledged, that God Almighty was the external and visible erector of this famous republick.

' An age is now expired (when before the country, through an unhappy disorder of government of those times, was fallen into a lamentable confusion) since William earl of Marck, lord of Lume⁸, admiral of the prince of Orange's navy, by a strict command from the queen of England (who not only denied him liberty to stay in her country, but also refused to supply his seamen with necessaries) was constrained to leave England, arrived beyond his intentions, forced by cross winds (but indeed the winds of God's directions) before the Brill⁹, of which he easily possessed himself; not with a design to keep, but only to ransack the same, and so to leave it again. But, being informed by others of the convenience and importance of the place, brought the same into a posture of defence; keeping it for his principal and superior commanders. And in this manner was the first foundation of this precious structure laid, or rather (in regard of the external instrument) cast up by chance; but, in verity, by the direction of the Supreme Builder, whose omnipotent hands oftentimes make use of mortals, as the blind instruments of his wonderful destinies.

⁸ [Vide Sir Roger Williams's 'Actions of the Low Countries, 1618.']

⁹ [Anno 1571.]

‘ It is not my design, here, to make a relation of the progress of our affairs, and by what means our ancestors have, through troubles and adversities, struggled and ascended to the height of that felicity, which by God’s goodness we enjoy at present. But my intentions only aim, by this short discourse, to move my worthy countrymen, to fix their assured confidence, that the same God, which hath exalted us from lowness to a state, whose high and flourishing condition now, for a long continuance of time, hath stirred up as much envy, as formerly its misfortunes moved compassion, shall graciously protect and preserve the works of his Almighty hands; if, imitating our predecessors, we in this juncture of time, do join two principles together, which ever ought to be inseparable, *viz.* An entire resignation of ourselves to the Divine Providence; and an unalterable mind, and vigorous courage in these troublesome times, to act as much for our preservation, as our forefathers have done for their first deliverance: desiring my countrymen, that, in comparing our present anxieties with the perplexities of our ancestors, and the necessities under which we ourselves have laboured, they will look back in the histories, for the primitive times of our predecessors; and for that time, within compass of their own remembrance, whereof still we preserve the memory.

‘ We shall find in the histories, that the affairs of our predecessors, in their first progress and growing infancy, were reduced to that inconvenience, that the consideration thereof moved the supreme person, at that time, who, with an indissoluble bond, had linked his own prosperity to the fate and destiny of these countries, to urge this hopeless advice, *viz.* to cause by cutting of the banks, and pulling up the sluices, these lands to be swallowed down in an irrecoverable condition; and with God’s mercy, with that small remainder of their ruined fortunes, to seek other countries beyond seas, there, either to live more happily, or to find a period of their lives with less misery.’

I shall not blame the considerer, for reflecting upon the mercies of God, extended towards his countrymen. I commend the least sense of religion in him, but I have most suspicious thoughts, concerning piety in an Hollander: and I believe, every Englishman will approve this jealousy to be just; seeing all this specious preamble is made use of to no other end, than to evade all acknowledgments to queen Elizabeth, and the English monarchy. It is not the pleasure of the Almighty, that subordinate means and instruments should be deprived of their proper elogies: He, by his providence, appointed means: He, by his sovereign will, doth prosper or frustrate them; yet, so that the Divine interposition doth not usually derogate from the efficacy of second causes, or exclude us from confessing their concurrence. Whosoever shall reflect upon the ambitious designs, joined with the extraordinary power of Spain, in those days: the intentions of that monarchy, to reduce the Belgic provinces, under a more absolute obedience, than the Brabantine constitutions consisted with; the obstinate humour of the Dutch in adhering to their privileges, how irrational soever; also the apprehensions, which France, Germany, and England had, concerning the excessive growth of the Spanish and Austrian power: such a considerer will not admire so very much, that the rebellion of the United Netherlands did continue so long, and succeed so well; nor discover such an extraordinary series of Providence, in the erection of their republick. And the most partial men must grant, that it is a most fallacious way of reasoning, to argue from the happiness of the event unto the justice of the cause, or peculiar favour of the Divine author. There is not any thing in this Dutch suggestion, which might not have been more rationally alleged by a Goth, or Mahometan; since the juncture, wherein those monarchies advanced themselves, was attended with less favourable circumstances than I can observe, in the revolutions of the Netherlands. But I am confident, no Goth or Saracen, would have so intitled to God the original of their successes, as to exclude the intermediate assistances, which they received from others, at any time. Such ingratitude is singular in the Netherlanders; and all this impudent harangue hath no other tendency, than to elude the obligations, which that unworthy people have to queen Elizabeth, and the royal progenitors of his majesty. Here is no mention made of any protection or aid, given them by the English queen; but one action related, which, as it seemingly carries with it somewhat of unkindness, so it is in-

sinuated merely to this end, that they may alienate the people from a reverence and regard for our nation.

It is not to be denied, that queen Elizabeth did contribute much to the first support of these Dutch; giving them reception here in England, when the fury of the duke of Alva forced them, as exiles, to seek an habitation in foreign countries: this most gracious queen compassionated their miseries, and gave multitudes of them leave, to fix at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton, *A. D.* 1568¹⁰. Here the exiles had the advantage of a quiet life, and the opportunity of pursuing their designs, in order to the regaining of their country. Nor was it a small favour to the prince of Orange, and his partizans, that, when they were ready to sink under their losses in Friesland and elsewhere, this queen seized upon two-hundred thousand pistoles of gold, which were transporting from Spain to the duke of Alva; the detaining whereof, as it was a great disappointment to the duke, who stood in great need of it, for the reinforcing of his designs, so it begat great animosities betwixt the queen and him: the merchants' ships on each side were seized upon, letters of reprisal granted, and the English estranged from the Spanish Netherlands, by the translation of our staple from Antwerp to Hambourg. It is manifest, that our queen did, by that action, and by the hostilities and contrivances of a new trade which ensued thereupon, contribute effectually to the fomenting of the Netherlandish discontents; the duke of Alva was diverted from prosecuting the Gheusians, with his former violence; his subjects were exasperated by the damage of the English trade; the English were, by the removal of our staple, disengaged from all dependence on the Spaniards there, by way of commerce, and inclined to abet and assist the distressed followers of the prince of Orange. And if the Dutch will not acknowledge these actions, for a great assistance and courtesy to them, the Spanish ambassador, De Speci, in his Remonstrance said, 'they proceeded from some that bore no good-will to the Spaniards, and favoured the rebels of the Netherlands.'

After this, the distressed Netherlanders betook themselves to practise piracy at sea, upon the Spaniards, under the command of the prince of Orange; but were immediately under the conduct of William earl Vander-Marcâ, and others; and the queen, notwithstanding that she was resettled in a good correspondence and league with the Spaniards, did permit them, by connivance, the free use of her ports, every where throughout England; so that they provided themselves here with victuals and ammunition upon all occasions, and here they usually vended their prizes, which they took upon the Uly, Texel, and the Ems. By which means, these exiles sustained themselves well (the prince of Orange receiving the tenths or fifths of their prizes) gave much trouble to the duke of Alva; continued those discontents in their partizans, which otherwise would, in all probability, have been extinguished, by reason of the power and terror of the Spaniards, and the weak and declined condition of the exiled prince of Orange. I would willingly understand from any ingenuous persons, whether these actions did not highly contribute to the erection of this republick? And might not as well have been thankfully acknowledged, as the subsequent decree of queen Elizabeth is most ungratefully mentioned, *viz.* 'That William earl of March, lord of Lume, admiral of the prince of Orange's navy, was, by a strict command from the queen of England, denied liberty to stay in her country, and also refused to supply his seamen with necessaries; whereupon ensued the taking of Brill, as is specified.'—The insinuation of this edict is maliciously urged here, thereby to extenuate the favours of the English nation. The queen was engaged by articles, not to entertain openly any rebels unto the crown of Spain: she could not harbour them any longer, without a rupture with that potent monarch, and she was unwilling to involve herself in so great a war, for so weak confederates. Whereupon she, by a strict proclamation, did, 'forbid them the use of her ports, and that her subjects should sell them any provisions, after a cer-

¹⁰ [The settling of the Flemings in England is represented by Camden as having been very beneficial to the trade of this nation; 'for they were the first that brought into England the art of making those slight stuffs which they call bayes, and sayes, and other such like stuffes of linnen and woollen weaving.'

Camden's Annals, in 1568.]

'tain time;' which was March. Whereupon, they were necessitated to depart, and seek some other receptacle; and Providence cast them upon Brill. But had not the queen harboured them, how had they ever embodied themselves, or increased to the strength of forty sail of ships, most of them fly-boats, wherewith they possessed themselves of Brill, and took two rich ships by the way? No sooner was Brill taken, but Flushing in Zeeland, and some other towns revolted to the prince of Orange; yet were his forces so small, though joined with those of Vander Marck, as not to be able so subsist against the Spaniards; but that the queen permitted multitudes of English to repair thither. The first that went was sir Thomas Morgan, who carried over three-hundred men to Flushing; the report of whose coming is said to have stayed the duke of Alva, when he was in a readiness to recover the town. Afterwards, through the procurement of Morgan, arrived there nine companies of English, under sir Humphrey Gilbert¹¹. With these aids and other auxiliaries from France, though the prince of Orange atchieved great things, and reduced many towns in Holland and Zeeland unto his party; yet, such was their distress, that *an. Dom.* 1575, they entered into a debate of putting themselves under the protection of some foreign prince; lest, through want of money and of soldiers, and also the fickle inclinations of a discontented populace, they should suddenly fall under the power of the enemy.

And, in the name of the States of Holland and Zeeland, and prince of Orange, was an embassy sent into England, to offer unto the queen, not only what was agreeable to equity, reason, and religion, but to the exigency of their condition; and what self-preservation and extreme necessity prompted them unto. The commission of the ambassadors was, either to make a league with the queen, or to submit themselves under her protection; or (if necessity required it) to acknowledge her, for their princess and sovereign lady, issued from the earls of Holland and Zeeland, by the lady Philip, daughter to William, the third of that name, earl of Hainault and Holland, &c. The queen thanked them for their goodwill towards her, but fearing the enmity of Spain, the envy of France, and the charge of the war; as also not being satisfied, how she might with her honour, and a safe conscience, receive those offered provinces into her protection, much less possession; she declined the overture: yet promised to intercede for them with Spain; and in the mean space gave them leave to raise what soldiers they could in England, either from out of the English, Scots, or exiled Netherlanders; and to furnish themselves, with what provisions and ammunition they wanted, and to transport them.

Notwithstanding all this transcendent favour of the queen's, the ungrateful Zealanders, the next year, affronted her majesty, and seized upon sundry of her merchants' ships, upon various pretences: whereupon, she was so incensed, that there had been an absolute difference betwixt them, had not the prince of Orange prudently composed all. After this, when don John became governor of the Netherlands, and withal aspired to marry the queen of Scots, and render himself king of England; the queen enters into a more strict league and confederacy with them, to aid them with men and money; and it was at her charge principally, that prince Casimire came to their aid with a German army. And, out of England, there went over the seas to them the Lord North's eldest son, John North; the Lord Norris's second son, John Norris; Henry Cavendish, and Thomas Morgan, colonels; with very many volunteers; and after that the Germans mutinously deserted the States, the queen furnished them readily with a great sum of money; the ancient jewels and rich plate of the house of Burgundy being mortgaged unto her for it. After this, for several years, the United Netherlands cast themselves under archduke Matthias, and the duke of Anjou; but, with so ill success, that they found themselves not able to continue long; Antwerp and sundry other places being taken, and William prince of Orange murdered; the French king not being able or willing to receive the sovereignty of those provinces, so that they determined, by a solemn embassy, to render her majesty the entire dominion and principality of the Netherlands. They had treated with her before, by J. Ortelius, about protection, but the queen refused to espouse their quarrel, except she might have

¹¹ ['One-thousand five-hundred English,' says Sir Roger Williams, *ut supra*.]

cautionary towns, that her expences might be repaid at the end of the war. But now, that the desperate condition of their affairs made any terms to be prudential, they resolved to subject themselves unto her, or contract any league for protection, which she would enjoin them.

Upon the sixth of July, 1585, their deputies came to London, which were these: For Brabant (although, by reason of the siege of Antwerp, not fully authorised) was sent Jacques de Grise, chief bailiff of Bruges; for Guelderland, was Rutgert van Harsolt, burgomaster of Harderwick; for Flanders (although likewise not fully authorised) Noel Caron, seignior of Schoonwall, burgomaster of Franc; for Holland and Friesland, was John Vander Does, lord of Noortwick; and Joos van Menin, counsellor of the town of Dort; and John van Oldenbarnevelt, counsellor of the town of Rotterdam; Dr. Francis Maelson, counsellor of the town of Enekuysen; for Zealand, was Jacob Valck, a civil lawyer, and one of the council of state; for Utrecht, was Paul Buys, Doctor; for Friesland, was Jelgher van Seytzma, counsellor of state; Hessel Aysma, president; and Laest Joughema. They were kindly received by the queen, and nobly feasted at her cost. Upon the ninth of July, they were brought to their audience at Greenwich: the audience was most solemn and public; the queen being seated on her royal throne, and all the privy-council attending on each hand of her majesty. The deputies, being introduced, fell upon their knees, before the throne of the queen; and Joos van Menin, with great reverence and submission, made an oration to her, in the name of the distressed States of the United Netherlands, unto this purpose:

¹² 'That the States of the United Netherlands provinces, humbly thanked her majesty for the honourable and many favours, which it had pleased her to shew unto them, amidst their extreme necessities; having, not long since, received the testimonies of her princely clemency, when, after the cruel murder of the prince of Orange, it pleased her majesty, by her ambassador, Mr. Davidson, to signify unto them the great care she had for their defence and preservation; and, after that, again by the lord of Grise; by whom she let them understand, how much she was discontented to see them frustrated of their expectations, reposed upon the hope they had in the treaty with France: adding, that nevertheless, her majesty's care, for the support of the Netherlands, was rather augmented than diminished, by reason of the difficulties which multiplied upon them: for the which, not only the provinces in general, but every particular persons therein, should rest bound unto her majesty for ever; and labour to repay so transcendent obligations, by all possible fidelity and obedience.' And, therefore, the States aforesaid, observing that, since the death of the prince of Orange, they had lost many of their forts and good towns, and that, for the defence of the said United Netherlands, they had great need of a sovereign prince, who might protect and defend them from the insolencies and oppressions of the Spaniards, and their adherents, who sought daily, more and more, all the means they could, with their forces, and other sinister practices, to spoil, and utterly root up, the foundation of the aforesaid Netherlands, and, thereby, to bring the poor afflicted people of the same into perpetual bondage, and worse than Indian slavery, under the insupportable yoke of the most execrable inquisition. Finding likewise, that the inhabitants of the said Netherlands were persuaded, and had assured confidence, that her majesty, out of the princely inclination, would not endure to see them utterly overthrown, as their enemies expected, by molesting them with long, unjust, and bloody wars; the which the States (according to their duties, and in respect of their places, in the behalf of their fellows and brethren) were forced to withstand, and, as much as in them lay, oppose themselves against the manifest slavery, which they thought to impose upon the poor common people; and, by their best endeavours, to maintain their ancient freedoms, laws, and privileges, with the exercise of the true Christian religion (whereof her majesty truly, and by good

¹² The Dutch, at their return, did coin medals of copper, in memory of this audience, and the protection which queen Elizabeth afforded unto them. I received two of these from Elias Ashmole, esq. Windsor Herald. [Vide these coins described *postea*.]

right, did bear the title of 'Defendress'), against the which, the enemy, and all his adherents, had formed so many leagues, attempted so many fearful and deceitful enterprises and treasons; and yet cease not daily to invent, practise, and devise, the destruction of her majesty's royal person, together with her state and kingdoms: which the Almighty God, under the protection of his everlasting goodness, hitherto hath preserved from all dangers, for the good and upholding of the church of Christ here upon earth.

For these reasons, and many other good considerations, the States aforesaid, with one full and free consent, had altogether determined, and fully resolved to fly unto her majesty; in regard it is an usual thing, for all oppressed and distressed people and nations, in their great distress and necessity, to seek just aid and assistance, against their enemies, from kings and princes, their neighbours; and especially from those that were endued with courage, fear of God, uprightness of heart, and other princely ornaments: and, to that end, the States aforesaid had enjoined and commanded them, to beseech her majesty to accept of the sovereignty, and supreme dominion over the said United Provinces, upon certain and reasonable conditions; especially tending to the upholding, maintaining, and furtherance of God's true religion, and the ancient freedoms and privileges to them due and belonging; together with the government, and managing of the wars, policy, and justice, of the said United Provinces of the Netherlands. And although the said Netherlands had endured divers losses, and that many of their towns and forts had been won from them by the enemy, during these wars; nevertheless, in Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Mechlin, and Overysse, there were yet many good towns and places that held out against the enemy; and the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Friesland, were, (by God's grace, and wonderful providence) still kept and preserved, in their whole and entire possessions; wherein they had many great and strong towns and places, fair rivers, deeps, and havens, whereof her majesty, and her successors, might have good commodities, services, and profit; whereof it were needless to make any longer discourse: but one in special, that by uniting the countries of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Friesland, the towns of Ostend and Sluyce, unto her majesty's kingdoms and dominions, she might have the full and absolute dominion over the great ocean; and procure unto the subjects of her majesty perpetual and most assured safety, together with their prosperity.

They did, therefore, most humbly beseech her royal majesty to vouchsafe (out of her royal favour and princely bounty) to yield to the aforesaid points of their request; and so to accept for her, and her lawful heirs, or successors in the crown of England, defenders of the true Christian religion, the sovereign rights, principality, and dominion of the said Netherlands; and, in regard thereof, to receive the inhabitants thereof, as her majesty's most humble and obedient subjects and vassals, into her perpetual safeguard and protection; a people as true, faithful, and loving, to their princes and governors (without vain boasting be it spoken) as any other in Christendom. And, so doing, she should preserve and protect many fair churches, which it had pleased Almighty God, in these latter days, to gather together in several of the said provinces; being now, in many places, in great fear, peril, and danger; and to deliver the Netherlands, and the inhabitants thereof, from miserable thralldom: who (not long before the wicked and hostile invasions of the Spaniards) were so rich and flourishing in all sorts of wealth; by reason of the great commodities of the sea, havens, rivers, traffick, manual trades and occupations, whereunto they are much given, and naturally inclined. She should likewise preserve them from utter destruction and perpetual slavery, both of body and soul, and so effect a right princely and most royal work, pleasing to God, profitable for all Christendom, worthy of eternal praise and glory, and fitting well with the magnanimity and other royal virtues of her majesty, as also most advantageous to the security and welfare of her particular subjects.

This being said, they presented their articles unto her majesty, with the greatest humility imaginable; beseeching God (who is the King of kings) to defend, protect, and preserve her from all her enemies, to the increase of her honour and greatness, and perpetually to keep her in his holy protection and safeguard.

The queen heard them graciously, and received their overtures with very obliging acknowledgments: the deputies, kissing her royal hands, retired with much satisfaction, and her majesty was no less pleased with the honour of that day's audience. For although the king of France had the first tender of their sovereignty; yet, neither was it made with such submission and deference, as to her majesty; neither was the tender so absolute then as now. The deputies to France, were sent indeed with a general pretence, and declaration, of surrendering up the dominion of the Netherlands to that crown; but they had separate instructions from their several principals (the which they never imparted one to the other, but kept secret) with different procurations. The deputies of Brabant, Flanders, Zealand, and Mechlin, were enjoined to finish the negotiation upon any terms they could get, so as that religion, and general privileges, were confirmed unto them: whereas, Holland and Utrecht had so limited their deputies, that they were to insist upon better terms; and rather not to come up to the general instructions of the States, than to exceed them. I do not read of any such difference in the procurations sent over hither; neither do I find any reason to believe there were any such. The queen, for several weighty reasons, declined to take upon her the sovereignty, or perpetual protection of the Netherlands; yet did she consent to enter into a league with them, to aid them with five-thousand foot and one-thousand horse, and to pay them, during the war; which the States were to repay, when a peace should be concluded. In the mean time Flushing, and the castle of Ramekins, in Walcheren, and the isle of Brill, with the city and two forts, were to be delivered into the queen's hands, to be kept by her garrisons, for caution; the governor-general, and two Englishmen, whom the queen should name, should be admitted into the council of state, &c.¹³

The confederacy was finished upon the tenth of August; and, accordingly, sir John Norris was sent over with some soldiers: the earl of Leicester followed, as general of her majesty's forces. The Netherlands received him with more honour, and conferred on him more power, than the queen approved of. They made him general of all their forces, stadtholder and governor of all their provinces¹⁴; invested him with all that power, which Charles the Fifth used to commission his governors with. The queen reproved the earl of Leicester, for accepting of such power; and the States, for giving it to him. But the earl soon found himself deceived by these Netherlanders: for, notwithstanding that they had chosen him to be their governor, in so solemn a manner, and sworn (themselves, and the soldiers) obedience to him; yet they pretend to rule him, model sometimes, sometimes oppose his orders and constitutions; insomuch that the earl found that he should have but a titular government, being subject to the commands and authority of those pitiful states, and ordinary burgomasters: whereupon, he relinquished the government; proclaiming, even in medals¹⁵, the ingratitude of those fellows. Let them make what complaints they please against his deportment there; it is certain, that all the clergy adhered unto him, and regretted his departure; the soldiers did mutiny in his behalf; Utrecht and Friesland, besides other provinces and towns, did solicit for his return: and I find, that all the clamour against that earl did arise from the province of Holland, and some Zealanders only; as they themselves boast, in a remonstrance against the other provinces. To invalidate that power, which they had so publicly given him, Holland (a province always branded for faction and ingratitude (having advantaged themselves much by the credit of the assistance, more by the auxiliaries of the English, began to think it unfitting, that, according to the articles, the English should be privy to the secret transactions of the council of state; and by the advice of Oldenbarnevelt, they found out an evasion, (not daring openly to violate the treaty, nor to infuse jealousy into the queen, by holding clandestine cabals,)

¹³ [Vide in Somers' Tracts, vol. i. p. 410, 'A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queen of England to give Aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Low Countries, 1585.']

¹⁴ [The 'Placard or Proclamation of the States-general of the United Provinces, conferring the government of their country on Robert, earl of Leicester, the sixth day of February, 1586,' will be found in Somers' Tracts; vol. i. p. 420.]

¹⁵ [Leicester, after his return to England, struck medals, representing a dog looking back on a flock, which he was about to leave, with the double motto, *Invitus desero, non gregem sed ingratos.*]

and it was this; That only ordinary matters, and such as the English might know, should be dispatched in the 'council of state;' but that another assembly should be formed, termed the 'Convention of the States-General,' unto which they should draw all matters of importance, and which required secrecy; under the pretence, that the council of state had so much business already, as not to be able to dispatch the other.

Thus early did they abuse the favours of Queen Elizabeth; and, by this illusion, did they lay the foundation of their high and mighties. It is evident, that, during the whole reign of queen Elizabeth, they were never faithful to the league; they treated with France, and aided that king, without the queen's knowledge; which was a breach of the league. And whereas by the express words of the articles, 'The queen was to conduct them to, and settle them in a firm peace; and this being done by her means, the money was to be repaid:' she never could prevail with them to come to a treaty, much less any accord; but they had the impudence to solicit her to continue her aids to a war which they never purposed to end, it proving so beneficial to them. When the queen urged, that, by the treaty, she was to be arbitress of war and peace; they evaded it, by saying, 'Those expressions were but complimentary, and argued their respects to her, not their dependence on her judgment.'

I find them upon their knees again, and beseeching her most humbly, that she would not conclude a peace with Spain, *A. D.* 1598. And this Grotius saith was done, because it is the custom of the English court to petition the king in that suppliant posture; but certainly this usage extends not to the ambassadors of their high and mighties. But, in the same year, when they thought that queen Elizabeth might stand in some need of their friendship, whether they bended their knees unto her majesty, I cannot find; but I read that they dealt with her, not as formerly, but with more arrogant language. The English court did then look upon the Hollanders as notorious cheats, who pretended poverty; and had collections here, when the splendour and growing opulency of their towns (besides the vast bribes which their treasury could spare occasionally) were demonstrations of their riches: that they declined to repay the queen her monies, not because they could not do it, but that they might tie her unto their fortune and assistance, by the hopes of a reimbursement of those vast sums which she had expended for them; her constant charge being above one-hundred and twenty-thousand pounds each year: and it is not to be doubted, but that she would have reduced them by force to a better observance of articles, and punished them for their fraudulent dealings with her; but that she prudently foresaw, that France to depress her, and Spain, to ruin her and disable France, were ready to assist and protect them.

In fine, the histories I have read do seem to demonstrate this, that the Dutch were a most ungrateful people towards queen Elizabeth; that they never rendered her any service, but when it was to their proper advantage: all their pretensions to religion contained little of reality, and their acknowledgments were but verbal, and consisted principally in extraordinary submission and deference; which prevailed much upon the spirit of her, who was a woman, and had much of haughtiness. When she first undertook publicly to aid them, the chief inducement thereunto was not the necessity of the affairs, not the concern for the protestant religion, for she advised them to be very cautious how they changed their religion, but a feminine humour, carried away by their flatteries and humble applications; and delighting to see greater submissions paid to her than to the king of France, by the king of Spain's subjects. No sooner had she concluded upon an open amity with them, but the Zealanders triumphed with joy, and to honour her, did stamp money with the arms of Zealand, *viz.* a lion arising out of the waves, and this inscription. *Luctor & emergo*, that is, 'I struggle and get above water;' and on the other side, with the arms of the city of Zealand, and this, *authore Deo, favente reginâ*; that is, 'God being the author, and the queen favourer.' And I find it to have been an usual form of speech amongst the Dutch in that age, which they applied to all discourses where it might be suitable, 'By the mercy of God, and the goodness of queen Elizabeth.' And by such wheedles did they inveigle the queen to take (as the king of Sweden then said) the diadem

from her head, and set it upon the doubtful chance of war. And it is an action not to be paralleled out of the annals of impudent and ungrateful persons, that the Dutch having been so effectually obliged by that queen, and having by such a continued series of protestations averred, that they did owe their welfare and being to the mercy of God and favour of queen Elizabeth; they should now take no notice, that the English contributed any thing to their support. So detestable baseness doth make me judge, that if it were not their interest, their religion is such, that they would proceed to ascribe nothing unto God himself: and all they write, to that purpose, is no more than a compliment from their high and mighties to the Almighty.

‘ We shall omit to relate, how often the republic, after that by the hand of God she was raised from that desperate condition, hath trembled and quaked, both for fear of foreign enemies, and intestine combustions.

‘ Histories will declare unto us, that not only the state of the United Provinces, but all the Netherlands, which together (but not with a strict obligation) were tied, were sufficiently plunged into the extremest inconveniencies, by the perfidiousness of the duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France; and that, afterwards, the United Provinces were brought into a deplorable disorder, and beyond all posture of defence, by the craft and ambitious designs of the earl of Leicester, sent hither by queen Elizabeth for our protection.’

I have already spoken concerning the earl of Leicester, and their ingratitude towards him. The French do form the like charge against them, in behalf of the duke of Anjou, ‘ That they violated their agreements with him, gave him only an empty title, but referring and drawing all the power into their own hands.’ The sense of which indignity, considering that he was a brother of France, and had brought them powerful succours in their distress, made him take the courses specified. And it is observable, that in all these and other emergencies, where the Dutch are branded for their ingratitude, perfidiousness, and unworthy dealings, the particular province of Holland is always the sole author, or principal occasion; whereof they themselves boastingly give a relation in their manifesto published at Leyden, 1654.

It is thence that I derive my intelligence, that the infant States, being jealous of the power and popularity of William prince of Orange, did, without ever acquainting him therewith, invite the archduke Matthias to be their governor. And it is there that I read of a great peril, that Holland, &c. was in, and how they were delivered from it; the which our considerer might have seasonably inserted here, as well as the rest; viz. ‘ The States of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht were determined to make prince William earl of Holland with all the prerogatives heretofore enjoyed by such earls; and, though Amsterdam, Gouda, and some other towns dissented, yet were they resolved to pursue their intentions. But the prince was assassinated a month before the instalment could be effected; and God most providentially did, thereby, free the subjects of Holland from that subjection, into which they were running precipitately.’ There cannot be a greater testimony of the degeneracy of this age, in which such ingratitude is publicly avowed and authenticated by a solemn declaration of the States of Holland and West-Friesland, and the most infamous actions in the world (and such as would create a blush in the countenances of any men but Hollanders) are recited as the most glorious. It is there that I read, how the states of Groningen and Ommeland, immediately upon the murder of prince William, did deprive his son, Grave Maurice, of all his dignities, honours, and emoluments in their provinces; and never admitted any of their line to be their governor, unto this day. It is there that I read a defence of their secluding the prince of Orange from being a stadtholder, or admiral, or general of the forces of the United Provinces (a separate article, which Holland concluded with Cromwell) wherein they extenuate and deny any obligations they have to the whole house of Orange: and therefore they might, without breach of morality and civility, proceed as they did. I confess, I was amazed to read such things, and wondered not that queen Elizabeth, and our English kings, meet with so much immoral usage amongst these Hollanders, since prince William and his heirs are thus treated; and,

whilst others behold the Dutch as Protestants and Christians, I cannot but rank them amongst the worst of mankind, not to be paralleled by any known race of Pagans and savages.

‘ We will likewise pass by in silence the relating of those passages, of which many of us have been living witnesses ; as, when the whole country, by a sudden invasion on the Veluwe, and the taking of Amerford, was in the like manner alarmed, as Rome, when Hannibal appeared before her gates.’

This invasion happened *anno Domini*, 1629¹⁶. The Spaniards, joining their forces with those of the emperor under Montecuculi, did make the said irruption, and surprized Amerford, being already masters of Wesel. All Holland was affrighted, and their high and mighties forsook the Hague to sit at Utrecht. The recent memory hereof might suggest unto the Hollanders more of moderation in their deportment ; since they are no more assured of their good fortune, than the world is of their good manners. I could not but compassionate the distress of old Rome, the memory whereof this passage renewed ; and I wished that victorious Montecuculi had prevented our prince and the king of France in the reducing of Holland, whose baseness represents them to have a greater affinity with Carthage than Rome ; and the Belgick faith imports as much of treachery, as ever did the Punick.

‘ And, for as much as comes within the reach of our own memories, we have yet fresh remembrances of the war with the lord-protector Cromwell ; into which (by a certain destiny, and an interest beyond interest, we were drawn,) at a time when the nation, for want of ships and guns, was reduced to a perplexity, the thoughts whereof we cannot entertain without grief and alteration in our hearts.’

All that are acquainted with the transactions of that war, do well know, that the Dutch began their preparations for that war, long before the English apprehended it. They ordered an hundred and fifty ships to be equipped out, and beat up their drums for volunteers to man them ; amusing the English with a declaration, ‘ that this was done to secure the commerce :’ so that no preparations extraordinary were then set on foot in England. And whilst they were in league with this nation, and in the midst of a treaty for a stricter alliance, their admiral most perfidiously comes into Dover road, with an intent to destroy the English navy ; and ascertain thereby to his masters, the dominion of the sea.

I more willingly mention these things, because they are an instance, to some people, not only of the perfidiousness of the Dutch, but of the equity of his majesty’s present quarrel : for that war was grounded upon the striking of the¹⁷ flag, and the dominion of the seas ; and it is apparent faction, not any colourable reason, which can sway any man, that approved of that war, to condemn this. It is also an instance, that the present quarrel of the Dutch is not with his majesty, his royal highness, and the court, but with the nation. In other cases, it is irrational and imprudent to distinguish betwixt the political and private capacity of our king ; but, in this, they are so inseparable, that the interests of the people, king, and court are all one, and equally concerned in the evil success of our fleet. And, were we, by a detestable faction, deprived of the king and court, the controversy would still remain betwixt the Dutch and the unhappy survivors in England. It was not the want of force, at that time, which occasioned the misfortunes of the Hollanders, but the courage and valour of the English : and what may we not, under God, promise ourselves from the same persons now ; who, besides the sense of their past victories, have this further incitement, that they fight under their lawful prince (a prince so just and so generous) and the auspicious conduct of his royal highness ?

‘ Through all these difficulties, and innumerable others, we have, by the mercies of God, waded ; and would have wished with all our souls, by a long continued unity (the true and innocent interest of our peace-coveting republick) to have tasted the fruits of our sharp labours and dangers : but it hath pleased God to order and dispose otherwise ;

¹⁶ This is largely described by D. Heinsius, in his *Siege of Bois le Duc*.

¹⁷ This is expressed in the ‘ Declaration’ of the pretended commonwealth ; and they determined to assert the right of the flag, not only as an honourable salute, but as a testimony of their undoubted right and dominion upon the neighbouring seas.

‘ who, by his just and adorable judgments, forceth us to acknowledge, that we now, as much as ever, stand in need of his powerful protection; since we find ourselves, at this present time, encompassed with a necessity to oppose the extremest assault ¹⁸ of the greatest forces of Europe, with a power, which, indeed, is inconsiderable, in comparison of that of our enemies; by which yet, how weak soever, we do not despair to defend and secure ourselves; strengthened with hopes, that God shall please to look upon the equity of our innocent case with the eyes of his justice, and our sins and defects with the eyes of his mercy.’

‘ And, in truth, if ever the sword is drawn in time of necessity, and for innocent defence of our dear country, it is at this present; in which it seems the grandees of this world have, in the counsel of the power of darkness, concluded the ruin and destruction of the United Netherlands; assuming, to their associates, all such as value Christian blood, no more than that of sheep and goats, delighting their eyes with the devastation of countries and cities, even as if they beheld comedies.’

Wise people do frequently look back upon things passed; and, by comparing those with the present transactions, they from thence form unto themselves documents and rules whereby to regulate their deportment. If our enemies, the Hollanders, had, amongst the difficulties through which they have waded, called to mind the meanness of their own condition when they sought refuge here, and when queen Elizabeth supported them; the vicinity, strength, and generosity of the English nation; the candour and sincerity which hath been constantly expressed unto them by the royal ancestors of his majesty, whilst they favoured these infamous Netherlanders: had they considered the vicissitudes of fortune, how great and unexpected they are; the dangers of growing too puissant, though the foundation of grandeur be not laid in the wronging and depressing of others; that it is requisite for them who advance themselves by fraudulent means, and the injuries of others, to retain some firm allies; and by the repute of their sincerity, to some, efface the ignominy, and allay the odium which their perfidiousness to others would create them. Had they assumed such thoughts as these, they had never contracted so universal an enmity as they are now in danger to sink under. Their condition is altogether like that of the earl of St. Paul, who having enriched and advantaged himself, by a constant practice of treachery to the kings of England and France, and the duke of Burgundy; (none of them being safe from his machinations, nor being able to rely upon any promises of his, how solemn and sacred soever,) they altogether resolved to establish the common tranquillity, by the ruin of that perfidious man. And when the city of Venice had by several artifices aggrandized herself, and encroached upon the dominions of sundry princes; the emperor, French king, pope, and others, did all join against that republick (for their so many practices in raising and fomenting of divisions and wars of Italy, breaking of former, and entering into new leagues, as advantage, not right, did excite them), and deprived the Venetians of all they held in the *terra firma*.

It is in vain for the Considerer to justify the present war unto his countrymen, by urging necessity and innocent defence of themselves. How specious soever those pleas are, they avail not in this case; because they, by the manifold injuries and contumelies done to the king of England, have provoked him to attack them, and created to themselves this necessity of warring: nor is their defence innocent, because it includes a defence of the most barbarous criminals, against all laws, divine and human. And, certainly, if ever any war was justified by the laws of nature and nations; if self-preservation, the protection of injured subjects, vindication of rights, revenge of great injuries and indignities, be just motives to commence a quarrel (as each one of them is); never was any prince more wronged than his majesty is, when the glory of his present actings is extenuated or soiled by any charge of injustice: nor do I find amongst his associates any such as value Chris-

¹⁸ These expressions argue fear in the authors. And it ought to add to the courage of the English, that besides the terrors of an evil conscience, and the apprehensions of Divine vengeance for their present perfidy, and former barbarities to the murdered and ruined English; they are also sensible of the puissance of their enemies, now in conjunction against them.

tian blood, no more than that of sheep and goats; but I find he hath, for enemies, those that so exquisitely tormented, and so barbarously put to death the English at Amboyna,¹⁹ and, by a thousand actions no less cruel, have testified their little regard to Christian blood.

The Considerer, that he might evince the equity of their cause, pretends to deduce its original. The sum of his prolix discourse is this: that,

‘ The king of France urging his pretensions on a considerable part of the Spanish Netherlands, in right of his queen to whom they were devolved: the United Netherlands (moved by a peace-loving inclination, and apprehension of a terrible neighbour,) did endeavour to extinguish the fury of that war, whose flames, they feared, would not only consume the adjacent countries, but also scorch the more remote places. And, to that end, they associated counsels with the kings of England and Sweden, and jointly concluded a triple alliance betwixt themselves, by which they have mutually obliged each other to promote the peace betwixt France and Spain, on the terms and proffers of the alternative; and, by the same peace, to secure the quiet and tranquillity of Christendom: promising each to other, for further confirmation of the said triple league, that betwixt them always should be, and continue a sincere unity, and serious correspondence from their hearts; and, in good faith, to advance each other’s profits, utility, and dignity, and whatsoever should oppose itself thereunto with their best endeavours to remove. And if at any time it should happen, that this their amicable intention should meet with a wrong interpretation; and, by chance, an untimely revenge of war by any of the said parties, or any others on their behalf, should be offered to any of them confederated; that in such case they should faithfully assist one another.’

This is the substance of the triple alliance. After which, he adds, that

‘ The king, the king of England, is sensible in his own conscience (though with words he dissembles, and disowns the knowledge thereof), that, by reason of the triple alliance, the Dutch are menaced with a war from France; and that, (whatsoever the most Christian king pretends) this is the true reason of his designs, and which he hath plainly discovered in all courts; and is no more than he threatened them with at first, in case they ratified the triple league. And, therefore, by virtue of this triple league, the king of England owes the Dutch an unconfined aid; as also limited succours of forty ships of war, six-thousand foot, and four-hundred horse, by virtue of the defensive articles concluded in 1668. To which his majesty is obliged; if their high and mighties be attacked by any prince, or state, on what pretext soever. The king of England being under these obligations, and being extimulated by ambition, avarice, and an insatiable thirst after blood, determined to take the opportunity of this juncture (wherein the most potent king of France did threaten the Dutch with a terrible war) to pursue his unchristian designs; and to disengage himself the better from all obligations of aid to the Dutch, doth of himself previously begin a war; and, with a specious declaration, palliates and dissembles his foul and malicious designs.’

This is the entire substance of what the Considerer tediously doth insist upon, and is the sole foundation whereupon he proceeds to justify the Dutch, and (with all possible aggravations of language) bespatters the king of England; as if no chronicles ever produced such a precedent of violated faith, as his majesty doth now give an example of. I do confess, that nothing ought to be more sacred, than the word and faith of princes: that war is the last of remedies whereunto they ought to have recourse; and which ought not to be commenced, but upon just, honourable, and necessary grounds: I do acknowledge the tenor of the triple league, and the defensive alliance. But I do avow that his majesty is no way concerned in the violation of them; nor is the allegation of them pertinent to the present quarrel. And of all the futile pretexts, which I have read of in his-

¹⁹ The depositions of their cruelties against his majesty’s subjects in the East-Indies, Guinea, and other places, are to be seen in the Register’s Office of the High Court of Admiralty, kept at Doctors-Commons. [Vide an account of these flagrant enormities in the Third Volume of this work, p. 7; and also in Coke’s Detection, i. 96. Wilson’s Life of King James, p. 281. Burchett’s Naval History, p. 369.]

tory, this is the worst whereon the Dutch do bottom themselves. The triple league doth no way interest his majesty in their defence: for it doth not appear that the most Christian king doth invade them for entering into it. There is no authentic declaration or testimony, that this is the motive which prevails with him to undertake this enterprise. The secrets of his mind are known only to himself, and to the Searcher of all hearts. It is not for men to proceed upon conjectures and surmises, (which oftentimes prove vain and false) as if they were certain truths; nor can any prince be obliged indeterminately (and such is the present unreasonable plea of these Hollanders) where the condition of the aid to be given is particularly specified, *viz.* If it should happen that this their amicable intention should meet with a wrong interpretation; and, by chance, an untimely revenge of war by any of the said parties, or any others on their behalf, should be offered to any of them confederated; that in such case they should faithfully assist one another.

Can there be any thing more clear, than that the aid to be given is suspended upon this one circumstance, that the triple alliance should fall under a wrong interpretation; and that thereupon the party demanding the aid should be attacked by a revengeful war? How doth it appear that the entering into the triple alliance is misinterpreted; since it doth not appear that his Christian majesty did ever debate it, much less declare himself therein? How doth it appear, that he plainly discovered this sentiment by his ministers in all courts; since it doth not appear that he gave them private or public instructions to say so? Must a prince answer for every expression, or every particular action, of his ambassador? Can there be no other cause but this found out, why the king of France should attack the Dutch? Cannot we imagine, that the French retain a secret and inveterate desire of revenge, for the notorious perfidy of the States-general; when they concluded a peace with Spain, without mentioning the crown of France, or having any regard to the French interest? Or, is it not possible for the Christian king to make war upon them without a cause? Or merely for enlargement of empire? Or for other concealed reasons, or unknown indignities? What pregnant proof, or legal presumptions, do the Dutch allege then, that this is the cause of the present war? And with what impudence do they upbraid our king, as if the thing were so, and he knew it in his conscience to be so; when (as the Considerer himself, in the conclusion of this treatise, says) it is not so? *viz.* 'I shall hint at nothing else in the king of France's Declaration, but that it appears visible therein, that the war of that high renowned king proceeds from nothing else but a formed design to enlarge the limits of his territories, as far as his ambition is extended; yet that we hope that God Almighty shall, by the same hand by which he hath hitherto preserved us, confound the designs of the king.'—I doubt not, but hereby it is manifest, that his majesty is no way concerned by the triple league to assist the United Netherlands in this juncture: and even so the Swedes, by their indifference, shew how much they approve of the judgment of his majesty. And no man can say otherwise, but such as either regard not what they speak, or else take the freedom to surmise, and aver, whatsoever is for their interest.

I come now to the defensive alliance, whereby his majesty, *A. D.* 1668, did oblige himself unto that state, to give them an assistance (if attacked by any prince or state on what pretence soever) of forty ships of war, six-thousand foot, and four-hundred horse; upon promise, three years after the expiration of the war, to be re-imbursed of the charges of the said succour. But neither is this alliance of any more validity, at present, than the other. It is the common opinion of the civil lawyers, and reason itself dictates it, that in all articles and treaties for peace, there is this exception to be supposed in the contractors, Unless some new cause intervene; unless it be by the default of him with whom the league and compact is made; or, affairs continuing in the same posture and state, in which they were at the time of the contract. And that saying of Ulpianus and Pomponius concerning private compacts, *viz.* 'That an agreement is not violated, from which a man recedes upon a just reason and motive:' this, by interpreters, is extended to national leagues betwixt princes and states. This being supposed, it remains that we enquire, whether the king of England had any new cause or provocation given him?

For, if such a matter do appear to have happened, though it be slight, nay, disputable; yet is his majesty absolved from breach of faith, though not altogether from the imputation of injustice. But, if the provocation be weighty, and of high importance, nothing can be more legitimate than the present rupture which his majesty hath made with the Dutch. I would willingly know, if any Englishman can think that his majesty could be obliged to this defensive alliance, without any regard to the peace concluded upon at Breda; that is without any supposition, that he was, in 1668, in any terms of amity with these Netherlands. If this be unimaginable; then it is apparent, that the observation of these articles, on his majesty's part, depends upon the observation of the precedent peace, on the part of the Dutch. His majesty never contracted this league with them, so as to derogate from that, and to tie himself up to the assistance of the Dutch, against the king of France, or any other invader; notwithstanding that they should violate their articles, and multiply injuries, indignities, and acts of hostility against him, and his subjects. No prince ever fettered himself thus; no laws of nations, no common reason admits of such a fancy; and, therefore, the notorious violation of that peace doth plenarily absolve his majesty from the bonds of this subsequent alliance.

The Considerer, no doubt, foresaw this defence, but would not take notice of it; lest he should have been obliged to refrain from the aspersions of unparalleled perfidiousness and violated faith; the name and noise whereof might advantage him amongst the Dutch populace, and the more ignorant sort of men. And, to give a further colour to his calumnies, he says, that the reasons which his majesty allegeth are not the reasons which he proceeds upon: they are but forged pretensions; whilst the true inducements to this rupture are ambition, avarice, and insatiable revenge.' Since the man so little understands his majesty's inclinations and deportment, which have been, hitherto, such as yield no ground for a charge of this nature, I will not stand to refute his insolent and barbarous conjectures; nor believe so ill of the most generous, mild, and peaceable prince in the world, as that he diligently sought occasions for a war, when the injurious Dutch rendered all peace unsafe, and dishonourable unto him.

I shall therefore examine what my author doth urge against the Declaration of his majesty; wherein, when my countrymen shall be satisfied, I doubt not, but they will approve of the justice of his majesty's cause, and be inflamed with a zeal to vindicate the honour of their king, and the necessary rights of the kingdom.

Concerning the business of Surinam (my author doth not consider every thing) all that is said amounts to this:

'That the place, being taken in March, 1667, by Abraham Crynsen, of Zealand, with the forces of their state, and so, under certain covenants, reduced to their obedience and subjection, was indeed, in the month of May next following, retaken by the English; but that the same, in pursuance of the sixth article, (providing, that all lands, cities, fortifications, and colonies, taken, during the war, by any of the parties then in arms, from the other, and, after the $\frac{1}{2}$ of May, retaken, should be restored to the first taker,) was delivered up again into the possession of the States. He wonders that the king of England should offer to style any of the inhabitants of Surinam to be his subjects; since, by the rights of war, and the articles of peace, the plenary dominion, and right of sovereignty, is transferred to the Dutch; and they, being now subjects to that state, ought to complain to their states-general, if the said capitulations be not observed duly; but that the king of England is no more interested in them, than is the king of Spain.'

To this I answer, that by the third article instanced in, though the plenary right of sovereignty over Surinam were transferred, yet it is expressly said, 'they are to have it altogether, after the same manner, as they had gotten, and did possess them, the $\frac{1}{2}$ day of May last past.' It remains then, that we enquire, what manner of sovereignty the Dutch had in Surinam, by their conquest thereof, by the capitulations of Abraham Crynsen? And this appears to be no other, than what the Dutch had over Bois le Duc, when Grobendonck capitulated to surrender it to the prince of Orange upon terms, to march away

with flying colours; and such inhabitants, as pleased, might remove their estates and goods into the king of Spain's dominions, within a certain time, &c. *A. D.* 1629: so were the inhabitants of Surinam to have convenient liberty to transport themselves, and their estates, into the king of England's dominions. And as Grobbendonck, by his capitulation, together with those comprehended therein, did not become the subjects of the United Netherlands; no, though he, or his followers, had stayed several months in the surrendered town, but retained to the king of Spain; so neither did these of Surinam become, by their capitulation, subjects to the Dutch. It is true, they gained thereby the sovereignty of the territory, but not of their persons; and to deny this, is to act by the Punick or Belgick faith; to deny that Abraham Crynsen, at that distance, had power to grant articles, and to act as Hannibal did, when he refused to ratify the conditions granted by Maharbal; because he, though absent, was the superior, and had not signed them; which deed is censured by Livy, thus: *Quæ Punica religione servata fides ab Annibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.* This being premised, I cannot understand why the king of England might not call them his subjects, and send for them; and, as an high injury, resent their detaining, since thereby he is deprived of so many serviceable planters in his other colonies thereabouts.

‘ The king proceeds, from the grievances of the business at Surinam, to a complaint of pretended affronts, which he allegeth to have suffered from the States, as well in making as shewing of pictures, medals, and pillars, as in refusing to strike the flag; declaring, that the first alone, (*viz.* the making and shewing of pictures and medals,) hath been a sufficient motive of his displeasure, and the resentment of all his subjects; that is, in one word, of the war. God preserve the world from such Christian princes, as for a picture, or medal, make no scruple to stir up commotions in Christendom, and to cause the effusion of so much innocent blood.’

I never yet apprehended, that Christianity obliged its professors to abandon their concerns for a good repute and honour. They have, indeed, some such aphorisms in Holland, where the regards of virtue, piety, justice, and honour do yield to those of gain: but in other places, the case differs; and the most honourable considerations prevail above the infamous, though profitable. St. Augustine, and all casuists, do agree, ‘ That those wars are just, wherein such injuries are avenged upon a nation or kingdom; which that kingdom, or nation, hath either neglected to punish in their own subjects, or refused to yield satisfaction for unto the party injured.’ And if the Considerer had employed his time in any diligent research into the just causes of war, he would have found the most knowing, prudent, and learned Christians to teach, ‘ that sometimes private indignities, always the indignities put upon princes, are a just cause of war.’ Thus did David, though a man after God's own heart, who (we are ascertained) did not ill, in making war upon the Ammonites, because they cut off half the beards of his ambassadors. It is most certain, that besides the defence of his people, there are other titles, and other considerations, which put arms lawfully into the hands of a prince; there are other wounds to heal, and other breaches to make up, than the ruin of his subjects; the outrages, acted against his honour, are to be revenged, and the spots wiped of, which are imprinted upon the reputation of his crown, as one of the pillars which bear up his greatness, and therefore to be carefully preserved from blows, that it fall not into contempt. The reputation of a prince is, by some, compared to the credit of merchants, which maintains them in honour and lustre, though they be, in effect, poor; and gives them, oftentimes, means to fill up the concealed emptiness of their coffers, and to repair the weak invisible condition of their fortunes. But, when a prince is wounded in his reputation, and his forces are cried down; when his prosperities are lessened, and his disgraces increased; when endeavours are used to obscure the lustre of his greatness and puissance, wherewith the eyes of strangers ought to be dazzled, and to draw a curtain before the exterior face of his affairs; this is a subject of a just war: and whatsoever private Christians may do, in some cases, princes do not discharge their duty, nor take requisite care for their subjects, if they do not avenge notorious contumelies and indignities. Nay, I dare add, that

such of them, as are negligent in this case, do not only run into great perils from foreign kings, but their domesticks and subjects who will be prone to despise, trample upon, and ruin them, whom they see universally contemned and affronted. The casuistical divines, and civilians, are herein agreed; and they do not allow a prince the liberty to pardon indignities and contumelies done to his person, because his reputation is not properly his own; his subjects share therein, and whatsoever indulgence he grants, in such cases, they are null and invalid.

It is further adjudged, that whosoever doth act or speak any thing to the defamation of another, is obliged, in conscience, to make the injured party reparation; not only as to the indignity itself, but as to all the damages which he received, by reason of the disparagement done unto him. And should the English pursue, herein, what in justice they may; the greatest part of the Dutch trade in Guiney and the East-Indies, as also Russia, should be put into their possession: for these insolent Hollanders have advanced themselves to the present grandeur and height, as well as vastness of trade, by affronting the English merchants; defaming and belying, most contumeliously, the person, conduct, and strength of their prince; and by exposing him to scorn and derision, by ridiculous pictures and odious medals. And because that this last instance is a part of the present contest, and would indeed alone authenticate it, I will relate the evil effects of these medals and pictures, which they occasioned unto the English in Muscovy; as the deceased Dr. Collins, who was physician to the Czar, hath left it upon record:

‘The Hollanders have another advantage, by rendering the English cheap and ridiculous, by their lying pictures, and libelling pamphlets: this makes the Russian think us a ruined nation. They represent us by a lion painted, with three crowns reversed, and without a tail; and by many mastive-dogs, whose ears are cropped, and tails cut off; with many such scandalous prints: being more ingenious in the use of their pencils than pens. These stories take much with the barbarous people, when nobody is present to contradict them.’

It is no justification, for the States-general, to say, ‘That these are, for the most part, the actions of particular persons, for which the publick is not accountable.’ It is enough for the English, that the States themselves published some; and that no solicitations and complaints could make them recall, suppress, and prohibit the others. This deportment of theirs doth amount to an authorizing of them; and it is a rule, that a *ratihabition*²⁰ in deeds, is more powerful than a *ratihabition* in words; and the republick involveth itself in those crimes, which it refuseth to punish. So Agapetus, in Justinian, declares, ‘It is the same thing to offend one’s self, and not to prohibit the offences of others.’

This controversy, about indignities and contumelies done to princes, doth recall into my mind the violence wherewith former kings have resented them. David, without any formalities of denouncing war (that I read of) attacked the Ammonites; and, with horrible torments, revenged the indignities done to his majesty upon the inhabitants of Rabbah: and Gustavus Adolphus invaded the German empire, without ever declaring war; to revenge the contumelious usage of his ambassadors at Lubeck. Had either of those potent kings received any such injuries and affronts, as his majesty of Great Britain hath had multiplied upon him; how fierce a vengeance would they have taken upon their barbarous and insolent enemies, whose outrageous doings do give unto any rigours the face of justice, and absolve from the usual solemnities of war.

I suppose it now manifest, that our king might, with a great deal of justice, make war upon the Dutch, merely in vindication of his own honour, and that without the usual form of declaring war. But, because this last circumstance is represented so tragically, as if thereby the English ships, though acting by a royal commission, were pirates, and as bad as those of Algiers and Tunis; I shall demonstrate, that the solemn declaration of war, before it begin, is not always necessary.

²⁰ [*Ratihabition*, confirmation; a Scottish forensic term, used in the form of Lawborrows. Vide Du Cange. Gloss. or Jamieson’s Scot. Dict.]

It is not any part of the law of nature, that a prince denounce war before he begin hostilities: all that nature directs us unto in this case, is, that we repel force with force; and avenge ourselves, or take reparations for injuries committed against us. All that can be alleged for it out of Grotius, is, that it is a fair and laudable course, and not always practised by the Romans themselves: for, when the Carthaginians in two wars had shewed themselves an ungenerous and perfidious enemy, (such as the Dutch are to all the world) they did not denounce the third war against them; but proceeded by surprise against that vexatious, treacherous, irreconcilable people, and used them not as other nations, because that others were not like unto them. And Xenophon, in his Romance of Cyrus, thought it no ill character of his hero, that he should without denunciation make war upon the king of Armenia. So did Pyrrhus: so did Gustavus Adolphus. As in the civil courts of judicature a formal citation is not always necessary; in like manner, a prince may sometimes omit the proclaiming of war before he practise hostilities. But, to evince the entire justice of that encounter of ours with the Smyrna fleet, it may be convenient for us to consider, that those ships, meeting with our fleet, did refuse to strike their flags and lower their topsails unto the ships of war of his majesty, contrary to the nineteenth article of Breda²¹: and, that being refused, it was not only lawful for our ships to destroy or seize them, and for his majesty to confiscate them; but it was the express commission of the ship-captains (and hath been so to all men of war for above four-hundred years), and an inseparable regality of the king of England, which authorise and authenticate that action in full.

It is no new doctrine in England, to say, no ship can be protected in point of amity, which should in any wise presume not to strike sail. Queen Elizabeth gave the same form of commissions and instructions to her admirals: and if there never happened any rencounters in her times like unto this, it was because no prince disputed the thing with her, and the Dutch were then the distressed states. This regality of having the flag struck to the navy royal, or any part of it, is paramount to all treaties; so far is it from being limited and restrained by the treaty of Breda: and whatsoever contravenes it, is not to be construed so as the breach of inferior articles. The right of the flag is not demanded by virtue of the treaty from the Dutch, (though they cannot refuse it without annulling that treaty,) but recognized there as a fundamental of the crown and dignity of the king of England. Such points are not the subject of treaties, and no concessions were valid against them. In such cases we say, *Plus in talibus valere quod in recessu mentis occultatur, quam quod verborum formula concipitur*. It is therefore evident, that nothing was acted on our side contrary to the said league, in reference to the Smyrna ships: and the ensuing war, notwithstanding the twenty-third article, is to be imputed to the perfidiousness of the States-general. Not that the private act and obstinacy of the Smyrna ships did make it to be so, but the States-general had justified Van Ghent in the like case; and by that solemn and notorious violation of the nineteenth article of Breda, in effect declared war against us: and we needed not to declare any thing on our side; it not being judged ne-

²¹ [The first instance upon record in which the British flag is known to have put up with this indignity, is thus related by Weldon: 'The earl of Hertford, who was sent ambassador to the arch-duke, was conveyed over in one of the king's ships, by sir William Monson. In whose passage a Dutch man of war coming by that ship, would not *vaile*, as the manner was; acknowledging, by that, our sovereignty over the sea. Sir William Monson gave him a shot, to instruct him in manners; but instead of learning, he taught him, by returning another, he acknowledged no such sovereignty. This was the very first indignity and affront ever offered to the royal ships of England, which since have been most frequent. Sir William Monson desired my lord of Hertford to go into the hold, and he would instruct him, by stripes, that refused to be taught by fair means: but the earl charged him, on his allegiance, first to land him on whom he was appointed to attend. So, to his great regret, he was forced to endure that indignity; for which I have often heard him wish he had been hanged rather than live that unfortunate commander of a king's ship, to be chronicled for the first that ever endured that affront; although it was not in his power to have helped it.' Weldon's Court of K. James, p. 45.]

'Two things are certain (says Oldcastle, alluding to this affair) *one*, that queen Elizabeth would have severely punished, and have exacted ample reparation from the States-general; the *other*, that king James did neither.' Oldcastle's Remarks on the Hist. of England, p. 240.]

cessary, but a superfluous ceremony, for both parties to denounce war. And if the one party, as here the Dutch, do rescind a treaty (leagues are individual acts, and the violation of one article doth annul the obligation of the whole) then are we, *ipso facto*, in a condition of war; nor is it requisite the king declare himself. They that violate their faith, render themselves incapable of wrong; and it is a vanity to multiply demonstrations of what the Dutch had already made public. In fine, the laws of war inform us, that the war is sufficiently declared, when all applications and ambassies become fruitless. And divines tell us, that there are some cases when a man is absolved from the obligation of fraternal correction and admonition, *viz.* when the person offending is notoriously known to be so perverse and obstinate, that all reproofs and warnings would be fruitless, for, say they, 'He that ploweth, ought to plow in hope;' 1 Cor. ix. 10. And where there is no hope of any good success by friendly applications, there no man is bound in conscience or prudence to pursue them. Though this relate to private persons, yet the condition is the same in reference to princes; seeing that the chief ground of ambassies, and such like remonstrances amongst Christian potentates, is fraternal dilection: and therefore, if the inutility and fruitlessness of a negotiation absolve us justly from it there, it will also do the same here. Wherefore, since his majesty was convinced by the ill event of all his amicable applications to the Dutch, and understood so well the resolutions of the Hague, that they would not strike sail; he might justly omit all such formalities, and immediately proceed to carve out his own satisfaction by an advanced war.

' Concerning the right of the flag, it is in the first place to be remarked, that it is clearly ' intimated in the said Declaration, that that king by the said right understands the ' sovereignty of the seas: since, speaking of the antiquity of the said right, he adds ' thereunto, that it is an ungrateful insolence, that we should offer to contend with him ' about the said sovereignty. Whereby it plainly appears, that the flag, and sovereignty ' of the seas, are words of different sounds, but, according to the king's meaning, of the ' same signification: so that we may easily conjecture, that the difference betwixt the ' king of England, and this State, about the said pretended right of the flag (which is insinuated to that nation, as the most important grievance, wherein the people's honour is ' concerned) is not at present a controversy, about saluting and striking of the flag, and ' consequently no dispute in relation to the sense of the nineteenth article of the treaty ' at Breda; but only a contest about the sovereignty of the sea, which this state attributes ' to God Almighty alone; and the king of England usurps to himself, although perhaps ' *per gratiam Dei*, by which the most absolute princes govern their lands and territories. ' And the ambassador Downing also, concerning the aforesaid sense of the nineteenth ' article, in his memorial, delivered in the name of the king, demanded of the States a ' plain and clear acknowledgment of the aforesaid pretended sovereignty of the seas.

' Every one then can tell of our countrymen, and the impartial world may see, that ' not the refusing to strike the flag, in pursuance of the said article, (which was fully performed, as shall hereafter be made evident,) but only a refusal of the said acknowledgment, hath been the subject of the king of England's complaint. And it is likewise easily ' to be apprehended, that at present the said acknowledgment is demanded from the ' States; not by reason of the justice of right to the pretended affair, but only out of a ' plotted design to war against us; which design could not be put in execution, but by a ' demand of impossible satisfaction: for which intent, the ambassador Downing propounded nothing else to the States than the acknowledgment aforesaid, lest having made ' propositions of other things, he might receive satisfaction for his king, who (he knew) ' would not be satisfied.

' Of what importance the said acknowledgment so demanded is, is not unknown to ' any of the subjects of this State, whose only subsistence is commerce, and consequently ' the liberty of the seas. I do believe, that not one single fisherman in our country can ' be found (be he never so simple) that apprehends not his chiefest interest to consist ' herein, and that to force the said acknowledgment out of his throat, and thereupon to ' cause the effects of the said pretended sovereignty to follow, is one and the same thing,

‘ as to tie up his throat; or, at least, there is no other distinction than betwixt a speedy and a tedious, yet assured, death: since after the said acknowledgment there can, at the best, nothing else be expected from the king of England’s grace and favour, than an option and choice of a sudden period, or a lingering disease, which is worse than a precipitated death.

‘ And although the king of England extends not his pretended dominion, further than the British seas; yet it is evidently known, that the limits of the said seas are by the king stretched out so far, that not the least part for a passage out of our country is left, which is not in respect of his pretended sovereignty subjected to the king, according to his sense: considering that not only the Channel, but also the North Sea, and a great part of the Ocean, is by the king of England accounted the British Sea: so that we should not be able, out of our own country, to set out to sea, but only by the grace and favour of the king of England; of which we should be assured far less than now we are of his faith and promise.

‘ We shall not enter at present to confute the aforesaid pretences to the sovereignty of the sea; not only because the same would prove too prolix, but also (and that principally) by reason it cannot be judged necessary to contradict what all the world holds to be impertinent, except the king of England; who as little can adhere to reason, as with reasonable offers he will be satisfied. We shall only say, that it is false, and never can be proved, that we ever fished in the sea, with license and permission of the king of England’s father, and that for paying tribute, as the aforesaid Declaration expresseth.

‘ We confess, that in the year 1636, some of the king of England’s ships of war seized upon our defenceless herring-busses; and that, by mere violence, they forced a sum of money from them, which they called, ‘ Tonnage-money;’ but we deny that from thence any right or title can be derived; not only because violence can create no right (no not by continuance) but also because the aforesaid violent exaction was not continued; complaints being made in England, of the aforesaid exorbitance, the same afterwards was no more demanded.

‘ We shall, with favour of the courteous reader, passing to the business of the flag, so as the same, in the nineteenth article of the treaty of Breda, is regulated, (which article must decide this controversy) briefly demonstrate, that nothing was committed by the lord of Ghent, in the late encounter, contrary to the said article; and moreover, that what hath been offered to the king of England, by this state, over and above the obligations of the said article, is so convincing a concession, that we need not fear to refer it to the judgment of the English themselves; as promising to ourselves, from the said people’s discretion, that (in respect this state hath given abundant satisfaction to them in point of honour) they will scorn and detest to demand, that we should acknowledge the sovereignty of the sea (proceeding only from a desire of war) to belong to them.

‘ It is evident, and amongst all discreet persons, without controversy, that saluting at sea, either by firing of guns, or striking the flag, or lowering of some sail, must not be interpreted as some sign of subjection; but merely for an outward testimony of respect and civility, which then with a resolute and the like civility is required: and forasmuch as concerns the first saluting, (whereof we only here shall make mention,) it is conceived, since those commonly first salute that own themselves inferiors, in rank and worth, to those they meet, although they are not under subjection to them, that ships of republicks, meeting at sea with ships of war belonging to crowned heads (to which republicks yield superiority in the world) must give the first salute, either with one or other sign of respect; which respect notwithstanding, as all other acts of civility, must proceed from a free willingness, and an unconstrained mind, in those that shew the same; yet it hath often been seen, that the strongest at sea hath forced the weakest to this submission; and that likewise the necessity and manner thereof hath been expressed in articles.

‘ Such is likewise concerning the same agreed on betwixt the king of England and this

‘ state, in the said nineteenth article, in conformity to former articles, (as well concluded with the present king, as the protector Cromwell,) that the ships and vessels of the United Provinces, set out to sea, as well for war, and defence against enemies, as others, which at any time should meet, in the British seas, with any of the ships of war of the king of Great-Britain, shall strike their flag, and lower their top-sail, in the like manner, as formerly hath been customary.

‘ To apprehend the true sense of that article, as it ought to be, let the reader be pleased to take notice, that the same proceeded originally from the articles, betwixt this State and the protector Cromwell, concluded in the year 1654; and that, at that time, the same was not expressed in such terms, as after a long debate of some words, which the protector Cromwell would have added thereunto; thereby not only to oblige single ships, but entire fleets of the States to the said salute, in case of meeting with any of the ships of war belonging to England; which words afterwards upon the earnest instance of the ministers of this state, were left out of the said article; so that the aforesaid nineteenth article, drawn out of the tenth article of the peace, in the year 1662, which tenth article, on the king’s side, was delivered in out of the thirteenth article of the year 1654, must not be so understood, that an entire fleet of the States, by virtue of the said article, shall be obliged to give the said salute to one single ship of the English; but the said article must be taken for a regulation, according to which single ships and vessels of this state, in point of saluting the ships of England, are to govern themselves.

‘ Now to apply the said article, according to the true sense, to the late accident of the lord of Ghent; it is, in the first place, to be observed, that the king of England’s pleasure-boat (suppose, in respect of her equipage, it must pass for a ship of war, which we will not dispute) not having met with any single ships or vessels of the States, but coming in amongst a fleet, then riding at anchor (undoubtedly, with a wicked design, to seek matter of complaint) it, with no fundamental reasons, can be maintained, that the lord of Ghent, by virtue of the said article, was obliged to strike.

‘ Secondly, It is likewise considerable, that the aforesaid article, speaking of meeting, cannot be applied to a formed design, to cause a quarrel, by requiring, in the uncivillest manner in the world, an act of civility and respect.

‘ And lastly, It is notorious, that the said accident happened in the North Sea, not far from our own coast; as likewise, it is well known, that the North Sea is not the British Sea, not only because in all sea-plats (yea, in the English map itself) it is distinguished from all others; but also and especially (which in this case is an invincible argument) by reason the same, in the seventh article of the treaty of Breda, are distinctly mentioned one from the other; where it is expressly said, that all ships and merchandises, which within twelve days after the peace, are taken in the British Sea, and the North Sea, shall continue in propriety to the seizer: out of which it plainly appears, that, even according to the king of England’s sense, the North Sea differs in reality from the British Sea; but (*vice versâ*) that the North Sea is made the British Sea, and consequently, that distinct things are confounded together, where there is a design to raise commotions and disturbances in the world.

‘ And, though their high and mighties might have kept to the nineteenth article of the said treaty, according to the true original interpretation; yet they declared to the king of Great-Britain, that upon the foundation and condition of a firm friendship, and assurance of a real and sincere performance thereof (upon the fifth article of the triple alliance, in case France should fall upon this state) they would willingly cause the entire fleet, when they should, at any time, meet with any ship or ships of war, carrying his majesty’s standard, to strike the flag, and lower the top-sail; in testimony of their respect and honour, which they, upon all occasions, will publicly shew to so faithful a friend, and so great a monarch: provided, that from thence no occasion, either now or hereafter, should be taken, or the least inducements given, to hinder or molest the inhabitants and subjects of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in their free use of the

‘ seas. Which declaration the king of England wrongly interprets, because that the
‘ same is joined with the true performance of the triple league, that is, with his honour
‘ and word; as also, with the assurance, that no prejudice should be offered, in regard of
‘ the free use of the seas: being an infallible argument, that the king of England is as
‘ little inclined to leave us an undisturbed use of the seas, as he is to keep and perform
‘ his word.’

I have already demonstrated the justice and honour of his majesty’s arms. This discourse gives me occasion to manifest the necessity thereof. All that is recited here, was alleged by the Dutch ambassadors to our king; and if it appear hence, that his majesty would not continue his alliance any longer with the Dutch, unless he would abandon the sovereignty of the sea, exchange his proper rights into mere civilities (and those not to be forced); and put himself, and his dominions, into the power of the Dutch: there is none, then, can doubt, but that the king was unavoidably engaged into this war, by the insolence and arrogance of the treacherous and usurping Hollanders; and that he did not seek or feign pretensions, to quarrel with them.

The nineteenth article of the treaty at Breda doth run thus:

‘ That the ships and vessels of the said United Provinces, as well men of war, as others,
‘ meeting any men of war of the said king of Great Britain’s, in the British seas, shall
‘ strike the flag, and lower the top-sail, in such manner, as the same hath been formerly
‘ observed in any times whatsoever.’

This article was transcribed out of a former treaty, made betwixt O. P.²¹ and the States-general, and he was the first that ever inserted any such article into any treaty; our right and dominion over the British seas having never been disputed before, but by an immemorial prescription and possession transmitted unto us, and supposed as unquestionable by all princes. These ungrateful Dutch are the first that controverted it; disowning it in the time of the late wars, when our civil distractions rendered our prince unable to attend unto the maritime dominion, and to curb their growing pride. Yet was the long parliament so concerned to preserve the rights of this nation, that they made an ordinance, April the fifth, 1643, commanding their admiral, and commanders at sea, to force all persons to pay the usual and due submissions unto the men of war, appertaining to this kingdom. And the pretended republick here, did vigorously, and by a dreadful war, assert the said sovereignty of the seas. So that it ought to be deemed, the concurring sentiment of all parties in England, that these submissions, by striking the flag, and lowering the top-sail, are not mere civilities, and unnecessary punctilios of honour and vain-glory, but a fundamental point, whereon the being of the king and kingdom is in great part suspended; and it hath been so studiously insisted on, by our princes; that for above four-hundred years, it hath been a clause in the instructions of the admiral, and the commanders under him, that in case they met any ships whatsoever, upon the British seas, that refused to strike sail, at the command of the king’s admiral, or his lieutenants, that then they should repute them as enemies (without expecting a declared war); and destroy them, and their ships, or otherwise seize and confiscate their ships and goods. And these instructions have been retained in use, as well since the treaty of Breda, as before it. The like instructions are given by the Venetians to their captains, in reference to the Adriatick sea, and by several other princes.

It is manifest, and agreed upon by the Considerer, that this article must decide the present controversy; and it is no less evident, that this article doth decide it to their prejudice, and that they are inexcusable as to the breach thereof. I will not stretch the words of the article so far, as to infer, that they ought to strike the flag, in acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the sea; since otherwise they do not strike it, ‘ in such manner, as the same hath been formerly observed in any times whatsoever;’ though the words oblige them not only to the thing, but circumstantiate the manner of it. Let their sentiments be free; but yet let us see, how they comply with the article, as to matter of

²¹ [Oliver Protector.]

fact : they say, that O. Cromwell would needs, after a long debate, have those words put in ; whereas the article was otherwise penned at first. But this allegation is impertinent ; since we now inquire not into what was at first debated, nor insist upon the first draught of the treaty, but what was, at last, ratified and confirmed on both sides : for it is thence ariseth the obligation. Secondly, They say, that by the earnest instance of their ministers, O. Cromwell was so far prevailed upon, as to relax that article, and leave out the said words ; and therefore the article must not be so understood, as if an entire fleet of the States, by virtue thereof, should be obliged to give the said salute to one single ship of the English. But the said article must be taken for ‘ a regulation ; according to ‘ which, in the single ships and vessels of their state, in point of saluting this ship of ‘ England, are to govern themselves.’ To this I reply, That it is not credible, nor believed here by any, that were privy to the transactions of O. Cromwell, that ever he consented to any such alteration in the said article. There is no proof of any such thing alleged ; and it is notoriously known to all our admiralty, that he never did vary his instructions and commissions in the navy ; but enjoined them, as before, to force all ships to strike, without regarding, whether they were entire fleets, or single ships : and I think this to be a demonstration of the falsehood of the Dutch, in this suggestion. Lastly, I find the articles of peace, published at Amsterdam in 1655, in Latin ; where is not any such thing to be seen, as is here insinuated.

Art. 13. Item quod naves & navigia dictarum fœderatarum provinciarum, tam bellica & ad hostium vim propulsandam instructa, quam alia, quæ alicui è navibus bellicis hujus rei-publicæ in maribus Britannicis obviam dederint, vexillum suum è mali vertice detrahent, & supremum velum demittent, eo modo, quo ullis retrò temporibus, sub quocunque anteriori regimine, unquam observatum suit.

This is sufficient to disprove this impudent forgery of the Considerer ; but had any such thing intervened betwixt the state and O. P. if it do not appear, that his majesty did make the like accord, how comes it to pass, that the expressions of his majesty must be construed by the sense of Cromwell ? If this notion of exempting fleets from saluting any single man of war were never thought upon, nor mentioned ; much less debated and decided at the treaty of Breda : doth not common equity and reason oblige the Dutch to acquiesce in the plain sense of the words, and not to distort or pervert them, by far-fetched interpretations and evasions ? It is usual, in the last articles of treaties, or in the ratifications, for princes to express, that they do sign, consent, and ratify the agreement in its true, proper, and most genuine sense, or sincerely, and *bonâ fide*²² ; and where it is not so declared, yet it is understood in all contracts, but more especially, in the contracts of sovereign princes : Charles the Fifth, and Lewis of France, are blamed for making use of those little shifts and elusions of treaties, which better become a pettifogger, than a king. This is the common tenet of the civil lawyers, and consonant to the law of nations. It is true there lies a ready evasion ; for all this is averred concerning princes and their contracts ; but the Dutchmen have nothing that is royal amongst them, their high and mighties are not princes, and they have different *jura majestatis*, as they have different ends, from the generous and sincere part of mankind. After an impertinent harangue concerning God, piety, protestancy, they are absolved from giving ‘ honour to them, unto ‘ whom honour is due, reverence to whom reverence, or right to whom right ;’ they can plausibly recede from, and evert an article, that is prejudicial to their interest and insatiable ambition ; and impudently exempt fleets from amongst the number of ships. Such men presume strangely upon their power, or the stupidity of the world, that impose thereon such glosses as these. There was no such word mentioned, no such interpretation proposed at Breda ; much less assented unto. The common usage of that naval term admits not thereof, and the immemorial practice at sea to the contrary, doth sufficiently refute this sentiment. The ambassadors had no power delegated them to part

²² In the 35th article at Breda, it was agreed, that both parties should truly and firmly observe the league : and article 36, that the confederacy should be duly and *bonâ fide* observed.

with such a regality ; and perhaps it may be said, that the king himself hath no such authority, as can divest the crown thereof. However, if any such thing had been done, had such a sense been admitted of, or intended by the Dutch ; why did not they urge it sooner, and demand, that the instructions to our admiral, and the commanders at sea, should be changed from what they have been, during the space of above four-hundred years ? their high and mighties have very much prejudiced themselves, in the opinion of all prudent men, by so long a silence ; and in the judgment of all honest persons, by remonstrating thus now ; since thereby they declare that to be the right sense of the article, which is indeed nonsense ; and that to be justice, which is as notorious an usurpation, as any Chronicles inform us of.

But, lest this sense of the article should not be admitted of, they say further in defence of themselves, ‘ That since, in the judgment of the king of Great-Britain, the striking of the flag and the acknowledging the sovereignty of the sea, are equipollent things ; and that, by the one, his majesty understands the other ; they cannot consent to the striking of the flag, lest it should be construed to a yielding him a sovereignty and dominion over the sea ; which is too much for these high and mighty zealots, and such protestants, that, abominating all image-worship, cannot endure any monarchs, because they are (as I may say) visible deities, and mortal representations of that one God, who providentially rules the universe ; nor can they tolerate their usurpations upon the rights of God Almighty, who is alone Sovereign of the sea.’

If I were not in haste, I would animadvert upon that passage of the Considerer, whereby, he intimates, that all absolute princes are usurpers ; governing their lands and territories, *per gratiam Dei*, by which, the king of England usurps the dominion of the sea. In another place, he intimates, as if all princes were tyrants, and all monarchy tyranny. In a third, he detracts from monarchy ; alleging, that monarchs are generally swayed by their wills and lusts ; and that the most efficacious reasonings of princes and monarchs are their arms. Such insinuations as these ought to exasperate all princes against them ; and indeed, this other controversy, about the dominion of the sea, extends not only to the king of England, but to the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, &c. to the republicks of Venice, Genoa, &c. all which are no less notorious usurpers, than his majesty of Great-Britain ; and if the king of England be an usurper upon the rights of God, by exercising a sovereignty over the British seas ; the Dutch have contributed very much to such usurpation, by permitting him to continue it so long. When they were the distressed states, and tendered the sovereignty of their provinces to queen Elizabeth, their ambassadors urged this unto her, as one inducement, that thereby she might ensure herself of the dominion of the great ocean : from whence, any Englishmen may collect, how much it importeth us, that these Hollanders be rather distressed, than high and mighty

Concerning the dominion of the sea, (that we may the better understand the controversy, and the justice of his majesty’s demands,) it is requisite, that we distinguish upon the word ‘ *dominion*,’ which is equivocal. Dominion imports one thing in respect to jurisdiction and protection, which the doctors of the civil law call ‘ sovereignty, or universal dominion ;’ such is that of a prince over the persons and estates of his subjects ; and another thing in reference to propriety, which they term ‘ particular dominion ;’ whereby any private person is invested in his goods and estate. Thus the king of England hath an universal dominion over the British seas, whilst yet his subjects retain their proprieties in their several fisheries.

The effects of this dominion universal, or sovereignty, which accrue to a prince, are these :

1. Not only the regality of the fishing for pearl, coral, amber, &c. but the direction and disposal of all other fish, according as they shall seem to deserve the regards of the publick, as in Spain, Portugal, &c. is used.

2. The prescribing of laws and rules for navigation, not only to his own subjects, but unto others, strangers ; whether they be princes of equal strength and dignity with

himself, or any way inferior. Thus the Romans did confine the Carthaginians to equip out no fleets, and forbid Antiochus to build any more than twelve ships of war. The Athenians prohibited all Median ships of war to come within their seas, and prescribed to the Lacedemonians, with what manner of vessels they should sail. All histories are full of such precedents, which princes have enacted; either upon agreements forced upon the conquered, or capitulations betwixt them and others (their equals, or inferiors) for mutual conveniences.

3. The power of imposing customs, gabels, and taxes upon those that navigate in their seas, or otherwise fish therein; which they do upon several rightful claims; as, protecting them from pirates, and all other hostilities; or assisting them with lights and sea-marks. For which advantages, common equity obligeth those, that reap benefit thereby, to repay it by some acknowledgment; which ought to be proportioned to the favour received, and the expence which the prince is at to continue it unto them.

4. As it is incumbent on a prince duly to execute justice in his kingdoms by land; so, the sea being his territory, it is requisite, and a necessary effect of his dominion, that he cause justice to be administered in case of maritime delinquencies.

5. That, in case any ships navigate in those seas, they shall salute his floating castles, the ships of war, by lowering the top-sail, and striking the flag (those are the most usual courses), in like manner as they do his forts upon land: by which sort of submissions they are put in remembrance, that they come into a territory, wherein they are to own a sovereign power and jurisdiction, and receive protection from it.

These are the proper effects of a real and absolute sovereignty over the seas; which, how they are possessed by the Venetians, this following account will shew:

The Gulf of Venice is nothing else but a large bay, or inlet of the sea, which entering in betwixt two lands, and severing them for many miles continuance, in the end receives a stop, or interruption of further passage, by an opposite shore, which joins both the said opposite shores together. It is called the Gulf of Venice from the city of Venice, situated upon certain broken islands, near unto the bottom thereof. It is also called the Adriatick Sea, from the ancient city Adria, lying not far distant from the former. From the entrance thereof, unto the bottom, it contains about six-hundred Italian miles; where it is broadest, it is one-hundred and sixty miles over, in others but eighty, in the most one-hundred. The south-west shore is bounded with the provinces of Puglia and Abruzzo, in the kingdom of Naples; the marquisate of Ancona and Romagna, in the pope's state; and the marquisate of Trevisana, in the Venetian state. The north part of it, or bottom, hath Friuli for its bounds. The north-east is limited by Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, and Epirus; whereof Istria doth not so entirely belong to the Venetians, but that the emperor, as archduke of Gratz, doth possess divers maritime towns therein. In Dalmatia, saving Zara, Spalato, and Cattaro, they have nothing of importance; the rest belonging to Ragusa and the Turks. In Albania and Epirus, they possess nothing at all; it being entirely the Turks. So that he, who shall examine the circuit of this sea, which must contain above twelve-hundred miles, shall find the shores of the Venetian signory not to take up two-hundred of them; omitting some scattered towns, and dispersed islands, lying on the Turkish side of the Adriatick shore. For the securing hereof from the depredations of pirates, and the pretences of divers potent princes; as the pope, emperor, king of Spain, and the Great Turk, who have each of them large territories lying thereupon; also to cause all ships, which navigate the same, to go to Venice, and there to pay custom, and other duties; the republic maintains continually, in action, a great number of ships, gallies, and galliots, whereto also they add more, as there may be occasion; whereof some lie about the bottom of the gulf in Istria, others about the islands of Dalmatia, to clear those parts of pirates, who have much infested those seas; others, and those of most force, have their stations in the island of Corfu and Standia; in the first of which commonly resides the captain of the gulf, whose office it is to secure the navigation of the gulf, not only from the corsairs, but to provide, that neither the gallies, nor ships of the pope, the king of

Spain, nor Great Turk, do so much as enter the same, without permission of the signory, and upon such conditions as best pleaseth them; which they are so careful to effect, that in the year 1638, the Turkish fleet, entering the gulf without license, was assailed by the Venetian general, who sunk divers of their vessels, and, compelling the rest to fly unto Valona, he held them there besieged; although the same city and port, whereon it stands, be under the jurisdiction of the grand signior: and notwithstanding that a great and dangerous war was likely to ensue thereupon, betwixt the grand signior and the republick; because the Venetian general, being not content to have chased them into their own ports, did (moreover than that) sink their vessels; and, landing his men, slew divers of their mariners, who had escaped his fury at sea; yet, after that, a very honourable peace was concluded again betwixt them, wherein, amongst other things, it was agreed, 'That it should be lawful for the Venetians, as often as any Turkish vessel did, without their license, enter the gulf, to seize upon them by force, if they would not otherwise obey: and that it should likewise be lawful for them so to do, within any haven, or under any fort of the grand signior's, bordering on any part of the Venetian gulf.'

In the year 1630, Mary, sister to the king of Spain, being espoused to the emperor's son, Ferdinand, king of Hungary, the Spaniards designed to transport her from Naples, in a fleet of their own. The Venetians suspected that they had an intention, hereby, to intrench upon, and privily to undermine, by this specious precedent, that dominion of the sea, which the signiory had continued inviolate time out of mind; and that they took this opportunity, when Venice was involved with a war abroad, and infested with the plague at home, and therefore not in a condition to oppose their progress. The Spanish ambassador acquainted the state, 'That his master's fleet was to convoy the queen of Hungary, being his sister, from Naples to Triesti.' The duke replied, 'That her majesty should not pass, but in the gallies of the republick.' The Spaniard repined thereat; pretending that they were infected with the plague. The senate, being consulted, came to this resolution: 'That the sister of his catholick majesty should not be transported to Triesti, any other way, than by imbarquing on the Venetian gallies, according to the usual manner of the gulf; and that, if the ambassador would acquiesce herein, her majesty should be attended, and used with all that respect and deference, which became her quality: but, if she proceeded in any other way, the republick would, by force, assert her proper rights, and attack the Spanish navy, as if they were declared enemies, and, in hostile manner, invaded them.' Whereupon, the Spaniard was compelled to desire of them the favour to transport the queen in their gallies; which Antonio Pisano did perform with much state and ceremony; and the courtesy was acknowledged, by solemn thanks, from the court of the emperor, and of Spain.

Joannes Palatius doth furnish me with many more cases, wherein the Venetians have practised immemorially, and foreign princes approved of their sovereignty of the Adriatick Sea; and, had our nation been hitherto as prudent in the perpetual vindication of their rights, as that republick, his majesty had not been put to this trouble, nor his subjects endangered, as they are, by this war with Holland. Howsoever, it is manifest that they did always, immemorially, challenge the dominion of the British seas, and have never abandoned that regality; but, so as to preserve their right unto it, by the exercising of several acts, that result from the entire dominion of the said seas.

1. As to that universal dominion,²³ which is inferred from the protection of the seas, it is evident that our admirals, by their commissions, have ever been charged with the guardianship and protection of the said seas; and they were stiled, of old, 'guardians of the seas;' the denomination of 'admiral,'²⁴ is more modern. But, with the name, their power and instructions were not varied, they being still designed *pro salvâ custodiâ & defensione maris*. And there was a particular tax raised on every hide of land in this

²³ [Upon this subject *vide* Harl. Misc. III. 13, 395, 409.]

²⁴ [Spelman is of opinion, that the title of 'admiral' was first used in England in the reign of Henry III.]

kingdom, called 'Danegeld;' at first exacted by the Danes,²⁵ in lieu of their protection of the said seas, and continued, after their ejection, by our English kings, before and since the Conquest, unto the reign of king Stephen, and Henry the Second, for the guardianship of the seas; and, after that the Danegeld was abolished, several lands were charged particularly for the defence of the seas, and subsidies have been demanded of the people to the same purpose.

2. As to that dominion of the sea, which is exemplified by acts of jurisdiction, it is manifest that the English have been, immemorially, possessed thereof. Thus Edward the First made laws, for the retaining and conserving of the ancient superiority of the sea of England,²⁶ and for the maintaining of peace and justice amongst all people, what nation soever, passing thorough the sea of England; and to take cognizance of all attempts to the contrary in the same, and to punish offenders, &c. In the like manner did his royal predecessors. And the so famed laws of Oleron (an island seated in Aquitaine, at the mouth of the river Charente) were published in that isle, by king Richard the First, as sole ruler and moderator of sea-affairs; which hold in force to this day, and are the laws of our admiralty. And this dominion is further elucidated from hence, that our kings (as appears by the parliamentary records of king Richard the Second) imposed a tribute, or custom, upon every ship that passed thorough the northern admiralty; which stretched itself from the Thames mouth, along the eastern shore of England, towards the north-east; for the pay and maintenance of the guard, or protection of the sea. Nor was it imposed only upon the ships of such merchants and fishermen, as were English, but upon any foreigners whatsoever; no otherwise, than a man, that is owner of a field, should impose a yearly revenue, or rent, for the liberty of thorough-fair, or driving of cattle, or cart, thorough his field: and if any were unwilling to pay the said tribute, it was lawful to compel them; there being certain officers, that had authority to exact it, having the command of six ships, men of war. The original record is penned in the Norman language (as were almost all records of parliament in that age) and is thus Englished:

' This is the ordinance and grant, by the advice of the merchants of London, and other merchants towards the north, by the assent of all the commons in parliament, before the earl of Northumberland, and the mayor of London, for the guard and tuition of the sea, and the coasts of the admiralty of the north, with two ships, two barges, and two ballingers, armed and fitted for war, at these rates following.

' First, To take of every ship and barque, of what burden soever it be, which passeth thorough the sea of the said admiralty, going and returning, for the voyage, upon every ton six-pence: except ships laden with wines, and ships laden with merchandizes in Flanders, which are freighted for, and discharged at London; and ships laden with wools and skins at London, or elsewhere, within the said admiralty, which shall be discharged at Calais; which ships the guardians of the said sea shall not be bound to convey, without allowance.

' Item, To take of every fisher-boat, that fisheth upon the sea of the said admiralty for herrings, of what burden soever it be, for each week, of every ton six-pence.

' Item, To take of other ships and fisher-boats, that fish for other kinds of fish upon the sea, within the said admiralty, of what burden soever they be, for three weeks, of every ton six-pence.

' Item, To take of all other ships and vessels, passing by sea, within the said admiralty,

²⁵ [This is not quite correct: the odious tax of Danegelt was first imposed by king Ethelred II. to bribe the Danes to leave England. Twelve pence was yearly assessed for this purpose on every hide of land. This sum was afterwards doubled; and the impost appropriated towards maintaining such a number of forces as were thought sufficient to clear the British seas from Danish pirates. Edward the Confessor remitted this tax; William I. and II. resumed it occasionally; in the reign of Henry I. it was accounted among the king's standing revenues; but Stephen, on his coronation-day, abrogated it for ever.]

²⁶ [Among the records in the Tower there is one intitled '*De superioritate maris Anglici.*']

‘ laden with coals from Newcastle upon Tine, of what burden soever they be, for a quarter of a year, of every ton six-pence.

‘ Item, To take of all other ships, barques, and vessels, passing by sea, within the said admiralty, laden with goods of any merchants whatsoever, for Prussia, or for Norway, or for Scone; or for any other place in those parts beyond the sea, or for the voyage, going and returning, every last six-pence.’

The imposition here laid upon all fishers that hook herrings, or other fish, upon the sea, within the northern admiralty, sheweth the antiquity of the right his majesty hath unto that regality, within the British seas: but the benefits, accruing to the crown from this specialty of the maritime dominion, were not always raised in one and the same manner. In the ordinance aforesaid, the fishermen purchase their liberty of fishing, by a sum of money to be paid weekly. At other times I read, that the Hollanders and Zealanders, every year, did repair to Scarborough-castle, and there, by ancient custom, obtained leave to fish; which the English have ever granted them, reserving always the honour and privilege to themselves. Amongst the records of the time of Edward the First, there is an inscription, *pro hominibus Hollandiæ, &c.* For the men of Holland, and Zealand, and Friesland, to have leave to fish near Jernemuth;²⁷ and that king’s letter for their protection is extant. And if we do not continually read of special licenses granted to foreigners, in reference to the fishery; the reason is; because, by the leagues that were made with the neighbouring princes, a license or freedom of that kind, as also of ports, shores, passages, and other things, was so often allowed by both parties, that as long as the league was in force, the sea served as if it were a common field; as well for the foreigner that was in amity, as for the king of England himself, who was lord and owner. But yet in this kind of leagues, sometimes the fishing was restrained to certain limits; and the limits related both as to place and time; so that, according to agreement, the foreigner in amity might not fish beyond these limits; the king of England retaining absolute dominion over the whole adjoining sea. Thus, by an agreement betwixt France and England, the French are excluded from that part of the sea, which lies towards the west, and south-west, and also from that which lies north-east of them; but permitted freely to fish throughout that part of the sea, which is bounded on this side, by the ports of Scarborough and Southampton, and on the other side by the coast of Flanders, and the mouth of the river Seine; and the time is limited, betwixt autumn, and the calends of January following. But in the league of mutual commerce, betwixt Henry the Seventh, and Philip, duke of Burgundy, &c. earl of Holland and Zealand, *A. D.* 1459. chap. 14. it was agreed, that the fishermen of each part, of what condition soever they be, shall sail and pass freely every where, and fish securely, without any impediment, license, or safe-conduct. From the which leagues, it is a genuine inference, that his majesty hath the dominion of the seas, as to fishing, and that the liberty thereof is not to be obtained but by license, or compact; wherein the general emolument, arising from the league, supplieth the advantage that would otherwise accrue from particular licenses.

It being thus evinced, that the sovereignty of the English seas, as to the fishing, doth appertain unto his majesty: I proceed to Scotland, where I find the same power invested in the crown thereof; so that the right of his majesty, unto the fishing there, is as unquestionable as his succession to the kingdom. I have not read in the Scotch laws, that ever there were licenses given to any for fishing; but every fisher, as well foreigner, as native, was to pay an assize-herring unto the king, and this assize-herring is an unalterable regality of that king.

Jacobi, 6, p. 15. c. 237.—‘ It is statute and ordained, that all infestments, and alienations, in few-firme²⁸, or otherwies, and all rentalls, assedationes²⁹, and dispositions quhatsumever, (in all time by gane³⁰, and to cum,) of the assize-herring, is null, and of

²⁷ [Yarmouth.]
VOL. VIII.

²⁸ [Fee-ferm.]

²⁹ [Assessments.]

³⁰ [Gone by.]

‘ nane availe: because the said assise-herring perteinis to our sovereigne lorde, as ane part
‘ of his custumes, and annexed property.’

Concerning the nature and antiquity of the assise-herring, I find this most authentic account, given by Mr. John Skene, clerk of the king’s register, council and rolls, in a treatise, ‘ *De Verborum Significatione*,’ annexed to the laws of Scotland, and printed at Edinburgh, A. D. 1597. *Cum privilegio regali*.

‘ *Assisa halecum*, the assise-herring, signifies ane certaine measure and quantity of her-
‘ ring, quilk perteinis to the king, as ane part of his custumes, and annexed propriety.
‘ *Jac. VI. p. 15. c. 237.* For it is manifest that he shuld have of every boate, that passis
‘ to the drave³¹ and slayis herring, an thousand herring, of ilk tack³² that halds, viz. of
‘ Lambmes tack, of the winter tack, and of the Lentrone³³ tack.’

What dues and customs the kings of Scotland had upon other fish, I know not: but that he did exact some, and exercised the dominion of the sea, in reference to the fishing there, is apparent by these laws, ordaining

‘ That all manner of fischeres, that occupies the sea, and utheres persons quhatsumever,
‘ that happenies to slay hering, or quihetfish³⁴, upon the coast, or within the Iles; or out
‘ with the samen³⁵ within the Frithes, bring them to free ports, &c. where they may bee
‘ sold to the inhabitants of the same kingdome, quhuirby his majesties custumes bee not
‘ defrauded, and his hienesse lieges³⁶, not frustrate of the commodity appointed to them
‘ by God, under the paine of confiscation, an tynsell³⁷ of the veschelles of them that
‘ cumes in the contrair thereof, and escheating of all their movable guddes³⁸ to our sove-
‘ raigne lord’s use.’

In this condition were the rights of the fishing, until the Dutch did advance themselves to that height and puissance, that they esteemed themselves able to infringe them; and such was their covetousness (which prompts them, that are infected therewith, to value the smallest and most unjust gains) that they determined to do it.

In the year 1594, James the Sixth, king of Scotland, apprehending the growth of these Netherlanders, and their influence upon the English nation, (by reason of the multitudes of our nobility and gentry, which resorted thither into the armies) and being desirous to fortify by all possible means his right of succession to the crown of England, invited the States to be god-fathers to his son, prince Henry; together with the kings of France and Denmark, and queen Elizabeth: they sent a splendid ambassy, (Walravius van Brederode, being principal,) and so richly presented the royal infant³⁹, that they much endeared themselves to king James, and no less exasperated queen Elizabeth; in that they should dare to rival her, at the baptism of the prince, and also demean themselves with so much munificence, or rather prodigality. King James, either out of interest, to ascertain himself of their friendship, or being captivated by their presents and flatteries, granted (but not by any deed, that I know) unto the Dutch, the privileges which had been formerly granted to the Belgick Provinces, upon leagues betwixt the house of Burgundy and England, in reference to the fishing; whereby, according to articles made with Philip of Burgundy, and with Charles the Fifth, they were to fish in the British seas, without any impediment, or the suing for a special license.

It was by virtue of the same treaties and confederacies, with the house of Burgundy,

³¹ [*Drave*, a shoal of fishes. ‘ Immense quantities of herrings were cured for home consumption, and for ex-
‘ portation. The *Drave*, as it is here called, was seldom known to fail.’ P. Crail, Fifes. Statist. Acc. ix.
445.]

³² [*Tack*, or *tak*, the act of catching fishes; a *gude tack*, success in catching.]

³³ [*Lentrone*, or *lentryne*, the season of Lent.]

³⁴ [*i. e.* White-fish.]

³⁵ [Same?]

³⁶ [*Lieges*, subjects bound in allegiance. Vide Spelman, *vo. Ligii*; Skene; *vo. Ligantia*.]

³⁷ [*Tynsell*, or *tynsale*, forfeiture.]

³⁸ [Goods.]

³⁹ [The presents consisted of two cups of fine gold, with a box of the same metal, all weighing about four hundred ounces, and esteemed worth 12,400 crowns; and in the box a present from the States-general to the prince of an annual pension for his life of 5000 florins, to be paid to the conservator of the Scots nation at Campveer in Zealand. Birch’s Life of Hen. P. of Wales, p. 9.]

that queen Elizabeth did permit them the fishing of our English seas; for that queen did always pretend and declare, that by reason of sundry alliances betwixt England and the house of Burgundy, she did aid and support the Netherlands. At first, the Dutch, either out of pure respect (a rare quality to that sort of people) or because their busses were not so very numerous, as in the subsequent times, did fish at a good distance from the land; and leaving convenient space for the natives of Scotland to pursue their small employment in the fishery, there was no notice, or at least no complaints against them upon that subject. But when a series of prosperous successes, gained by the English and Scotch valour, had raised the Dutch to a great power at home, and renown abroad; and that their ships became exceeding numerous, and their fleets potent; and queen Elizabeth's death had advanced a more peaceable prince to the English crown: they began to encroach upon the English and Scottish shores, to disturb the natives in their fishing, not leaving them so much sea-room upon their prince's coast, as to take any fish, but such as were the gleanings of the Hollanders busses; who, driving at sea, do break the skull or shole of herrings, and then they fly near the shore, and through the Sounds.

I find king James to have complained against their insolence, and the encroachments of the Dutch fishermen upon his seas, and to the prejudice of his subjects. But that prince dealt most in remonstrance; (an ineffectual course with Hollanders,) and equipped out no ships to assert his rights on the whole British seas. At last, in 1609, he established commissioners for to give licenses, at London, to such as would fish on the English coasts; at Edinburgh, for such as would fish in the more northern sea; and, by proclamation, interdicted all unlicensed fishers. The licenses were to be demanded yearly for so many ships, and the tonnage thereof, as should intend to fish for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of the British seas; and the offenders against the king's proclamation to undergo due chastisement. But this edict of his majesty proved but a *brutum fulmen*, an insignificant noise and thunder. The Dutch contemned it, and grew more perversacious in opposition to his majesty's officers, which came to disturb their unlicensed fishing. The States did mingle their concerns with those of the fishermen, and sent wafters, or men of war to protect their busses against the Spanish pirates, and to awe the king's officers. They refused to pay either the assize-herring, or to take licenses; and in 1616, Mr. Brown, being ordered by the duke of Lenox, (who, as admiral of Scotland, was commanded to vindicate the king's rights in those seas) to insist upon the assize-herring, which was the king's old and indubitable right; they did contest about it, and, after much dispute, paid it according to the laws and customs of Scotland. But the next year, being the year in which king James did gratify that people with the surrendery of the cautionary towns, the busses obstinately refused it; saying, 'They were commanded by the States of Holland to pay it no more.' Mr. Brown, wanting sufficient force to chastise their wafters, did only take witness of this their refusal: whereupon, the insolent Dutch seized the king of England's officer, and carried him into the Netherlands, where he was detained a-while. The king repeats his complaints at the Hague, and to their ambassadors here at London: the Dutch amused him with treaties, and sent commissioners to London, not to submit, or adjust differences, but to heighten them. They pleaded a right of their own by immemorial prescription, and confirmed it with divers treaties; *viz.* One of the year 1459, betwixt Philip of Burgundy and Henry the Seventh; another betwixt Charles the Fifth, as duke of Burgundy, and Henry the Eighth: by both which it had been agreed, that the subjects of the Belgick Provinces should fish in the English seas without impediment, and without license. But what influence have those treaties upon the kingdom of Scotland? or, how do they extend unto the assize-herring? for those capitulations do not leave them at liberty as to this point, any more than they absolve them from paying customs? To observe the laws, and pay the dues of a country, are no illegitimate impediments of fishing.

To proceed. Suppose we, that the subjects of the house of Burgundy had any such privileges granted them by the said treaties; What doth this concern the rebels of the house of Burgundy? What doth it concern the States-general of the United Netherlands,

who by their change of government, and rupture from the majority of the Provinces, are no longer the same people? They have nothing to pretend unto but the connivance of queen Elizabeth, and the indulgence of king James, during the time of their distress: nor doth the whole age of their infant republick amount unto an immemorial prescription. And, if in the said treaties with the house of Burgundy, the ancestors of his majesty did think fitting, in consideration of other advantages accruing to them by the said agreements, to dispense with the licenses unto Belgick fishermen; Where is this consideration now betwixt us and the Dutch? and what hinders us to resume our rights, when the reasons cease for which we parted with them to the generous and noble house of Burgundy; but to these Hollanders never? How come we to forfeit the dominion of the sea by such insults, whereas other nations, French and Spaniards, Lubeckers, &c. did pay? This plea being null, they had recourse to another; that, 'by the laws of nature and nations, the sea was free.' This defence seemed intolerable to king James; and, upon complaint of the lord ambassador Carleton⁴⁰ at the Hague, they gave his majesty this most satisfactory answer: 'That the commissioners went beyond their limits in their terms of immemorial possession, and immutable *droict de gens*; for which they had no order.' All that king James could obtain from their now high and mighties, was a verbal acknowledgment of his right, whilst it was more and more invaded daily.

The prince of Orange, at that time, made a motion to the lord Carleton, about purchasing the freedom of fishing with a sum of ready money; but he replied, 'it was a matter of royalty.' The insolence growing every day greater and greater, and they proceeding to impede, obstruct, and destroy the fishery of his majesty's subjects, king Charles the First did solicit them about redress; and, finding the States intractable, in 1636 he issued out a proclamation to restrain the fishing in the British seas, without license obtained; and seconded it with a fleet of ships, commanded by Algeron earl of Northumberland, as lord high-admiral of England; who, with much honour, acquitted himself of that employment. The journal of his expedition, signed with his own hand, is preserved in the Paper-office; and I find thereby, that upon the appearance of the English fleet, the Dutch busses did take licenses of his lordship; so that he distributed two-hundred, though he went out late in the year. He exacted twelve pence in the ton from each vessel, and avows they departed away well satisfied. The busses were not defenceless, as the 'Considerer' says; but guarded by ten men of war, or more; and on the twentieth of August, 1636, whilst his lordship was busied in dispersing his licenses, the Dutch admiral, Dorpe, came to him, saluted him with lowering his top-sail, striking of the flag, and discharging of guns, and came a-board of him. He had in his company twenty men of war; which, if joined with the other wafters, made a greater fleet than that of the English: yet did he never protest against the actings of the said earl, but left his lordship freely to pursue his design upon the busses. The sum, which his lordship received for licenses, was 501*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*; besides which, at that time, I find that the Dutch paid to capt. Carteret, capt. Lyndsey, capt. Slingsby, capt. Johnson, and Mr. Skinner, 999*l.* for convoy-money.

It is not to be doubted, but king Charles the First had vigorously asserted the English rights and sovereignty of the sea, the earl of Northumberland being high-admiral, had not the Scotch troubles diverted his cares: the which troubles and wars were chiefly fomented by these peace-loving Christians of Holland, that he might not attend unto his dominion of the seas. I observed, in the perusal of the journal, that when his lordship was returned, and at anchor in the Downs, he received notice of the arrival of a Spanish fleet of twenty-six sail near Dunkirk, who, in the sight of Calais, did their duties to his majesty's ship, called 'The Happy Entrance.'

⁴⁰ [Sir Dudley Carleton, of Baldwin Brightwell, com. Oxon. afterwards lord Carleton, and viscount Dorchester, of whom a very comprehensive memoir has been given by Dr. Kippis, in his enlarged *Biographia Britanica*. In the collection of his letters and negotiations, during his embassy to Holland, published by Philip earl of Hardwicke, in 1757, 4to. there are several upon the contested subject of the fishery in the British seas.]

Concerning the Scottish fishery, it may not be impertinent to fortify the rights of his majesty, by shewing his original title to a great part of it; and it is this: The kings of Norway exercised an absolute dominion, time out of mind, over the seas adjacent to Norway, Iceland, Shetland, and the Isles of Orkney; and, in a manner, over all that part of the North Sea; nor could any foreigner practise fishing there, but by his leave and license (which license was renewed every seven years by the English), as appears by many leagues and compacts betwixt that crown and the English, and also betwixt it and other nations. The old inhabitants of those Scotch islands are originally Norwegians, and speak that language. The islands Hebrides were conquered from the Norwegians by Alexander the Third, king of Scotland; the dominion whereof was confirmed unto him by Magnus king of Norway, and the said cession reiterated, by Haquin king of Norway, unto Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. But, all this while, Shetland and the Isles of Orkney remained in the hands of the Norwegians, until Christiern the First, king of Denmark and Norway, did marry his daughter Margaret unto James the Third, king of Scotland, and, upon the marriage, did make an absolute surrender of these islands unto his son-in-law, in the year 1468, together with the jurisdictions thereof.

As the Scotch title to those seas is primarily deduced from the kings of Norway, so their jurisdiction and sovereignty over those seas is the same with that which those kings possessed; but the kings of Norway had an entire dominion and right of disposal over the fishing in those parts, so that none could come and fish there, upon pain of death, without license obtained. All which is averred and proved, out of the Danish records, by Joannes Isaacus Pontanus, a Dutch writer, of Harderwick in Guelderland, and historiographer to the king of Denmark. This discourse doth further justify the present king of England in his rights unto the British seas, in that he is not singular in challenging the dominion of the seas, and the particular regality of the fishing; the like having been immemorially challenged by the kings of Denmark and Norway. The like royalty, as to fishing, is practised by the king of Sweden, who hath, in some of his seas, the tenths of the fish; elsewhere he diposeth of his royalty by special licenses. The same is done in Spain and Portugal, Venice, &c.

This universal sovereignty and dominion of his majesty over the British seas hath been acknowledged by foreigners, time out of mind, (even safe-conducts and passports desired through his seas) and is justified by the precedents of the Rhodians, the Romans, and others; which to relate now were too prolix a work. As to the right, by which his majesty holds this sovereignty, it is a better title, than most princes can shew for their kingdoms and principalities; it is a prescription truly immemorial; we cannot tell the time when we had it not, nor by what degrees we arose up to it. But we can thus fortify it beyond that of Venice, that it was never disputed by any, except the Dutch, and that within the memory of this present age. And they so disputed it at first, as to acknowledge our right, but yet to plead an exemption as to fishing (in nothing else,) by virtue of the capitulations of intercourse betwixt the English and the house of Burgundy; the vanity of which claim being so notorious, they at last began to be so impudent and insolent, as to renounce the concessions of the Burgundians, and their own; and now to plead universally, 'That the sea is the Lord's, and not capable of, or subjected to, the dominion of any prince or state.' It is an unparalleled and most imprudent attempt for these upstarts to shake thus the tenures, not only of kings, but even private persons; and to deny, that an immemorial quiet possession of a land, or territory, (the sea is called 'a territory') is a just title thereunto; whereas, hitherto, it hath been allowed, by those that treat of the laws of nations, that he, who can allege this, needs not to prove his acquest and title: that prescription doth not require any right, but supplies it, and doth itself create a right; nor ought there any proof to be admitted against it.

Nothing is more received amongst mankind, than that prescription and long usage should be deemed equivalent to mutual pacts, and the assent of the voisinage; and that practice seems to be adjudged to be legitimate, where all parties, though otherwise interested to oppose it, do, without any extraordinary awe, or other indirect motive, silently and

peaceably acquiesce. Jephthah, when the Ammonites demanded that the Israelites should surrender up the cities held by them on that side Jordan, replied, 'That the Israelites had possessed them three-hundred years; during all which time, the Ammonites had not redemanded them.' The law of nations doth generally allow a less space to authenticate a prescription and just occupancy. It is esteemed to have an immemorial prescription; the contrary whereof no man can say he ever saw done, or heard related by others to have been done; and it is commonly declared, that one-hundred years of usage, or possession, do suffice to determine the controversy. Our case is such, that I need not make use of this last plea, though so many allow of it, and Rome urged it against Antiochus; it is really immemorial, and consequently as valid, morally, as if it had been conferred upon us at the primitive distribution of lands; unless there can be produced most unanswerable reasons to the contrary.

I shall therefore examine the reason alleged by the Dutch, to invalidate this prescription, and long occupancy of his majesty. The Considerer allegeth but one, which is, 'That the dominion of the sea appertains to God alone, in the judgment of the States-general; and the king of England doth usurp upon the Divine prerogative, by assuming it to himself.' I answer, that in the judgment of them that are as intelligent, and more honest than the States-general, the dominion of Almighty God over the land is as much appropriated to him, as that over the seas: since that the same scripture which saith that 'The sea is his, and he hath made it; doth likewise inform us, that 'His hands prepared the dry land;' Psalm xcv. 5. and, that 'The earth is the Lord's, and fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein;' Psalm xxiv. 1. So that without a more express declaration, a more revealed will of God, we cannot conclude from the text any thing else, than the general providential sovereignty of God, which (where he doth not in a particular manner publish his will, as when he gave the Israelites the land of Canaan) doth no where interfere with, or exclude human propriety: otherwise, the earth must likewise become common, and all people be free from subjection to any government. As to this last point, I find Mr. Schookius (a Belgic professor) to write, that it is proverbially said in the United Netherlands, 'That the placarts of the States-general are not in force beyond three days: but they ought not to oblige one minute, since the world, and they that dwell therein, are the Lord's.' Of all the arguments which ever I read in behalf of the freedom of the sea, this is the most fanatical. If it were granted, that the kings of England, France, Denmark, Sweden, &c. were usurpers upon the rights of God Almighty; what commission have these wicked Hollanders to vindicate them? A people worse than Sodom and Gomorrah (if you believe Mr. Schookius), the most unworthy delegates in this world. Who made these Skellums to be of the Star-chamber? May they run before they are sent? Are all apostles? But, to wave this foolish pretence, I will, for the instruction of the more ignorant, remove such objections as men of more high and mighty reason, than the States-general, do press vehemently against the dominion of the sea.

1. 'The nature of the sea is such, that it is in a perpetual flux, and never settles in any certain place; therefore it is not capable of being subjected under a certain dominion, possession, or prescription.'

I answer, that, though it be not strictly and physically the same, it continues to be so legally, and in respect of its bottom, sand, and channel. If this objection were valid, even rivers would not be subject to impropriation. They do continually flow, and, which is more, without reflux: and the same reason would render every man incapable of a legacy, or inheritance; because a constant transpiration varieth our bodies. *In idem flumen bis non descendimus*; 'Neither do we twice swim in the same river;' nor are we the same persons who attempt to swim twice within the same channel. Besides, a man may retain a propriety in things variable; as in money lent, and to be repaid in specie, not numerically. A man may have a right unto the air, or light, and an action lieth in case of nuisance. And shall a remedy be allowed, in case an encroaching neighbour doth obstruct the light, or annoy the air; and shall not a prince take care that no foreign

fleets shall, without warning or license, approach his territories? Provision, in this case, is much more allowable, by how much greater the danger is.

2. 'There cannot be any peculiar and distinct bounds prefixed to particular dominions upon the seas: and since nothing can be privately possessed which is not bounded, therefore God and Nature seem to have ordained the sea to be free, since it is not limitable.'

I answer, That the inundations of the Nile and the storms upon the Lybian sands do render the bounds undistinguishable; yet are the lands subject to propriety. Besides, the shores, promontories, &c. may stand as well for sea-bounds, as trees, posts, hedges, rivers, &c. are bounds on land: and, where they fail, imaginary lines and contrivances may supply the defect; since we are no more in contracts betwixt princes to expect rigour of law (but *æquum & bonum*) than in mixed mathematicks indivisible points and lines. Several leagues of this nature have been made betwixt Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Denmark. In fine, are not the seas distinct, as the Adriatick, Ligurian, Tyrrhene; and, in the articles of Breda, the British and North Seas? yet are there no precise and geometrical bounds to them.

3. 'If the sea can be reduced under any dominion, then may the commerce be hindered by the proprietor of the same, as to such as he pleaseth. But commerce ought to be free, according to the law of nature and nations; and the denial thereof (as also the denying of an innocent passage) or the laying an extraordinary tax of license to pass (which is, in effect, a denial of passage and commerce) is a just cause of war: therefore the sea ought to be free.'

I answer, that perhaps the pretence of wants not to be supplied, but by commerce, is not serious and real: but if it be, it doth not follow, that our domestic indigency and necessities are to be remedied by the detriment or injury of others; but we must purchase the opportunities of a supply, by complying with the conveniencies of our neighbours. No man must trespass upon another's ground, because he cannot otherwise attend unto his own utility. The freedom of commerce and passage are no solid arguments, when insisted upon by Hollanders: both may be refused, if there be a suspicion of danger. I concur with Albericus Gentilis herein. I am of St. Austin's mind (who held the opinion of Grotius in these cases), provided I may have befitting security that the persons trading or passing will not hurt me; and that I be ascertained that they cannot hurt me. This is conformable to sundry scriptural examples, and the resolutions of all ages, before and since Christianity. Nor doth the imposition of a tribute for the fishing, or erecting and preserving of sea-marks and light-houses, or convoy-money, infringe the liberty of commerce; but, continue it with security. I do not find that the Dutch have contested thus about the customs upon the Rhine, or plead that it is unlawful to pay toll upon the passage of several highways and bridges, in order to the repairing of them: yet a logician of Holland would by the same reasons condemn those exactions, and deny tribute to whom tribute is due.

To conclude this point. After so many treatises, and fierce disputes, concerning the dominion of the sea, upon mature consideration, the controversy is now reduced to this state: 'that as to property, the sea can fall to no man's dominion, by reason of its fluxile nature; but as to sovereignty of protection and jurisdiction, whereby tributes are imposed for the defraying of convoys, providing of sea-marks, &c. and fishing. This may be assumed, and is lawful, as to particular seas and gulfs; but as to the vast ocean, whose bounds are unknown, and whose extent makes the sovereignty to be indefeasible, this is denied.' Thus Jo. Isaac. Pontanus, and others, do decide the controversy. And this decision establisheth the king of England's right; whose seas are not boundless, nor incapable of the aforesaid dominion of jurisdiction. Such a dominion the Dutch professor saith is practicable, and necessary for the Hollanders; thereby to secure their vast trade into all parts of the world, and exclude others from merchandizing into the richest parts. From whence we may gather what we are to expect from the prevalence of the Dutch, viz. to be prohibited trading through the seas, but to what places, and on what conditions

they please. And whilst our king shall be decried as an usurper of the divine right, by challenging the dominion of the sea; these Hollanders shall affect and assume (without any such usurpation) the dominion over the seas. Which is all one in effect; the discrepancy is but verbal, and such as any one may see into, who is not infatuated with the specious and pious harangues of the peace-loving Christians in Holland.

Another argument, enforced by them here against his majesty's lawful dominion over the British seas, is this: 'That since the subjects of their state do only subsist by commerce, and consequently by the liberty of the seas; should they acknowledge the said sovereignty of his majesty, and the effects and consequences thereof be reduced into practice upon them; they should be brought to such a condition, as to expect no less than an apparent and inevitable ruin after some time. And that, since the king of England challengeth not only the Channel, but also the North Sea, and a great part of the Ocean, as the British Sea; they should not be able to set sail out of their ports any whither, but by the grace and favour of the king of England.'—To this I reply, that the king of England, by pursuing his own rights, doth them no wrong: but the Dutch, by intrenching thereupon, do his majesty apparent injury, and violate all divine and human laws, whereby propriety is established and secured to particular princes and persons; and that community, of all things by nature, is, by a subsequent and intervenient right, limited and restrained. And that this may be done according to the law of nations, and the general equity, no divine or civilian can deny or disprove: and there is, as to this case, no difference betwixt sea and land. There is not any inability in the nature of the sea, as is granted by their writers (except as to the vast ocean, and that too in reference to its utmost and unknown extent, not as to determinate parts of it) and is evident from the several kings and republics which have heretofore, and do now engross the dominion of it. There is not any divine precept against it; no dictates of nature repugn thereunto: for whatsoever is common by nature, may be impropriated by occupancy. Neither can there be a better title to such things than occupancy, prescription, and custom. And that his majesty hath this title entirely, I have evinced; and Mr. Selden before me. Whereas, they say, 'That should any such right be acknowledged to reside in his majesty, they should not be able to fish in the North Sea, or to drive on their necessary commerce by navigation.' This is no argument for their unjust actings, any more than it would justify upon land, that one prince, or private person, should usurp upon another's territories or free-hold; because it was most opportune for his trading, or requisite to his subsistence in a flourishing condition. I do not read that this pretext was ever any cause of war betwixt England and the house of Burgundy. The turk, pope, emperor, and king of Spain, might urge the same reason against the Venetian sovereignty in the Adriatick Sea; there not being the least part of a passage for their adjacent subjects, which is not, in respect of their pretended sovereignty, belonging to the republick. But these princes understand the difference betwixt right and wrong; whereas the Dutch comprehend nothing but what is advantageous and disadvantageous. They detain Renneburg, and other strong towns belonging to the duke of Brandenburg, the bishops of Cologne and Munster; because their provinces cannot be safe without them. They would usurp our seas; because they cannot manage their trade without them. And they will seize hereafter upon our principal ports; because their navigation cannot be secure without them.

Certainly, it is not a sufficient ground for them to deny his majesty the proper rights of the British crown; because they do not know how he will use them. They have no reason to imagine that he would treat them worse than his royal predecessors have done; who never made the utmost advantage of their just rights against the Netherlands, nor ever practised such a sovereignty as the Venetians exercise in their seas. It is true, that the case is much altered, by their questioning his royalty, which was never before disputed by them, or any else: and it is but equitable, that they should be in some manner frank in their acknowledgments, who have been so arrogant in the contest. They that begin a precedent, are more criminal than they which follow it; and since they, by an ungrateful insolence, have instructed others to imitate their demeanour, it is but just that

they should contribute to the necessary charges whereupon they put his majesty to insure that royalty, which they, above all others (being supported by queen Elizabeth, and owned for a free state, by the interposition of king James, and strengthened by the surrendry of the cautionary towns upon most easy terms) should not have controverted; at least, not in so barbarous a manner, as to say, 'That all the world holds the king of England's claim to be impertinent.' Whereas it may be with more truth said, that all the world, in all ages, hath and doth justify his right in general, or *in thesi*; and it is manifest by the concessions of all princes concerned, and of the house of Burgundy, and of the Hollanders themselves, as to the British seas; or *in hypothesis*.

Whereas they deny that ever they fished in our seas with license and permission of the kings of England: it is a lye, for since they hold their privilege of fishing, by means of a general license or league, contracted betwixt the crown of England and the house of Burgundy; it is manifest, that whosoever fished in the English seas before, fished with a particular license, from which they were then excepted; and that, from thenceforward, they did fish all by the general license or indult of the kings of England in that league. I have already shewed his majesty's right unto the fishery, and how it hath been exerted: and there is equivocation in what they say concerning the tribute of fishing, 'That they never paid it to the king of England's father.' The fishing-busses did pay tonnage-money for their liberty to fish, unto the earl of Northumberland; as admiral under the present king of England's father. They, knowing the legality of the thing, paid it with satisfaction; not regretting, or protesting against it. The Dutch admiral, Dorpe, did not except against the actions, much less oppose the said honourable person: nor do I find that the States-general did remonstrate against that tonnage-money, as an exorbitant and illegal demand. But, according to the usual demeanour of these Hollanders, they gave it out all over Europe, that they would not pay any more, and that they refused it in 1637. To shew that this was but a scattered report, not any public complaint, or refusal of the States-general at that time; behold this extract of a letter from Mr. secretary Windebank, to captain Fogge, who at that time commanded five or six ships under the earl of Northumberland.

HERE hath been a report raised here, that the Hollanders have refused his majesty's license to fish in his seas; pretended to have been offered them by captain Fielding. But it is utterly mistaken; seeing captain Fielding was sent to the busses to offer them protection; his majesty having understood that the Dunkirkers had prepared great strength to intercept them in their return from the fishing; which his majesty, in love to them, sent captain Fielding to give them notice of, and to offer them safe conduct. This you are publicly to avow wheresoever there shall be occasion; and to cry down the other discourse as scandalous and derogatory to his majesty's honour.

Aug. 10, 1637.

Thus you see (to return upon them their own language), it is a lye that the said tonnage-money was protested against; it is a lye, that it was no more demanded: for captain Fielding did demand it (I am sure by letters in the Paper-office), though I have not had leisure to examine what he received. And it is a foolish report, to say, 'That the single attempt of the earl of Northumberland being violent, could not create any right.' Whereas we do not claim it in right, because it was then paid; but because, as an immemorial royalty, it was always due, and acknowledged by them to be so.

I cannot allow of that parenthesis of the Considerer, 'That violence can create no right; no not by continuance.' For, if prescription of an hundred years, or less time, according to particular countries, does create a right; how violent and unjust soever the first occupancy be, according to the law of nations, which formally approves thereof, even betwixt prince and prince; and fundamentally, according to the law of nature, which disposeth us to mutual peace and amicable society, and to the means conducing

thereto, in the number whereof are prescription, occupancy, and custom: how then can he say, that violence can never create a right? how do they hold their freedom, but by violence? are these the principles of the peace-loving Hollanders? do not these suggestions tend to the involving of all the world in blood?

As to the meeting of the yacht with the fleet under van Ghent in the North Sea, and their not striking sail or flag; the Considerer yields it to be a ship of war, by reason of its equipage, commission, and standard: and so it was, according to the precedents of our law, which styles barges and ballingers, if armed for war, to be ships of war. But neither he, nor any man else can say, that the refusal to lower the top-sail, and strike the flag, was not a breach of the treaty at Breda. It is alleged, that 'This happened in the North Sea, which is not the British Sea, being distinguished therefrom, in all sea-plats; yea, in the English map; and (which in this case is an invincible argument) by reason that, in the seventh article of the treaty at Breda, the same are distinctly mentioned one from the other: where it is expressly said, that all ships and merchandizes, which within twelve days after the peace are taken in the British Sea, and the North Sea, shall continue in propriety to the seizer. Out of which it plainly appears, that even, according to the king of England's sense, the North Sea differs in reality from the British Sea.' These reasons are so far from being invincible, that they are null and altogether invalid. For the argument from popular maps, and vulgar sea-plats, imports nothing at all: those being made for common instruction in such cases, as they are usually made for; but not to decide cases at law. There are several counties in England, which are not specified in the maps, which yet the laws do exempt from those in which the maps do include them. The distinction in the article at Breda, betwixt the British and North Sea, is popular; and mentioned, only to prevent future quarrels, about prizes taken; not to decide the king's rights unto that sea, as one of the four seas: and, that taking place, it is not an invincible argument, but an affected ignorance in this Hollander to urge it here. In the treaty at Torstrop, betwixt the Dane and Swede, I read that Schonen and Wien were distinctly named, and consented unto by the Dane, to be transferred unto the Swede; and a subsequent agreement at Roskild, the Swede hath only Schonen transferred by name; hereupon he claims also Wien; the Danes deny the rendition, and evade it as the Dutch do now: the king of Sweden rejoins thus, and any man may accommodate the passage to our case:

'Though the Danes do grant there hath ever been a joint alienation of the said isle with Schonen; nevertheless, they would fain wave this by an odd exception, pretending that Wien could not really be alienated, as a member of Schonen; because, in the treaty, Wien is expressly named, as well as Schonen; which, they allege, need not have been, had it been inclusive in Schonen. But this poor plea is of little importance, if it be observed, that in the charter of alienation, where Wien is separately named with Schonen, there also Lister is separately named with the province of Blekingen, which, however, the Danes do unanimously acknowledge to be a part of Blekingen; it being distinctly named, rather for prevention of further disputes, than out of necessity: *Nam clausula abundans non nocet, ut nec ejus absentia obest.*'

I shall conclude, with two brief observations upon the remaining part of this paragraph, not yet replied unto.

1. The Considerer saith, 'That the striking of the flag is but a civility to his majesty's ships, and consequently not to be enforced; but must proceed from a free willingness, and an unconstrained mind, in those that shew such respect.' They, that will not learn manners, must be taught them: yet it is a difficult task to teach the boors of Holland. But where did he learn, that the striking of the flag in the British Seas was merely an act of respect? Or, how can he say, that the Dutch, or others, might not be constrained to strike; considering the instructions of our admiral, and the usage of England? Whosoever refuseth to strike, is to be prosecuted as a rebel, not as an uncivil person. And I find, that the crown of France, where it pretends to any sovereignty of the sea, doth enforce the striking of the sail and flag in an uncivil manner; since those that refuse to do it

are to be attacked with cannon-shot, and, if taken, their ships confiscated. The same is done by the state of Venice, and universally. The world is coming to a fine pass, when these butter-boxes presume to teach all Europe civility.

2. The Considerer saith, 'That since the yatcht did not meet with any single ships, or vessels of the States, but run in amongst a fleet riding at anchor: it cannot be maintained with any fundamental reasons, that the lord Van Ghent, by virtue of the said article, was obliged to strike.'—I answer, That the article doth make it fundamental to the peace: and the admiral's instructions, and the usage of England do expound the same sufficiently, to the prejudice of Van Ghent. Is this the sincerity, the *bona fides*, with which they observe the treaty? Our laws and customs of the admiralty know no distinction betwixt a ship or fleet found riding at anchor, or met under sail: nor do they distinguish betwixt a casual meeting, and a voluntary seeking of foreign ships, or fleets; nor whether our ships be at anchor, and the foreigner under sail, or both be navigating. And it is the duty of our men of war, in case they discover, or hear of any foreign ships or fleets upon our seas, to make up to them, and to see whether they come in a peaceable, or hostile manner; by demanding them to strike their sails and flags. I need not add any thing to this point: every one may sufficiently comprehend the case, but these Hollanders, that will not understand it.

The conclusion of this paragraph doth manifest the integrity of his majesty, in the penning of his Declaration; seeing that the Considerer acknowledgeth, 'That the States-general did offer to strike the flag and sail unto his ships of the navy royal; upon condition he would assist them in this juncture (for that they mean by his observing the triple alliance) and provided no construction be made to prejudice them in the free use of the seas; viz. in reference to fishing, as well as sailing.' It is hence evident, that his majesty did not represent the arrogance of the Dutch in so heinous a manner, as he might have done, without injuring them. The Considerer hath done it; and I refer it to the consideration of all Englishmen.

Thus I have exactly replied unto all that the Considerer hath alleged against the Declaration of his majesty, and what else he hath written in reference to the present quarrel: and I think I have made it evident to the meanest capacity, that the present war is authorized by all those circumstances which make it just, and honourable, and necessary.

I intend in a second part to address myself to my fellow-subjects, as the Considerer doth to his; and excite them to do no less to avert injuries, and defend their honour, and the rights of his majesty, than he exhorteth the Dutch to do, contrary to all right; to our detriment and dishonour. I will therein shew those that were concerned for the war against the Dutch, under the pretended commonwealth, that the quarrel is fundamentally the same now, that it was then; and that they cannot have any tenderness for the Hollanders, at this time, who did so heinously complain of their oppressions and usurpations then. The Hollanders are the self-same people still; as much Hollanders in Europe, as they are at Japan, or ever were at Amboyna. I know not why we should not demonstrate ourselves all to be as true Englishmen; and to convince such persons, I will print the speech of Mr. St. John, their ambassador to the States, at the Hague, during the pretended commonwealth.

Camilton's Discovery of the devilish Designs, and killing Projects, of the Society of Jesuits; of late Years projected, and, by them, hitherto acted, in Germany; intended, but graciously prevented, in England.¹ Translated out of the Latin Copy. Dedicated to the High-Court of Parliament, by W. F. X. B. Minister of Christ's Gospel.

' From all Sedition, and privy Conspiracy; from all false
' Doctrine and Heresy, ' Good Lord deliver us.'

London, printed by T. Fawcet, dwelling in Grub-street; 1641.

[Quarto; containing thirty-six pages.]

To the High and Honourable, the Lords and House of Commons of England,
in Parliament assembled.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

ABOUT twelve years ago, there came to my hand a little tract, written, in Latin, by one who styled himself *Johannes Camiltonus*, and professed himself to have been sometimes a probationer in that college of Jesuits in Germany; whereof Jacobus del Rio, at that time provincial, was the visitor. This book, in the year 1607, was by him written, and dedicated to the Protestant electors of Germany, as a discovery, before hand, of those most damnable projects, which that society then had in agitation against the people of Germany. The title of this book was, '*De Studiis Jesuitarum abstrusioribus*,' concerning the more secret and reserved practices of the Jesuits: whereunto had those princes, to whom this book was dedicated, given such timely ear and belief, as they might have done; they had, in all probability, prevented the greatest part of those unparalleled miseries, which, since the beginning of the wars there (and that was not till eleven years after the publication of this book) these incendiaries of Christendom have brought upon the German nation; to the astonishment of all the world. But we see what hath since been permitted to these fellows to do; and what the neglect of a timely taking heed to a seasonable warning, hath brought upon those then flourishing princes and states.

That we, therefore, might learn, by other men's harms, to rectify our own particular; I have endeavoured the publication of this translation, under your honours' protection; having taught this discoverer to speak our language, for the public benefit of our English nation against them. I dare boldly say (even yourselves being my judges) when you shall have read this small tract, that the same course hath been taken, by these common incendiaries, for breeding a disturbance, and bringing all things into a confusion, both in our church and state, that was then projected; and, since then, acted upon Germany. Nor do I think, but it is sufficiently known to your honours, and grave wisdoms, that the same wheel of mischief, that wrought all the woes of Germany, since the year 1618, hath, for some years last past, been set also at work in England, Scotland, and Ireland: witness all the

¹ [This is not the first attempt at the exposure of the Jesuits. *Vide* Munday's '*English Romaine Life*,' in the preceding Volume; and Gee's '*Detection*,' in '*Somer's Tracts*,' Vol. iii. p. 49. edit. W. Scott.]

factions and fractions in church and state, the disturbances and discontents between the prince and people, the fearful divisions betwixt the clergy and clergy, betwixt the court and city, and betwixt the king and his commons; yea, even betwixt the two crowns of England and Scotland: all which have received their birth and breeding from the devilish designs of those sons of division, the society of Jesuits; and been fomented, almost to a perfect flame, by their agents and adherents, their deluded disciples of this nation: and had undoubtedly broke out, and produced, in short time, the like effects amongst us, that they have done in Germany, had not Almighty God (in mere mercy to this nation, and in his divine compassion to his poor church in England, thus ready to perish) stepped in to our rescue; by his blessed hand of Providence stirring up the spirits of our noble peers, to represent to his sacred majesty the imminent danger, and graciously inclining his royal heart to hearken thereto, and so that we may say with the Psalmist, Psal. cxviii. 23: 'This was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' And the same God (if it be his blessed will) in his own time, by his own means, perfect that good work of mercy, which he hath so graciously begun for us of this land and nation; by rooting out, from amongst us, that disloyal brood of *Ignigo Loyola*, that our eyes may see it, and we may say, 'The Lord hath been magnified upon the borders of England.' For, assuredly, though the Romish factors may now justly say, as Edom did in the prophecy of Malachi, i. 4, 'We are impoverished, but we will return, and build up our desolate places:' for they cannot but be sensible of their own counsels, defeated both by sea and land; by water, in the year 1588; by fire, 1605; and it is not to be doubted, that they apprehend a fear of the miscarriage of their great and long intended plot of wit, now begun to break out this year, 1641: all which, notwithstanding, they still retain a resolution to return, and build up their desolate places; yet I desire them to read, and take notice of the words following, in the place before cited, 'Yet, thus saith the Lord of hosts, they shall build up, but I will destroy; and men shall call them the border of wickedness, and the people with whom the Lord is angry for ever.' And your eyes shall see it, and men shall say, 'The Lord's name hath been magnified upon the borders of England.' And (to speak truly what I think) I must confess that I have conceived an hope, of a long time, that this year, 1641, which completeth the century, (since that society had their bull from the pope, under protection whereof they have wrought so much mischief,) would shew unto the world an apparent alteration in the body of that monster, the society of Jesuits. A point, which I am induced the rather to believe, because I have been certified as much, in effect, from a couple of their own men, of eminent note for learning; the one Paulus Florenius, an Italian, the other Christianus Franken, a German: the former whereof was divinity-reader, the other philosophy-reader, in the imperial college of Jesuits at Vienna; both which, above threescore years ago, upon just grounds, expressed in a book by them published, forsook that religion, and became Protestants. That book also is to be seen, and (if it please this honourable house to command it) shall be published also in English; for I find it written in Latin. And if their prediction fail not more in the conclusion, than it hath done in the progress hitherto, I am confident that this may prove a very fatal year to that society. But I fear I hold you too long from the book itself: humbly, therefore, commending you all to Almighty God, in my due and daily prayers, I leave this discovery to your consideration, and rest

Yours, in all the duty of a minister of Christ's Gospel,

W. F. X. B.

WHAT Marcus Cato sometimes spoke, concerning the Roman soothsayers, 'That he wondered how they could forbear to smile upon each other, so often as they met;' may not unfitly be applied to the Jesuits. It is a wonder that one Jesuit, when he looked upon another, doth not straightway burst forth into a laughing outright; they being, amongst themselves, privy to such impostures practised upon the people. I speak not touching your simpler sorts of Jesuits, from whom these more reserved and closer

practices of the society are altogether concealed : either in respect they are not held wise enough, forsooth, to be acquainted with them ; or that they are thought too devout to entertain them, or else in regard of their short continuance in that soecity : for all such are so kept short, through severity of discipline, that not one of them, except he be wondrous quick of scent, can ever smell out, in the least measure, what knavery is therein practised, under a show of holiness. My discourse only toucheth the prime and principal fellows of that society, their regents, fathers, provincials, and generals ; all which are so universally and jointly tainted with all manner of wickedness, but especially with whoredom, covetousness, and magick ; that, indeed, any reasonable man may think it little less than a miracle, if a Jesuit, of this rank, meeting such another upon a sudden, and beholding, as it were, another picture, or lively representation of himself, should have power to abstain from laughing outright.

I therefore thought it not amiss, considering the premisses, to lay open unto the world some particular passages and practices of that society, of the greatest part whereof myself have been an eye-witness ; and some part whereof hath been related unto me by Jesuits, whom I am able to name, and will undoubtedly nominate, if they shall but dare, in the least manner, to lift up their tongues against me, or to contradict what I have written. And howsoever, at this time, I pass over things briefly, and do only, as it were, give you a first draught thereof : I do purpose, in due time, (God assisting me,) to do it more largely and completely ; with expression of all and singular circumstances thereunto appertaining.

First of all then, at your enterance into any college of Jesuits, especially if it be situated in or near unto any large, and populous, and rich place : but, alas ! why do I say, if it be built there, seeing they have no colleges in any poor, mean, or obscure place. At your first entry, I say, into such a place or college, take principal notice of the porter of their gate ; and him you shall find to look like unto the picture of a very Charon, or, rather, a Cerberus : for the most part, you shall observe him to be a man of very great years ; or, if he be younger, he is a fellow of most approved trust and secrecy. And this is the man, if any such there be, who is well skilled in the mysteries of the Jesuits' cabal, or reserved divinity.

In this fellow's keeping is great store of apparel, both of men and women, of every degree and calling ; and, with this apparel, do the Jesuits' habit themselves, according to the quality that every one findeth himself ablest to personate, and so practise wonderful impostures in the world. For, at some times, being habited like soldiers, very gallant, they walk in the streets and high-ways, whoring and swaggering in the public stews. At other times, in the civil habits of citizens, professing themselves to be of the Reformed religion, they pry up and down, and listen in inns, in play-houses, in taverns, upon the Exchange, and in all places of public meetings, wheresoever there is any frequent resort, what the people speak up and down concerning them ; what consultations are abroad ; what matter of action is set on foot in any part. Another while, like doctors of physick or of the civil law, with great rings on their fingers ; avowing, and purposely professing themselves to be papists. Wheresoever they know any of the common sort, that are wealthy, and have sons, they devise some cause of business with them, and insinuate themselves into their acquaintance by strange fetches ; and, in conclusion, do advise them to bring up their sons in some school or college of Jesuits ; affirming, that themselves have been educated by them, and that they have so profited under them, that (God be thanked) they never had cause to repent thereof. And sometimes, again, apparelled like noblemen, and completely attended, they cause coaches to be provided abroad, and frequent the courts of princes, as giving attendance upon ambassadors of foreign states ; and serve, as intelligencers, to unlock the cabinets of great potentates.

Nay further, I have known them to make show of being banished persons, and to crave collections amongst Protestant divines ; purposely to learn, under-hand, what such men write against them : yea, such were those men, for the most part, who so miserably deluded so many reverend men, in many places, by sinister ways, under that habit, further-

ing the designs of their society, and breeding disturbances in the Reformed congregations; of whom, to the end that all honest-hearted ministers may be more wary, I shall tell you, hereafter, what projects, at this day, the Jesuits have on foot to this purpose.

But in the mean while, perhaps you will say unto me, "Whereto, I pray you, serveth so much woman's apparel, or what is their end in depositing so much in the keeping of the porter of their gate?" Attend, and I will tell you. No pander, that ever Terence or Plautus mentioned in their comedies, was so nimble at the trade of winning pretty wenches, as are the Jesuits at this day; but especially that porter of their gate, whom I mentioned but now.

For, that which the confessors themselves are not able to wring out of them by auricular confession in their churches and chapels, this fellow knoweth how to win from them by flattering speeches, with wonderful pleasing and delightful toys; especially if he meet with a poor widow, or any such silly woman, which sendeth her child to the college now and then for an alms; or with some laundress, or spinster: for, be she *lotrix*, or *netrix*, he will make her a *meretrix*: whom, so soon as this base pander hath once but allured to come to his net, although her apparel be never so old and tattered, yet he hath gay gowns enough in store, with accoutrements suitable, wherewith he can make her both trick and trim; which when he hath done, he knoweth how to convey her through many secret passages and bye-ways to his venerable masters, the fathers of the society. And yet he never doth this in the day-time, but near upon the shutting in of the evening, and then they make away the whole night in riot and luxury, with revelling and dancing; the younger sort and novices of the society being kept far enough from discovery thereof. For they have for that purpose certain vaults, framed like chambers and rooms, underground; as had those ancient Romans, who first devised their stews in vaults, whose inclination to all carnal lasciviousness was so great, and so brutish, that the senate of Rome (fearing the just anger of their gods for the same) utterly suppressed those Lupanaria, or public stews.

And thus much for the Jesuits porter of their gate. Only I must not forget to tell you this one thing; that if any party, who by chance shall come to the sight of such and so great a wardrobe, to demand, with admiration, "What is the end or use of it?" Answer is made unto them, that it is the wardrobe reserved purposely for acting of plays. But that is the least part of their intention, to my knowledge.

Moreover, when thou enterest into any of their churches, make account that thou walkest under an heaven of iron: bloody Mars is over thine head, not that prince of peace: below thee is the very pit of hell, and a shop of tormenters.

I now do relate in good earnest what mine own eyes have seen. At Prague in Bohemia, upon the roofs of their churches, are thousands of iron bullets, whips, and fireballs, such as the Bohemians use: upon the sides are placed pieces of ordnance, with a great number of musquets and harquebusses, with pikes and halberts: in the midst, where the arches meet, are great heaps of huge bullets of stone; and the like preparation have they also made at Cracovia. Nor do I make question, but that upon due search, their colleges in other places would appear as well provided.

But some man may perhaps make question, "To what end religious men should make such preparation; or what need there can be so to do?" I confess the matter, at first sight, astonished me; and my best understanding was exceeding strange. But thus standeth the case: The Jesuits know well enough, that the courses which they have taken formerly, and now every day do take, are so indirect and turbulent, as maketh them odious to all such as they live amongst; yea, to very papists themselves; at least to the wiser sort of them, in respect of many things which they have done both tumultuously and wickedly, wheresoever they got footing in the least manner. For they have no regard of any; they spare not to root up the very catholicks themselves, so that they may pleasure the pope's holiness therein; though it were with the betraying of their countries, and setting the whole Christian world in a combustion. And therefore, because they are in daily fear to be massacred by those among whom they live, they make this

provident and timely prevention by warlike preparation. For, indeed, they are afraid, (as I myself have heard them confess,) lest it might befall unto them as unto the Knights-Templars,² who, notwithstanding they were forward enough to serve the pope at all times, and as good catholicks as could be wished in the matter of religion; yet, for their too much ambition and covetousness, whereby they became insupportable, they were, by consent of all Christian princes, and not without approbation from the pope himself, put to the sword all at an instant, and utterly rooted out almost in a moment: as sometimes were the Pythagoreans, these very Jesuits in effect, among the heathen, served throughout Italy, and the provinces adjoining.

Now the reason, wherefore they do make choice to lay up their arms and ammunition in their churches, is only this: for if, when any insurrection or rebellious tumult ariseth in a province, the papists come thither to help and assist them, by this means they have arms for them in a readiness upon a sudden: but if any who are of contrary religion come thither to do them wrong, or to steal any thing from them, they have ammunition and stones above-head, to destroy them withal, before they be aware. And is not this, I pray you, the ready way to 'make the house of prayer a den of thieves?'

And yet, by your patience, if you will but attend, I shall relate things more strange and horrible than these; in respect whereof, the things, I have related hitherto, may well seem tolerable, I may almost say innocent. Under the pavement of their church at Gratz, and elsewhere, (to my knowledge,) are vaults and buildings under ground; whereunto, there is no way, but by stairs, and steps. Here have they hoarded up (like to that Cacus whom Virgil speaketh of) all their prey and treasure, and do obscurely conceal a world of wealth: so professing poverty; not only with public consent, but also with incredible pleasure; suffering the same with admirable patience, and cursing to the pit of hell all such as are poor against their wills, as unworthy of so blessed a cross. But as for this their treasure, for the most part it is so contrived, that it is buried directly and perpendicularly under their greatest and chiefest, or most eminent and highest altar; and so they shall be sure, that when they chaunt mass, they shall sacrifice to Mars above-head, and to Mammon below.

Now, furthermore, in their vaults under ground, they maintain a very strange library of cords, halters, racks, swords, axes, iron-pincers, stocks, torches, pillories, and several instruments of torture; wherewith, and whereunto, poor wretches being tied fast are joint by joint torn asunder, as many as fall into the hands of these tyrants; who are far more cruel in this kind, than Mezentius or Phalaris ever were. Nor are they without a devil's coat, and a long steeple-crowned hat, with black feathers, a jagged doublet cut and slashed, breeches puffed out and bagged like bellows, down to their ancles; such as would even make a man affrighted to look upon them.

But, perhaps, he that readeth this relation will wonder, to what end religious persons, who profess themselves the disciples and followers (as they would have all men to believe) of our most meek Saviour Jesus, should make such provision. I will resolve you this question also, if you please to attend. With such instruments as these, doth the society captivate the understanding of their disciples, unto jesuitical obedience. For if, in the least matter, they get any hint or suspicion against any of their novices, that he will not be constant, or that he desireth to escape from them, and that he is likely to betray the secrets of their society; they clap up such a fellow, in a fair pair of stocks, and having macerated him a long time with hunger and cold, and want of bodily comforts; at last they make an end of him, with some exquisite tortures and killing torments.

I do not belye them. I write nothing but a truth. There was at Gratz, about three years ago, a young man named Jacobus Cluseus, a youth of an excellent and pregnant

² [The large endowments and riches of the Knights-Templars, together with their presumption in declining determinations in the king's courts, seem to have been the cause of the dissolution of their order, *temp.* Edw. II. and not the crimes of which they were accused. The most complete collection, perhaps, of what relates to the abolition of their fraternity is to be found in the Petyt MSS. vol. xxi. p. 50. and seq. Inner Temple Library.]

wit; this man did they lay hands upon, and miserably tormented him, by whipping and scourging, for a matter of no moment, and because he told them plainly, that he would renounce their society and complain publicly, if ever he got liberty: for this, and other such wicked dealing towards him, they clapped him up into such a prison, under ground, as aforesaid, from whence he was never seen to come out again alive. Nor did any of us, that were novices, make question, but that he was made an end of, with most exquisite torments. Which unparalleled piece of tyranny I purpose, in due time, to divulge to the whole world, with relation of all circumstances; being the thing which the poor wretched Clusseus had a purpose to have done himself, if he had not been hindered and prevented by death.

I shall withal make public unto the world another such piece of villainy, committed by the Jesuits of Fulda in Germany, upon the body of one Martinus; whom they stole away most basely from his parents, who are yet living at Miltenberg, or Milberg. And how many women, think you, have been devoured and eaten up, in the same gulf? How many young children slain? How many young men, that have been sole heirs of very large and ample patrimonies, have been made away by them? I do not say I think, but I believe and am firmly persuaded, so often as shrieks, cries, sighings, and most woeful lamentations, were heard in the night-season, (the hearing whereof would put a man into a cold sweat all over, and make his hair stand on end,) though our simpler novices believed them to be the souls of some lately departed; it was nothing but the shrieks and moans of children lately murdered, or then a murdering.

Moreover, that the extreme and devilish malice of Jesuits may be in nothing defective, they are accustomed divers times, in those their vaults under ground, to make the devil very fine sport. Putting on terrible disguises, they cause some of their novices to be called down to behold their tragedy; upon whom they will rush suddenly, with a horrid yelling noise, to make trial, forsooth, of their courage and constancy. For, if they find any to be timorous and fearful, they admit not such a man to the secrets of magick, (as counting them cowardly and degenerate,) but appoint them to some of the inferior arts: but such as appear to be of bold and undaunted spirits, they take especial notice of them, and reserve them for serious employments. And yet they are not always successful for all this; as appeared by that which happened at Prague, in the year 1602. For whereas there were five principal Jesuits, who being habited as devils made sport with the youth: it so fell out, that there was found to be a sixth in their company, before they were aware; and he, questionless, was a devil indeed, who, catching up one of the personated devils in his arms, gave him such a kindly unkind embrace, that within three days after he died of it. The fact was common talk at bake-houses and barber-shops, and at every table discoursed upon, all over Prague: and yet, for all that, the rest of them (as nothing amazed with this tragical event) dare still, in the height of obstinacy, proceed in that most ungodly and devilish study of magick.

Now, amongst that whole society, the prime man for a magician is a French Jesuit, whom the king of France himself had in so high estimation, that he admitted him not only to his princely table, but also to familiar conferences in private; concerning whom the Jesuits themselves did make their boast, that he had a glass made by art-magick, wherein he could plainly represent, unto the king, whatsoever his majesty desired to see: insomuch, that there was nothing so secretly done or consulted upon in the most private room of any cloister or nunnery of other orders, which he could not easily and instantly discover and disclose, by this his enchanted, or, rather, devilish glass. And, indeed, it was by the art and means of this magician-jesuit, that their society was confident, that they should be able to draw on their side one of the most potent princes of the empire, although a Protestant; forasmuch, as he was observed to be somewhat delighted in the study of magick.

Now, as for those whom they take in as novices, to be instructed in this way, they expound unto them those nine-hundred propositions, which Picus, earl of Mirandula, pub-

lished at Rome: as, also, the book of Johannes Trithemius, together with a tract or treatise touching abstruse or hidden philosophy, written by Cornelius Agrippa. Likewise Theophrastus, concerning the constellations and seals of the planets, with the Steganographia of I know not what abbot, and the art of Paul to procure revelations: meaning St. Paul; whom they affirm to have been instructed in the magick-art, and thereby to have understood such high revelations, and profound mysteries. Yea, they blush not to affirm, that St. John was an excellent magician: nor do they stick to say, that even our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus himself was a most absolute and perfect magician; as mine own ears have heard it oftener than once or twice related by some of that society, and such as I am able to nominate. And thus much for the Jesuits' church. Only take this direction along with you: those vaults and rooms under ground, which I mentioned even now, those secret conveyances and Circéan dens, are for the most part contrived to be under the choir or cloister, not where the people do walk or stand.

And now when thou shalt pass from their temple into their study; (for I will say nothing touching their parlours or chambers, refectories or places of recreation, instruction of novices who are newly admitted, and the training up of other scholars committed to the Jesuits' tuition; nor yet touching the method and order of their studies, but will reserve that for another discourse; seeing those passages are, for the most part, known abroad already, being discovered by another:) when, I say, thou shalt enter into their public library, thou shalt find a most exquisite choice of authors of all sorts, all of them most curiously bound up in leather or parchment, with fillets of silver or gold: and as for such whereof there is daily use, they are laid in order upon desks, fastened with chains upon a long table. But as for the inner library, that is only reserved for the fathers of the society. It is free for none but them to go in thither, and to borrow thence what books they think good. Those ordinary books are only free for the juniors of the society; nor may they take a sentence out of the rest, without special leave obtained from the regent.

Moreover, in this first library, are no *heretical* books, as they call them; but only the writings of most approved authors and catholicks all: for they hold any other unworthy to be placed amongst them; as fearing, perhaps, they should infect the rest. Look, therefore, upon thy left-hand, and there thou shalt see the wretched books of *hereticks*, as they term them; standing all in mourning for the faults of their authors, bound up in black leather or parchment blacked over, with the very leaves thereof dyed in black. Of these, not one of the fathers themselves may make choice or use, without leave obtained from the regent before-hand. But your inferior Jesuits and younger novices, may not be so bold as to desire the sight of any one of them; except he will, before-hand, with all virulency and bitterness, rail upon and disgrace the author whom he desireth to see, by some infamous libel, and scurrilous satirical verse or writing. In the midst of these several libraries, is placed a study; being divided into many seats distinct, and separate one from another, with a blue covering. On the right side whereof, sit the fathers; on the left, the under-graduates, who have already taken some degrees upon them. The other novices, or *fresh-men*, as we call them, sit mixed with the fellow-commoners, that they may take notice of them; and every man in his turn beat into them, by continual discourses, the sweetness and excellency of the order of Jesuits; especially, into such as are of the richer sort, or wealthy heirs.

I will say no more at this time, as touching their studies: but I will describe briefly the manner of the visitation, which every provincial maketh; because it is a point, which, as I think, and for any thing that I ever read or heard, hath been never hitherto divulged by any.

Now every provincial taketh his denomination from the province, or kingdom rather, which is committed to his charge and oversight. His place is to visit the several colleges, take an account of their revenues, and oversee their expences exactly and punctually: to take notice what noble personages commit their sons to the tuition of the society, and

how many they are in number: whether there be not yearly an increase of scholars, as also of their means and revenues: whether there be any converted from Lutheranism, and how many such?

If there be no such thing, or if the popish religion hath lost ground, or if there be any decrease of their wealth, he sharply reproveth their sloth and neglect; and chargeth strictly, that they make an amends for the wrong they have done, and loss they have received in this case. But, if they have bestirred themselves bravely, and converted (as they call it) or rather perverted, many souls to popery; if they have been frugal, and scraped wealth together; he praiseth them very highly, and extolleth them to the skies. Moreover, he demandeth, What is the opinion of the neighbouring hereticks concerning them? What are the projects of the nobles? What meetings they have? How many? And where? What they consult upon? What they resolve to do? Whether the heretical princes (as they term them) delight to live at home, or abroad? To whom they resort most frequently? What is the several disposition of every one of them? In what things he is observed to take most delight? Whether he take any care of his people, or not? Whether he be a religious prince, or not? Or rather, whether he be not a man, who delights to take his pleasure in drinking, wenching, or hunting? Whether he has any catholicks about him, or that are near unto him? What the people report abroad, concerning their own princes? Whether the churches of the adversaries be full of resort, or not? Whether the pastors of those churches be learned and diligent men in their place and calling, or otherwise lazy lubbers and unlettered? Whether the profession of divinity thrives in the neighbouring university of hereticks? Whether their divines maintain frequent disputations, and against whom principally? What books they have published of late, and upon what subject?

To these, and sundry such questions, if the regent and the rest of the fathers do answer punctually; he doth wonderfully commend their industry and vigilancy. If he find them defective in answering to these, or any such demands; he reproveth them sharply, saying: "What you mean, my masters? Do you purpose, like lazy companions, to undo the church of Rome? How do you suppose your slothfulness, in these weighty affairs, can be excused before his holiness? How is it, that you presume to take these places upon you, and to manage them no better? What, or whom, are you afraid of? Why do not you buckle up yourselves better to your business, and perform your places like men? These things, if you had been such men as you ought to be, had not been to do now. These things should have been done long before this time. Do you observe the incredible watchfulness of the hereticks, and can you be lazy?" And, with these or the like speeches, he whetteth them on to their duty.

At the last he enquireth as touching the scholars, fellow-commoners, novices, and the rest, How many they are in number? How much every one hath profited? To what study, or delight, each one is inclinable? Whether there be any one amongst them, that is scrupulous or untractable, or not a fit subject to be wrought upon? For he adjudgeth every such an one fitting to be removed from the study of divinity; except he have been very well exercised in the disputations in schools, and have a very great and good conceit of their religion beaten into him. Moreover, he enquireth, if they have any one in the college, who can be contented, for the advantage of the Catholic cause, to undertake any laudable attempt, and to spend his blood in the cause, if at any time necessity should seem to require it? And, at last, he sendeth away all these informations, being sealed up, unto the father-general at Rome; by whom they are immediately made known to the pope himself, and his conclave of cardinals: and so, by this means, an order is taken, that there is no matter of action set on foot, nothing almost consulted upon, throughout the whole Christian world, which is not forthwith discovered unto the pope by these traitors, that lurk in every state and kingdom. Also, it is not to be omitted, that the Jesuits are translated by their provincial from one college to another, and that, for the most part, once in three years; that so the provincial, out of their several discoveries, may attain to unlock all the most secret cabinets of the prince and state, where he doth reside

In the last place, I will add, instead of a corollary, some strange and wonderful devices of the Jesuits; which, being but of late newly hammered in the forge, they have earnestly endeavoured (yea, and at this day do labour, tooth and nail) to put in practice, by public consent; for an innovation to be made, both in the church and state, throughout the whole Roman empire. To this end, their chief and only aim is, how to set the princes of the empire together by the ears; and, by taking off some of the principal doctors of the church, to bring the tyranny of the Spaniard, and the primacy of the pope, into Germany. Concerning which very project, I have heard the provincial Del-Rio himself discoursing sometimes, whose plots and machinations were such as follow:

‘ In the first place, (saith he) care and pains must be used to estrange the affections of the princes of the empire one from another.

‘ Now the means (said he) to effect that, is to work upon their contrariety of opinions in matters of religion. And, for this end, let the emperor be incited to make a declaration, that he will not grant liberty of conscience in matters of religion, except there shall first be a restitution made of such goods, as were taken from the clergy upon the treaty at Passau: for this is a point, whereat they will stick assuredly, and deny it.

‘ Let the emperor thereupon send his princes, and demand the same of the cities of the empire. They will either obey or deny: if they consent and obey, all is well; if they refuse, let him proclaim them rebels, and expose them to be seized upon by the next neighbouring princes: but still let the matter be so carried, that he be sure to oppose a Lutheran and a Calvinist, the one against the other.

‘ Moreover, some device must be found out, that the duke of Bavaria may fall foul, either upon the elector Palatine, or upon the duke of Wittembergh; for then may the emperor be easily won to proclaim him traitor, whom the duke of Bavaria shall distaste, and all means be taken away of making pacification either with Papist or Calvinist for them: besides, thereby will be raised unreconcilable divisions in the empire, never to be quenched before an highway be made for the accomplishment of our desires. For the further ripening of which design, the Jesuits bethought themselves further of this stratagem: it will follow (say they) necessarily, when any city of the empire shall be proclaimed rebellious, that every several prince will be more ready and willing to serve his own turn, upon the spoil thereof, than to admit any other that shall be emulous of the same booty to prevent him. This for the generality. More particularly yet, means must be found out to set the princes of Saxony at difference, that their strength and power may be broken, or at least weakened.

‘ Now that may be most conveniently effected thus:

‘ First, If the administration of the primacy of Magdeburgh, which now is vacant, be given to the Bavarian elector of Cologne; neither the marquis of Brandenburg, nor the duke of Saxony, will easily grant their consents thereto.

‘ Secondly, If that succeed not according to our desires, there must be some cause pretended, why the duke of Saxony either doth seem worthy, or ought to seem worthy, to be removed from the electoral dignity. For, if in times past, the princes of the empire cast down Wenceslaus, from the imperial throne, because they had adjudged him a negligent prince; surely the emperor may take as just an occasion to remove from the electoral dignity, the duke of Saxony, who is drunk every day. And, in this respect, let his imperial majesty restore, and confer that dignity, upon the house and family of the dukes of Weymar. And, because these princes are yet under age, let the administration of that electorship be committed to Henry of Brunswick; a learned and vigilant prince. This project, being once set on foot, cannot choose but beget infinite distractions, throughout all Saxony: so shall it come to pass, that they shall waste and weary themselves one against another, and by that means become utterly unable to withstand a common foe, when he shall come upon them.

‘ And as for the marquis of Brandenburg, and them of Pomerania, let means be used to move the king of Poland (who is the emperor’s kinsman) to covenant with his uncle, the king of Sweden; that they two shall invade and divide Prussia, and canton the same:

which thing the marquis of Brandenburg will oppose with all his powers. Now as concerning the landgrave of Hesse, he must be urged and solicited, daily to divide the inheritance equally with his uncle Lodowick, and to resign the government of Hertsfield to the bishop of Wirtzburg: if he refuse to do so, let him be proclaimed rebel, and let his inheritance be assigned unto his uncle Lodowick.

‘Moreover, as for the duke of Wittembergh and the elector Palatine, they two may with ease be set together by the ears, if the duke be commanded to make restitution of some religious houses; or otherwise, upon his refusal, be proclaimed rebel; and some neighbouring monasteries be assigned to the elector Palatine, and, amongst them, one especially, which he hath been observed to have aimed at long ago.’

And these are those killing projects of the Jesuits, which I have heard from their own mouths, not without admiration even to astonishment; and they have many more of like sort, all which I do at this present remember.

Moreover, there hath been a consultation among the Jesuits, to send abroad some bold assassins, who by poison, or by the pistol, may cut off the principal doctors of the reformed churches; fellows who are so absolute masters in that trade of poisoning, that they are able so to infect platters, salt-cellars, basons, kettles, pots, and caldrons, and such like vessels of ordinary use, that, although they shall be ten times over washed and wiped, yet shall they retain the power and infection of most deadly and speedy poison. Wherefore, I humbly advise all godly and religious governors, and ministers of the church, that hereafter they be wary and cautious how they trust any, but such, of whose fidelity thy have had sufficient trial.

And these things could never have fallen within compass of mine understanding, nor ever did, before such time, as I heard them from the principals and heads of the society of Jesuits; together with many other particulars, which I held myself bound in conscience to reveal to the world, for the good of my country, and of the church of Christ: which although I have for the present only given you as in a rude and first draught; yet I purpose (God willing) in due time, to express the same at large; painting them out in their colours, with circumstances of time, place, and persons.

A Postscript to the Reader.

COURTEOUS Reader, (if so thou art pleased to shew thyself, by taking an impartial view of this short, but well intended translation,) I doubt not, but by this time thou art able to discern the face of the times, and of thyself to make a true parallel betwixt Germany and us; and doth see evidently the footsteps of that mystery of iniquity, which, by the contrivements of the pragmatistical society of Jesuits, hath for many years been set at work amongst us. As there the foundation of their work was laid, in working upon their diversities in opinions; and seconded by advantage, taken upon the several humours of the princes, propounding to each one some such ends as his nature most affected; so may I truly say, they have done here also. To what other end was the pestilent doctrine of Arminius introduced, whereby to make a party, that might prove strong enough in time to oppose the Puritan faction, as they styled it? Why was so great care and pains taken to leaven all considerable sorts of people of what degree soever, with those erroneous points, but to the same end? And can we choose but think, that Socinianism crept in after Arminianism, purposely to make the breach the wider; that it might be large enough to let in popery, at the full, in conclusion? Doubtless, as our Saviour sometimes said to his disciples, in another case, John iv. 35; ‘Say not ye, there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold, I say unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the regions, for they are white already unto harvest:’ so may I say now; most men thought it might yet be four months, or some good distance of time before the Jesuit could attain to reap the harvest of his desire amongst us. But I say unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the regions, they are white already unto harvest. Or, if I may not say they are, because

God's gracious hand of Providence hath disappointed their hopes; yet I assure myself, that any man of ordinary understanding will confess, that within the space of this year last past, our land was already white to their harvest; the king's majesty was wrought to an evil opinion of his people, the commons were grown discontented with the present government, two adverse armies were lodged in our land; and all this, with a new whole army of evil consequents, brought on by the secret contrivements of our adversaries; and on all hands the way was so prepared, altars set up, and priests enough in readiness, that nothing was wanting, to ripen their harvest for the sickle, but a proclamation for setting up public mass, in all our churches: which things, when I seriously considered, and now of late looking again upon the regions, I discern what alteration God hath begun to work amongst us by the pious endeavours of our happy parliament; I cannot but take up that saying of the Psalmist, Psalm cxxiv. 1, 2, 3, 'If the Lord had not been on our side, now may England say: if the Lord had not been on our side, when men rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us; then the water had drowned us, and the stream had gone over our soul:' if the plots of the pacific Arminians had once set up the bridge of reconciliation, whereon the Protestant and Papist should have met, and the trap-door had taken effect, then the swelling waves had gone over our souls indeed. 'But praised be the Lord! who hath not given us as a prey unto their teeth; our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler, the snare is broken, and we are delivered;' so that we may truly say, as the Psalmist there concludeth, 'Our help standeth in the name of the Lord, who made both heaven and earth.' And now what remaineth for us to do, but this? By daily and earnest prayer, to beg a blessing upon our gracious sovereign, the king's majesty, and upon the high and honourable court of parliament; that God will be graciously pleased to finish, by their happy consultations and pious endeavours, that good work of mercy, which he hath so graciously begun for this land and nation, to make a total and entire reformation in church and state; and particularly to root out this disloyal blood of Inigo Loyola³, from amongst us; preventing their plots, and turning the wisdom of their Aitophels into foolishness, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ may have free passage amongst us, until his return to judge the quick and the dead⁴. This is, and shall be the daily prayer of,

Thy well-wishing friend and servant, in the duties of a minister of Christ's Gospel,

W. F. X. B.

³ [The founder of the order of Jesuits.]

⁴ [Notwithstanding all efforts to the contrary, the Jesuits continued to gain ground in England for a considerable time. In the reign of king James II. one of their order wrote thus: 'We have a good while begun to get a footing in England. We teach humanity at Lincoln, Norwich, and York. At Warwick we have a public chapel secured from all injuries by the king's soldiers; we have also bought some houses of the city of Wiggorn, in the province of Lancaster. The Catholic cause very much increaseth. In some Catholic churches, upon holidays, above 1500 were always numbered present at the sermon. At London, likewise, things succeed no worse. Every holiday, or preaching, people are so frequent, that many of the chapels cannot contain them. Two of our fathers, Darmes and Berfall, do constantly say mass before the king and queen. Father Edmund Newill, before the queen-dowager; father Alexander Regnes, in the chapel of the ambassador aforesaid; others, in other places. Many houses are bought for the college in Savoy (as they call it) near Somerset-house, London; the palace of the queen-dowager, to the value of about 18,000 florins; in making of which after the form of a college, they labour very hard, that the schools may be opened before Easter.' A letter from a Jesuit at Liege. Somers' Tracts, p. 248.]

Division our Destruction : Or, a short History of the French
Faction in England.

‘ Nought else but Treason from the first this Land did foil.’
Spenser’s second Book of the Fairy Queen, Cant. 10.
Stanz. 48.

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[Quarto, containing twenty-two pages.]

SINCE it is certain, that the greatness which France has acquired, and the dangers which the rest of Europe is obnoxious to, arise both from the same cause ; which is that maxim the French have so firmly observed, *viz.* To create and foment divisions among neighbouring states and princes ; therefore, at this juncture, a short dissection of that maxim is necessary to invigorate our resentments against France, and to unseal the eyes of some among us, whose credulity has rendered them agents in their own destruction. I shall say nothing of the divisions France has raised in the empire, in Spain, in Poland, in Holland ; and, indeed, in all places where the French ministers have resided ; but will confine myself to a short account of what they have done in England only. I shall begin with the revolution ; when no nation was ever more immediately preserved from slavery, both in conscience and estate. We were amazed at our deliverance, and acknowledged the wonderful mercy of God in that instance of our gratitude, the crowning his great instrument of our freedom. We were then so truly possessed of the source of our misfortunes, we so plainly saw our slavery come rolling down, in full tides, from those inexhaustible springs of oppression, the ambition and power of France ; that we unanimously addressed our deliverer to direct us how we might remove the principles of our fear, and raise up liberty to our posterity. The king told us (and we agreed with him) that whilst France possessed the overgrown power he was at that time master of, the liberty, not only of England but of Europe, was in a very precarious condition ; and we could then see his strength increased yearly, his dominions were daily enlarged, and the strongest towns were too weak to resist the battery of his money. And the depredations of his neighbouring countries, were the exercise and reward of his armies ; and his power at sea was grown to so surprizing a height, that he was a match for Holland and England in conjunction. That ambitious monarch no longer disguised his intentions ; he let the world see, that he thought himself strong enough to conquer Christendom, and that the conquest of Christendom was the quarry he flew at. But, though our dangers were great at that time, yet our eyes were open, and we put on our brave old English principles ; the common danger not only united our factions, but the impending tyranny of France reconciled the jarring interests of the rest of Europe, and finished that confederacy, which the intrigues of France, and our two former kings, had rendered abortive for so many years before. At that time, our circumstances were happily come to a crisis, scarce hoped for a few weeks before. A set of persons sprung up, brave, wise, and honest ; and though the cankered tongue of envy has been hard upon them since, it is to the virtue of those men that we owe the unravelling of our entangled affairs, and the hopes of liberty which are yet left. The late ferment of the nation had worked off part of its phlegm ; a new spirit of gallantry warmed our youth, and our old men fell out with avarice ; West-

minster-hall was purged, and property was put into clean hands. The church was truly in the king's interest; and we had at last got a king, who had no separate interest from his people.

Thus our affairs stood when the confederacy commenced. The French king wisely foresaw his ruin, if we proceeded as we began; and, knowing it fruitless to tamper with the new ministers, he was necessitated to play on his game, with those that were left of his old pack. He found our new measures were not to be broke any way, but by our old divisions; so he concerted with his friends here in secret to divide us; and the war was not a year old, before the wretches of the last reigns were warm in the merciful bosom of the new government; they began to hiss, and were readier to sting, than kiss the hand that signed the act for their pardons. Those very men, who were the instruments of our late kings, whose heads at the revolution tottered on their shoulders, now skreened from justice by the act of indemnity, began to resume their old principles, and wish again for those masters, under whose tyranny they had indulged their luxury and covetousness. But they found it impossible openly to bring about their designs; the ability and integrity of the new ministry being so apparent and necessary at that time. All they could then do, was to work themselves into the secrets of the nation, and discover them to France. They privately, at first, made what new proselytes they could, and silyly lamented their country; insinuating, that it was oppressed with taxes, and worn out with the ignorance and pride of its new governor. As they grew stronger, they embarrassed all public affairs as much as was possible, and they were particularly assiduous in the destruction of our money; and when they had drawn on an inevitable necessity to recoin it, they struck in with the court, and were very zealous for re-coining; hoping that so dead a stop to trade, in the midst of a heavy war, would undoubtedly have broke the back of the present constitution; and we were (as the French faction had foreseen) in the very agonies of confusion; our trade, and ministry, both civil and military, were at a plunge. Our enemies rejoiced, and our friends were dejected, at the loss of our current money. We stared on one another, and knew not what to think, when exchequer-bills (which are now ridiculed) revived our trade, set out our fleets, brought our army into the field, and supported our alliances. The French party were surprized, the loss of so sure a game made them desperate; and, from that time, they have resolved the destruction of him who, in preserving England, disappointed them.

The war continuing, and the charges growing heavier, the most Christian faction took hold of the popular end of the staff, and began to rail publicly, at visionary mismanagements, and corrupt ministers; and this step was the foundation of the heats and divisions among us since. Thus, the tory party commenced patriots; grown patriots, they rail at all men, and all things, that do not chime in with their interests. They entertain the king, after the fatigues of a campaign, with vexation all the winter; they grow bolder every day than other; and when the most christian king found it necessary to have a peace, they (by delaying the king's business, and frustrating his designs,) tired him into the peace of Reswick. That peace was no sooner concluded, but the Tories fell into the old specious arguments and artifices, to inflame the nation; mismanagements, favourites, corrupt ministers, foreigners, and standing armies; the king, to satisfy them, sends away the Dutch, and disbands the army. They then demand the forfeited estates in Ireland, and plainly tell the king, 'that he ought not to have disposed of them, and that they 'will take them from him again.' The best king takes no notice of the indignity offered him; but sacrifices his just rights and resentments, to the ease and happiness of his people.

The king of Spain dying about this time, and France (contrary to all faith and honour) possessed of the whole Spanish dominions, Holland in the greatest danger, and Europe expecting, where slavery would first settle; the king dissolved this, and called a new parliament, to preserve us in this juncture. But this late success of France had made his party here so bold and powerful, that instead of settling to the defence of the nation, and addressing his majesty early, to form alliances; they, to amuse people, voted a great fleet,

which was a prodigious expence, and signified no more, than to impoverish us ; France having (as they well knew) no designs at sea, at that time. After this, they fell to wrangling, and revived the story of Kidd ; and struck, at once, at five of the king's faithfulest servants ; villainously tempting that unhappy wretch to save his own life, by swearing falsely against those lords. Kidd failing them, they fall next on the treaty of partition ; a treaty designed to establish a lasting tranquillity to Europe. Here they impeach the four lords, and through their sides abuse the king, in the most base and porter-like language ; they drive on with the greatest vehemence ; and France had gained his point, if the house of lords had not stood resolved and steady, in the defence of innocence, and England ; let this be for ever remarked to the eternal honour of that illustrious body ! Here the faction was stung again, and railed at the lords ; because, right or wrong, they would not ruin whomsoever they are pleased to impeach : and since, how industriously has that party strove to raise a flame, which, if the consummate wisdom of his majesty had not prevented, might have ended in the ruin of England.

After this, they did nothing but trifle away their time, in invidious and vindictive matters, and empty addresses ; till the king, in the plainest manner, laid before them, and the whole nation, the destruction, which was daily expected to fall on the United Provinces. The people's eyes beginning to open at the last Dutch memorial, they perceived they were betraying, and began to grow clamorous ; and some Kentish gentlemen, being at this time imprisoned, contrary to all equity, (only for petitioning the parliament, to take care of the nation,) had very much incensed them. The faction, to silence these clamours, and, if possible, to regain their credit, voted ten thousand men, which the Hollanders demanded, by virtue of a treaty made with king Charles the Second ; but to shew how heartily they designed our ruin, they voted twelve regiments of foot out of Ireland, which should be made ten-thousand men, and that no other regiments should be raised in their places ; absolutely tying up the king's hands from the defence of that country. This was the openest avowing their designs, that I have met with ; to make which plainer, I must go back to a little after the peace of Reswick, when the disputes in parliament, about disbanding the army, were at the highest. It was then thought absolutely necessary, in consideration of the papistical and rebellious principle of the Irish, that a body of twelve-thousand men should be kept up in Ireland ; which were established there accordingly. Now when the king of Spain was dead, and the most Christian king in actual possession of his whole monarchy ; when all mankind agreed, a war was unavoidable, unless France receded from those measures he had taken, which none ever thought he would, without force ; then I say, to strip Ireland of its guard, and leave it naked and defenceless, is to me the plainest owning their intentions in nature. Were I in the French interests, and had been reproached by M. Poussin, for want of vigour, in consideration of the numerous Lewis d'ors received, I would justify myself thus : " Good God, Mr. Poussin, what would you have us do ? Have we not, from the king's first coming to this time, delayed all things, that were for the interest of England ? What have we not done, that could tend to your service ? Or what have we done, that the king recommended to us, at the opening of last sessions ? Have we not used the vilest means by Kidd, to take off five of your irreconcilable enemies ? And when that would not answer our ends, did we not impeach three of the chief of them ? Did we not fall into the greatest heats, and grossly abuse the house of lords ; only for remembering us, to bring the impeached lords to their trials ? And have not our whole faction fallen on my lord Haversham, notwithstanding one of our managers was the aggressor ? Pray, tell me, what we have done, without your advice, before the Kentish petition, and the legion letter ? And when yourself acknowledged, there was an unavoidable necessity of sending those forces to Holland : did we not surprize even you, by leaving Ireland open to whatever designs, his most Christian majesty might have on it ? And after all, have we not cajoled the king and country, to continue us another sessions ? Come, come, Mr. Poussin, have patience, and assure your great master, that we will deliver England, dispirited and defenceless, into the arms of his mercy." I cannot see what monsieur Poussin could have said to me ;

and I am sure I must have silenced him, if there is any verity in this old proverb, 'Truth will prevail.'

Thus, have we seen our best friends oppressed, by the villainy of our worst enemies; this is the end of the blood and treasure, which have been spent, to settle us on a firm basis of liberty. After a short period of twelve years, we are almost in the same hands that brought us to the brink of destruction, so lately. The king, a little after his return from Holland, dissolved the last parliament, as he was addressed to do, by his people; with what confusion to his enemies, their violent reflexions on his person were a sufficient evidence: they were, for a time, distracted with anger and envy; and when they began to cool, they found it necessary to consider of their safeties, and of ways and means to support their detestable faction. In order to which, their council was often called; and (whether if it were fear, or the devil, that sharpened their inventions) they resolved upon a most villainous expedient, which was this: They declared in all places, that whatever opposition they had made to the court, was in order to preserve the church. To confirm this, I appeal to all the counties and boroughs in England, if those members, who were charged with delaying the king's business, did not use almost the same argument to their electors; the sum of which was, that they were ill used, and reproached for nothing in the world, but their desire to save the nation's money, and their unshaken sincerity to the church; in opposition to those who would destroy her, the Whigs.

Thus, the continual efforts of the French faction is to divide us; and it is our misfortune to be the easiliest divided of any people in nature: one artifice of France having been sufficient to do it, for the greater part of a century. The old Cavalier and Round-head, the latter Whig and Tory, and the immediate Church-party and Whig-party, are all the same. France sometimes new-christens our factions; and we, an unthinking generation, let a little jargon divide, distract, and ruin us.

But the partizans of France have been lately more assiduous than ordinary, to poison our ear; they buz the disaffected nobility, and great factions, or foolish commoners, with being shut out from all profits and share in the government; their great parts and capacities for the ministry are cried up; neither do they forget to tell them of the injustice and dishonour they receive, by being left at the tail of affairs, whilst a few unworthy flatterers go away with all the honours and advantages. The commonalty are possessed with new hardships, taxes, misapplication of their money, evil counsellors, &c. and the church with retrenchments on their honours and privileges, and designs of totally subverting, or at least new modelling, their authority and jurisdiction. They are continually remembered of what their fathers suffered from Cromwell; from whence it is inferred, that the Whigs will play the same game: and it is these arguments which have drawn the ignorant and unthinking, or the designing part of the clergy, into their interests. Now, that I may not seem to reflect on church-men without reason, I will give a particular instance, that some of them were mistaken, at the electing knights of the shire for a neighbouring county. Five gentlemen stood candidates; four of them undeniably in the king's interests, but the other was said to be absolutely against him. Yet there was a doctor of divinity, and a convocation-man too, who (besides all the votes among the clergy that he could influence) gave the gentleman, who was reproached for being against the king, his single vote; which, I think, was neither the wise, nor well-bred part of the church-man. But it would be an unhandsome part to reflect on the gentleman who sent him to the convocation, because he has done this: and I doubt not but those gentlemen will shew their resentment of this action of his, by sending a new representative to the next convocation.

I will not aggravate this matter by heaping up more instances of the like nature; because the mistakes or credulity of some few of the divines ought not to bring a reflexion on the honest men of that profession. Neither must we think the whole body of the clergy in the St. Germain interest, because we have seen some of their coat so zealous in their service to gentlemen generally esteemed in the French faction. On the contrary, the virtue and steadiness of the church in the cause of liberty, at the Revolution, should, in justice,

cover the failings of her weak members. But France is under a necessity of using all its arts at this juncture to divide us: it is the last card he has to play; and if England has virtue enough to be united, and countermines his emissaries, that aspiring monarch must be humbled. His chief hopes of universal monarchy are built on our divisions; it is this he applies his utmost ability to procure; it is for this, as much as any thing, that he sighs for the arrival of his Plate fleet. It was our divisions that founded the greatness of his monarchy, and nothing else can finish the superstructure. To curb the genius of Great-Britain was ever the load-star of the French ministry. That great cardinal Richlieu, who laid the first stone of the French greatness, improved all opportunities to divide us. I question not but he was the fomentor of our civil wars; and Charles the First's head paid for his designs on the isle of Rhee. The French always apprehending our agreement as a sure presage of misfortune to them; when we were but a little reconciled in the person of Oliver Cromwell, they bought our friendship with the most base and unworthy action, the banishing and exposing two miserable princes, who had taken sanctuary in that court. Mazarine and his succeeding ministers have still kept up to this darling maxim of division; and from the Restoration to the Revolution, they have maintained a brave and towering faction; the two kings, and their courts, were the parties of France, in opposition to the people of England. France was at a miserable plunge, at the coming of king William; he was obliged entirely to shift his sails, and since he could no longer have our kings his pensioners, he submitted to more inferior agents, and fell into those measures beforementioned. But money being an excellent promoter of division, and France having ever found it the most unerring persuasive, (both with worldly men, and men of revelation too,) begins already to fear the failure of this almost irresistible rhetorick. It will be impossible to spin out his wars, without an annual return from the West-Indies; the short remoras of that fleet have already thrown him on his extremest measures of oppression, the capitation-tax, and raising the value of his money. He foresees every year's increasing difficulties, and how impossible it will be to stem them, without the Spanish money; and nothing can retard the return of the galleons, at any time, but the English fleet: wherefore, an expedient must be found to make that fleet always necessary at home. In order thereto, his friends already begin to rail at any proposal for increasing the army; they argue in all places, that an army, if the king pleases, may enslave the nation; that the emperor may raise and maintain men much easier and cheaper than we can; and they are very willing to give the king what money he pleases, to support the emperor. This is a smart and well concerted matter; the complimenting the king with designs of tyranny is the least part of it; this is closer laid, and if France cannot wheedle us into a peace (which he will accept on almost any terms) his next best will be to keep us without an army; without an army our fleet must stay to protect us, or we shall be left open and defenceless to French invasions.

I foresee, the friends of France will expose this, as a chimerical notion; but let honest men take care of being too credulous; let them consider the great number of flat-bottomed barques, which, for several years, have lain in the ports of France, that are near England; and, allowing we had more men of war than the French might have for their convoy, yet the same wind, which brings them, may keep us in our harbours; and, if the French can land twenty-thousand men, we cannot oppose them afterwards. What shall hinder them from ruining all our docks, and burning our naval magazines? Let any body tell me, what shall stop their marching to London; ravaging the country, all the way they march; and plundering and burning the city? I can name a shrill speech-maker, with a vinegar satyr, that will ridicule all I have said; and, probably, some such way as this: "What a mighty concern is this poor man in; a disbanded officer, I will warrant him, both by his argument and reasonings? Let me see, says he (fleeringly) first; the French are to land twenty-thousand men: very well, he makes no more of transporting them, than so many oysters. Then they are to come to town, I suppose, like the rehearsal army in disguise; nothing is to be known of them, till we hear our wives and daughters squeak. Lord, how will our poor old ladies do to bear ravishment! and our bankers will be so con-

founded, at the loss of their money, that they will not have impudence enough left to desire God to save them : then all our men, from Dover to Windsor, may be engaged at nine-pins, and want leisure to oppose the French. I vow, I think we had best raise an army, and enslave ourselves, to prevent this : but then I desire to add one thing more, which is this, that there may be an act made for erecting a competent number of stone pillars round every house in England, to prevent the sky from hurting us, if it should happen to fall ; for I am of the man's mind, that we ought to provide against all dangers ;" so, putting on his particular sneer, sets a whole coffee-house into a tee-hee.

For that gentleman's sake, I shall further tell you, that the king of France has a much superior number, than what I speak of, lies always on (or within a day's march of) the coasts of France and Flanders ; and he may, when he pleases, in two days time, embark that number of picked men, and a fair wind, in twelve hours, may land them in England. Now, if we had an account of their designs brought by the messenger, that carries the orders to the French general, who commands the descent ; it would be a day, at least, after that general had received his orders, before the account could come to the secretary's office ; and suppose a council immediately called, and orders given for three-thousand men to march next morning, (and they do march accordingly,) it would be three days more before they could reach the nearest coasts of Kent, or Sussex, and march twenty miles a day too, and suppose them joined with all the country. But I trifle. Did ever any foreigners attempt to land in England, and did not ; from the time of Julius Cæsar, to the Revolution ? As for that notion, that our mob would tear twenty-thousand French to pieces ; all men that know any thing of soldiery, laugh at it, as a ridiculous story : a regular army, of that strength, is not to be opposed by the confusion of a multitude, be they never so brave. I know some gentlemen, who pretend to be very fond of beating French armies with spits and fowling-pieces, that would be almost as easily persuaded to be hanged, as to head such an army against the French. I do not pretend, that they can absolutely enslave us with so small a number as twenty-thousand, (though it might be some difficulty to get them out, when their friends had joined them,) but I do maintain, that their ruining our harbours, and city, would be practicable ; and what a step to slavery that would be, let any man judge. Another instance, worth our consideration, is, that an army, which will defend England, is also capable of offending France. If we are strong enough, in shipping, to cover a descent on any part of his coast ; ten-thousand men, encamped near Dover or Deal, or any where in Kent or Sussex, near the sea, will oblige France to keep forty-thousand of his best troops to secure his own country.

What a vast charge was he at, in intrenching and fortifying his coasts last war, when general Talmash, with less than seven-thousand men, alarmed his countries, bordering on the sea, from Dunkirk to Brest ? And though, as we are told, the design of landing at Brest was known to France, yet he would not trust any part of his coasts defenceless. What a hurry was there ! what raising his militia, and forming a flying-camp ! all his ports were strongly garrisoned, and he had fifteen thousand men intrenched at Camaret-Bay. Thus at least, fifty-thousand of his best troops, besides the militia, were diverted by a lieutenant-general, and seven-thousand men. But, if we have no army to molest France, I see no reasons to induce him to keep above ten-thousand men in that part of his country ; which, with his militia, will be security enough for the ports there, and he may dispose of the remainder of the forty-thousand, which we might divert, into the empire, into Italy, or where else he pleases. And it may happen, that when we are destitute of an army, those numerical men, finding their own ports in no danger, may come, and garrison ours for us. Thus, I think, it is plain, that we must have an army, or keep our fleet at home ; and if the Gallican engines can bring that about, the galleons may come yearly for the reward of their services, and the support of the French tyranny.

Now I may possibly be attacked by some graver person of the faction, who will say, " Is not this pamphlet-man very abusive on gentlemen, who have contributed so much, and heartily, to save the nation ?" And then he gives you a formal list of all the good actions of the last parliament, which he calls theirs. Part of this may be true too, which is so

much the worse ; for it is these plausible stories blind us. The French party do, and will join with the true patriots, in all, but raising an army, and loving the impeached lords. Let those two things alone, and they will come in with you ; they will seem as vigorous as any ; they will address as often as you please ; they will pretend to pay the national debts ; they will part with their privileges ; they will desire the king to make alliances ; they will declare the electress next heir to the three crowns ; or, if their minds are altered and you are willing to relinquish her highness, and choose the czar, the sophy, the sultan, or Prester John ; with all their hearts : they will oblige you in any thing but an army. An army ! No, no, my masters ; an army might effect the aforementioned matters in good earnest. Do you think they will save the nation ? that is what those rogues, the earl of O. the lord S. the lord H. and the Whigs, would do, if they could but discover how.

Now let us see into what circumstances this one policy of France has reduced us ; and, if possible, to find a means to disengage ourselves. It is to our divisions that we owe the peace of Reswick, not to mention any thing before ; it was division exposed us naked, impeached our friends, and left unpaid the debts of the nation ; it was that maxim, improved to the height in England, which made France himself break the treaty of partition ; it made the elector of Bavaria, and prince Vaudemont, declare for France ; it brought Cologne, Bavaria, and Portugal, into his alliance ; and it set up all the neutralities in Italy, and in the empire. Division has set us on the edge of destruction, and we must exert our utmost virtue to recover ourselves ; we must shake off the lethargy which has seized us ; and we must resolve to sacrifice mutual injuries to the common safety of ourselves in particular, and of Europe in general. Providence has pointed out means for re-joining and recovering our former grandeur ; a chain of blessings is let down to us, to which we may add the link of our own security. The late king's death has given a fair opportunity to drop the invidious name of Jacobite ; many, who thought themselves tied by oaths, or personal obligations to that unfortunate prince, are, by his death, at liberty ; and they must have some respect for a government, which has used them moderately, though known enemies to it. But if any are so stupid or inveterate, to persist in the interests of a supposed part of his family, which the nation has renounced ; they ought to be treated as monsters of ingratitude, and traitors to their king and country.

The division between our greatest merchants is reconciled, by the marriage of the two East-India companies ; and our unfortunate heats, in the last parliament, have no reason to be revived, since we have a new one : we have a true noble house of lords, and at the head of all these, we have a brave and wise king. These are great steps to the reconciling of England, and we have the most compendious and generous way to do this ; which is mutually and sincerely to sink at once all injuries. Then, and not till then, shall we meet friends ; and then we shall abolish all the damned names and distinctions of parties, and factions, in this great and glorious one,—a party for the Protestant religion in all its branches and for the liberty of Europe. Now, and only now, is the time for this great agreement ; which will, and nothing else can, effectually reduce this exorbitant power of France. It is in our hands to repel that voracious monarchy into its ancient boundaries ; and we have the good fortune to be sure of our allies, from those undeniable principles, their interests ; the emperor firm, in the vindication of his honour, and the rights of his family ; the States-general resolved to have a barrier to their commonwealth ; (and I contemplate their beating down the fort, near Sas van Ghent, was more to convince our parliament, of the steadiness of their resolutions, than to insult the French,) the king of Prussia will, to the utmost, oppose that Boutefeu, amongst the states and princes, that have scrupled to own him as king ; the elector of Hanover, the duke of Zell, and the elector Palatine, have those notorious reasons to be stiffly against France, that I think it superfluous to name them.

On the other side, the disadvantages the French have met with in Italy, and the charges of the war, are so excessively great ; that though the most Christian court assumes their grandest airs, it lies heavy at their hearts ; they find themselves surrounded with necessities at the beginning of a war ; their constitution is languishing, and nothing, but the

cordial of money, can revive it; each new dose must be increased, and if the cordial is never so little abated, the crazy carcass of the absolute French monarch must give up the ghost. Whereas our allies have had success beyond expectation, and they are invigorated with the hopes, that England will fall, with its whole weight, into the scales against France. The neutral princes and states are waiting to see what we shall do. And if the terrors of our fleet was so great in a perfect peace, what new measures must an avowed war influence Portugal to take? That proud king Lewis, who formerly declared, he warred on Holland for his glory; and made that the base excuse for his barbarous invasion of the United Provinces: is now reduced to those necessities, that he is forced to stifle his anger and resentments against the Dutch. Is it not extraordinary to see that haughty and ambitious prince, whose long reign has been a continual distraction to his neighbours, whose pride and malice sacrificed whoever dared to oppose him; that he could by private villainy, or open force, (come at, on a sudden,) grow the humblest creature, and the best natured soul in the world? He thinks the beating down his fort, and insulting his encroachments, are not sufficient reasons to break with his good friends the States-general. He, quiet prince, is willing to enter into negotiations to preserve the peace, than to take those just revenges, which the goodness of his cause and the bravery of his troops would give him. But he was of another mind, the beginning of last spring, when he seized the towns in Flanders, which were mortgaged to the Hollanders; and instead of paying the debt confined their troops, and kept them prisoners during pleasure. When his army hovered near their frontiers, and built forts under the cannon of their town; he knew they were then weak, and dared not oppose him: he then apprehended none of those cross accidents in Italy, which have mortified him since; he seems now quiet and humble minded, and troth I believe him:

Pauper videri Cinna vult, & est pauper.

He is certainly humbled at present; and must be so for ever, if we do not give him opportunities to forget his humility, and resume his ambition. This seeming moderation of his, has given his friends a dainty occasion to declare against war. "What, break with a king, who puts up the greatest insults, rather than break the peace? A king that has no inclination for war, and would rather grant any terms, than disturb the world and himself, the few days he has to live?" This is a specious pretence: but the truth is, France is brought to his last efforts, and cannot support the additional weight of Spain, two years longer, if we fall upon him. But if we can be so far imposed on, as to let him get a peace for but three years; France will then be able once more to make war for his glory.

As we have these great advantages, so let us set against them our visible disadvantages. For though France has squeezed the last drops into his exchequer, yet with that money which he has barbarously wrung from his poor slaves, he is finishing our ruin: it is that money has carried his troops into the electorate of Cologne, and has opened him a way into the bowels of the Empire. It is that money which carries the recruit of twenty-thousand men, with an additional strength of twenty-thousand fresh men more into Italy. It is that by which he hopes to discover the measures of his enemies this winter, and the designed operations of the next campaign. Wherefore, if we do not now oppose him with our utmost strength, but fall into divisions and delays, the heart of the confederacy will be dead; the emperor must take what equivalent France will give him; the glory of last campaign in Italy will pass as a dream; the unparalleled preparations the Dutch have made in defence of our common liberty must come to nothing; and those brave States must compound and come under France, as a maritime province of their new empire.

Thus in all human appearances the fate of Europe depends on the results of this parliament. If they are united, we are free. But should they be so unhappy as to be wheedled into a peace, or resolve but on a defensive war, (both which God forefend!) I can then think of nothing better for the interest of poor England, than by an early submission to gain the best terms we can; and get as easy a slavery as is possible, from our new master Lewis the Great.

The last Confession, Prayers, and Meditations of Lieutenant John Stern, delivered by him on the Cart immediately before his Execution, to Dr. Burnet: Together with the last Confession of George Borosky, signed by him in the Prison, and sealed up in the Lieutenant's Packet. With which an Account is given of their Deportment both in the Prison and at the Place of their Execution; which was in the Pall-Mall, on the Tenth of March, in the same Place in which they had murdered Thomas Thynn¹, Esq. the Twelfth of February before, 1681-2. Written by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. and Anthony Horneck, D. D.

London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1682.

[Folio; containing twenty-eight pages.]

An Account of the Deportment of Captain Vratz, Lieutenant Stern, and George Borosky, the Murderers of Thomas Thynn, Esq. both in the Prison, and at their Execution.

FOUR days after the barbarous murder of Mr. Thynn, (which filled all people's minds, with a just horror, at so vile and inhuman a fact,) I was desired to go and visit the prisoners. I carried Dr. Horneck with me, because I heard that Borosky the Polonian spoke no other language, but Polish and High Dutch. We waited on the captain, but he was unwilling to enter into much discourse with us; and adhered to what he had confessed before the council, that he only intended to fight with Mr. Thynn, and that the Polonian had mistook his orders, when he shot him. The lieutenant said at first nothing, but that he was in the company of those, that committed the fact, without intention to murder any; and if, for that, he should be condemned to die, then said he, *Fiat voluntas tua*, 'thy will be done.' The Polonian was free and ingenuous in his confession, and expressed great sorrow for what he had done. But, within a few days, I went again, and

¹ [Thomas Thynne, esquire, of Longleat-hall, (called, from his great wealth, 'Tom of Ten Thousand') had formerly been a friend of the duke of York; but, upon some quarrel between them, he attached himself warmly to Monmouth. Mr. Thynne married lady Ogle, sole heiress of the Northumberland estate; but his bride going abroad, the marriage was never consummated. Count Konigsmark met the lady, fell in love with her person, or her fortune, and could see no better road to both than by assassinating her husband. Accordingly, three foreigners hired by the Count, or dependents upon him, waylaid Mr. Thynne's carriage, as it passed through Pall-Mall, and shot him with a blunderbuss, in the manner represented on his tomb in Westminster Abbey. The duke of Monmouth had left the carriage about an hour before the murder. Sir John Reresby received the thanks of the king, for his activity in apprehending the assassins; without which, suspicions might have arisen that the attempt was intended against Monmouth, by the court-party. Count Konigsmark was taken by Gibbons, one of Monmouth's attendants, who seized him, as he was going on ship-board. The three actual assassins were condemned to death; but by some foul play, Konigsmark, who had employed them, and came over to England, expressly to see they executed their bloody commission, was acquitted.]

True Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. fol. 1679. State Trials, ii. 503.]

found the lieutenant wonderfully touched. He told me, that the morning after he was first taken, he awakened full of horror, for what he had done, and the first thing that came in his mind was the ninth verse of Psalm. xxxii. 'Be ye not as the horse and the mule, which have no understanding, whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle.' This he applied to the irons, in which he was; and then began to reflect what a beast he had been, and that it was fit he should be shut up in a prison, and fettered as he then was: upon that he looked back with horror on what he had done, and began to cry earnestly to God for mercy.

He continued some days in doubt whether he ought to confess or not, and was in that anxiety when I saw him first, which made him say nothing at that time: but he said afterwards, he found such inward compunction in his mind, that he wished to die; he grew weary of life, and hated himself so much, that he was glad to do every thing that was lawful, which might be a means to bring him to be a public example, and to suffer in this world for his sin. Upon that, he made his confession to the justices of peace; and found himself much at ease, when that was done. He turned himself after that wholly to God; and found that, then, he was entirely out of the snares of Satan, and the hold which the devil had of him. All the rest of the time of his imprisonment, except a few hours of sleep towards the mornings, he spent in reading the Bible, and some other good books, particularly 'Dilberen's Way to Happiness,' in High-Dutch, which he valued highly; and Thomas à Kempis's book of the 'Imitation of Christ;' and some other books of devotion. He thought it was also fit for him to leave, in writing, a warning behind him to others, to learn by his example: he was not bred to letters, and so (he said) he knew what he should write, would appear simple to those that delighted in learning, or polite language; but he said, he would write from his heart; and prayed God, it might have a good effect on others. He had travelled up and down Europe, three and twenty years, being then in the forty-second year of his age; and he had observed many things, though he had no literature: so (he said) he would leave an exhortation to all sorts of people with whom he had conversed, and touch those sins which he himself had known many of them guilty of; and he said, that if his writing should become public in Germany, or in other places where he had been, he was confident that many might read it, who would know for what reason he had writ many passages in it, and might, perhaps, be moved to reflect on those sins, of which they knew themselves guilty; and would understand his meaning, better than any others could. When he had writ it, he gave it to me four days before his execution: he had dashed and changed it in many passages, which he said he writ at first, when there was yet too much of the spirit of the world in him; but he had reviewed it, and had corrected it in the best manner he could. He said, he had never writ so much in his whole life; and so he did not doubt, but there would appear great weakness in some parts of it; but he had writ it in the simplicity of his heart. To this he added a short account of his life, and a confession of the crime for which he was to suffer.

He often wished that, from him, 'all that stood, might take heed lest they fell;' for once he thought himself as little capable of committing such a crime, which should bring him to such an end, as any man was. He was the son, by the left-hand, of a baron of Sweden, who was made a count, before he died; but he did not carry his name, because he was not legitimate; and he would not have his father's name to be published, because he was now such a reproach to it. He applied himself to the war; but in all these twenty-three years, in which he had been travelling up and down the world, he had led a much more innocent life, than might be guessed from such a conclusion of it. He had early a sense of the fear of God before he came abroad into the world, which never left him quite, till a few days before this fact; but was always such a curb on him, that he never fell into those sins, that are too common among those that follow the war. He was so little guilty of plunder and oppression, in his quarters; that he said, he was sure less than twenty crowns would pay all, that had been ever taken by him. He was never guilty of any act, either of cruelty or treachery, of rapes or blasphemies; was never false at play, had not the custom of swearing, nor did he fail daily to pray to God. He had always a

compassionate nature. He was not a little lifted up with the courage that he had shewed on many occasions, and had been very sensible of all those things which are called points of honour. He was, for many years, a papist, when he served in Flanders; but he said, he was never perfectly satisfied in his own mind with that religion, and detested the idolatry that he saw in it. But he was much corrupted with that principle, which is too common in the world, That if a man was honest and good, he might be saved in any religion; and that it was fit to be of the religion of the country, where one lived. Yet, he said, he could never look on popery, but as a contrivance of priests, for governing the world. About a year ago, he changed his religion, and returned to be of the Augsburg confession. Last summer he came to England, being then out of employment, and intended to have got into the Guards: he grew acquainted with (or found) captain Vratz here; for I do not remember well, whether he knew him first here, or not.

For the particulars of his confession, I refer the reader to his own paper: only one passage, which he has not mentioned, will shew clearly the temper of his mind, when he writ it. He told me, that after the captain and he had talked of sundry poniards, for giving Mr. Thynn the fatal stroke, the captain spoke to him one day of a musquetoon, and told him they were now resolved to do it by that. He answered, that he thought that was, by no means, a proper instrument for it; since it would be seen in a man's hand, before it could be discharged, and so they might be caught, before the business should be done: therefore he thought, a pistol was much better. But the captain answered, that the count's council were of another mind: and when the lieutenant asked, Who they were? he named three outlandish men. But, three or four days after that he told me, That though that passage was very true, yet he did not know, but the captain might only name those persons to amuse him; and he did not believe, it was true of one of the three; and if it was not true of him, then there was reason to doubt, if what he said of the other two was true: and therefore, since it might have been said only to deceive him, and since his naming them would cast a slur upon them, he thought he ought to be so tender of their reputation, as not to publish their names. This will shew both the strictness of his conscience, and the soundness of his judgment; and that he would not say a thing, though it was true, in so far as he said it, unless he had believed it was true in itself.

He told me, That for some weeks before the fact was done, he fell under a darkness and stupor in his mind, which he could compare to nothing, but the sense a man has when he is half asleep. He continued to say his prayers, but it was only as a child repeats a lesson by rote, for he had no sense of God all that while: and he lamented much, that he had not read any thing in that book of Dilheren's, written much like our 'Practice of Piety,' which he had carried about with him two or three years. He was so little able to judge of things aright, that he thought he would be free of the crime, if he did it not with his own hand; and, because he abhorred the acting it himself, he fancied he would not be guilty, if he only went in the company of those that were to do it. When the fatal day came, in which it was done; he said, though he was not drunk, yet he was like one drunk, for he was almost stupid: it was on a Lord's-day, which he had much and often profaned, and on that day, in particular, he had not worshipped God, neither in public or private. The captain desired him to go with him, and fight with Mr. Thynn; (I think it was near six o'clock at night, but am not sure as to the hour). He confessed, he believed it was designed to act what followed; for he saw the musquetoon in the hand of the Polandier, and he remembered well the use for which it was bought: but he still resolved, that he would do nothing, but fight, if there should be occasion for it. He had delighted much in horses, and had a great opinion, that there was some sagacity in them; so the dulness of his horse in following Mr. Thynn's chariot, all along Pall-Mall, made some impressions on him; for, though he used the spur pretty smartly, yet he could not get him to follow close. That, and a disorder in his own mind, made that he was almost twenty paces behind, when the fire was given which had that deplorable effect on that unfortunate gentleman. He told me, even that did not awaken him; but his stupor continued so, that some little time past before he offered to fly away; and then his horse, without the

spur, was quick enough. He was not after that affected with it, but spent that night almost as ill as he had done the day; nor was he recovered of that stupidity, till the second day of his imprisonment.

He said he would have writ nothing concerning the fact, if his whole confession had been read at his trial; but, that not being done, he thought it fit for him to leave it behind him to the world, that the whole truth of that matter might appear. But he professed often, that he did it not out of any resentment to any person whatsoever: and, though he looked on the captain as the fatal instrument that had drawn him into this sin, and this misery that followed it, yet he ceased not every day to pray for him. When sentence was pronounced, the captain reproached him, and called him with some scorn, 'a murderer.' He said, That it touched him very sensibly to see him, that was the cause of his ruin, insult over him: yet he often asked news of him, Whether he was touched with a sense of his sin, or not? And, when he understood that he continued still to deny all, but only an intention to fight with Mr. Thynn; he desired, that he might be suffered to go to him, and speak with him: for, he said, though others might speak much better, yet he hoped he might say somewhat that would be more effectual. So, on Wednesday the eighth of March, he was carried to him. I warned him beforehand, that the captain would, perhaps, use him roughly; for he was often upbraiding him for his ingratitude, and for having accused him falsely: but he answered me, That he went to see if he could be a means to do him any good, and not to dispute a matter of fact with him, which he knew in his conscience was true; and, if he saw there was no appearance of doing any good to him, he would soon leave him. In his way to him, he was to go up some stairs, and pass through the chapel, and then to go down: so he told me he was going up to the house of God, but he should go higher within two days, to a house not made with hands. Dr. Horneck was then with the captain, and prepared him for his coming. There was no other witness of what passed between them in that short interview, but he only. He told me afterwards, that the lieutenant spoke to the captain with great humility: he told him, he heartily forgave him all the injury he had done him by drawing him into this business; he knew he had said nothing but the truth; he exhorted him to repent, that so he might find mercy at God's hands. But the captain fell in some passion, and said, He lyed; and gave him other reproachful words; upon which he left him. When he came back to his chamber, he told me how sorry he was to see the captain in such a condition: but he said, Though at another time he could not have endured such reproaches from the greatest man in the world, yet he felt no resentment in his mind at what he had said to himself; and added, that by bearing this in such a manner, he hoped he had got two steps higher in his way to Heaven. When I replied, that it was a good sign, that he had learned to be like his Saviour, 'who, when he was reviled, reviled not again,' he said: Ah! such a miserable criminal, as I am, must not not be in any thing compared to my blessed Redeemer. He desired, that the Polonian might be suffered to stay all the daylong in his chamber; for he found he had a mind well disposed, but was ignorant: so he took great pains to instruct him. They were together the last night of their life; in which, as the one slept, the other watched and prayed: for the lieutenant said to me, he thought it was not fit for both should be together asleep that night; but that, all night long, either the one or the other of them, should be constantly calling upon God. He expressed not the least desire of living any longer. He never once asked me, if I thought a pardon might be obtained. On the contrary, he said he deserved to die, and desired it as much as he had deserved it. He only wished, that, if it could be obtained, his head might be cut off: but he easily acquiesced, when I told him that was not to expected. He often blessed God for bringing him to a prison, and that he had not made his escape to have led a wicked life any longer. After he had been under great horror, for almost a week, he found great quiet come instead of it; chiefly after he had disburdened his conscience by a sincere confession: at last it grew upon him to a joy in God, and at the approaches of death.

The night before he suffered, he told me, he was languishing through desire to die; he

was now so settled in his assurance of God's goodness to him, that he was longing to be with him; he considered that night as the eve of his wedding, and therefore it would seem tedious to him. A little while after he said, To-morrow is the last battle I shall fight: my enemy shall gain the camp, the tent I dwell in; but I shall, by the grace of God, win the day. And, when he spoke of that at another time, he looked up to God, and said: I go to fight with thy weapons and thy armour, and, when I have overcome, I will come and offer them up to thee. He had that day received the sacrament with great devotion, and said: Now I have got my passport, and I long to be gone. He was much rejoiced to hear, that night, that the captain was in a better temper, than he had been in formerly: for the minister of the Augsburg confession in London told him, in my hearing, that the captain had confessed, that he had drawn them into this snare, and had engaged them in this murder. The captain also sent a kind message to him, and gave orders for every thing that concerned his burial: upon which he sent a return to him full of great affection. This made him change a resolution he once had, of speaking somewhat concerning the murder at his execution. He said there was nothing material in his last confession, that was not in his first taken by the justices of peace, so there was no need of making any other public declaration; and he thought, if he said any thing that might reflect on the captain, it would, perhaps, put him in some disorder; and he would not venture the being discomposed in the last moment of his life: therefore he resolved to seal up all, and give it to me at the place of execution. He had shewed it four days before to one Mr. Essart, a German, in Covent-garden, and had ordered me to let him copy it; he had likewise shewed it to Dr. Horneck, and it was almost all copied out, before he died.

In this temper I left him at night; but found him much better on the morning of his execution. He had slept three hours, and was then well in his heart and health; for the night before he was very faint. He told me, Now he was full of joy, he was going to exchange a prison for a palace: a prison (said he) that has been, to me, better than any palace; for here God has touched me, he has drawn me, he has quickened me; and now, O God, I come to thee, to live with thee for ever! He broke often out in great transports of joy; he said this that follows so often, both in French and Dutch, that I could not but remember it well:—O my God, my good God, my infinitely good God, how do I love thee! I bless thee, I will bless thee, as long as I live! yea, Lord, I will sing of thy praises for ever; for thou hast blessed me wonderfully. Thou hast put many good inclinations in me; thou hast often touched my heart with the motions of thy Holy Spirit; but, above all thy blessings, for this I will bless thee, that when I had forsaken thee, and was at the gates of hell, thou hast brought me from thence, and hast now brought me even to the gates of heaven; open them, O Lord, and I will enter in, and praise thy name for ever! I bless thee, that thou hast chastised me with thy rod, but thy rod is a rod of mercy; and, now thou hast done so much for me, O grant me a greater sense of thy love; that I may praise thee with my whole soul, and from the very bottom of my heart!

This he repeated often, in such a manner that he seemed as one ravished with joy. He wept; but he told me these were not tears of sorrow, but flowed from the abundance of his joy. He and the Polonian sung the fifty-first Psalm in High-Dutch, three several times; and I saw him particularly touched, when he sung those words, 'Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation!' He spent the rest of the time in prayers and ejaculations. A gentleman came in, and asked how he did? He answered him, He thanked God, well: his friend had sent to call him to come dine with him, and he was ready to go. And when it was told him, he was now to fight his last battle, he answered, That battle was already fought; there was but one shock behind, and he was sure he should overcome. His heart was so full of the sense of the goodness of God, that he could now complain of nothing, or desire nothing but that he might be able to rejoice more perfectly in God, and to praise him more. He longed much for the officers that should carry him away; and looked with great cheerfulness at me, when he saw them come to lead him out. When his irons were taken off, he told me, Some of his fetters

were taken from him, but he had others yet about him that should be likewise taken off very speedily ; but I have chains upon my soul which shall draw me up to heaven. He told me, that he intended to make a short exhortation on the cart, chiefly to have warned the people not to cast off the sense of God ; and particularly, that as they did their own business all the week, that they would do God's work on the Lord's-day ; and learn from him what the ill effects of profaning that day were. He was likewise to have exhorted them not to think there was any wickedness so great, but if they did cast off God, and were forsaken of him, they might fall into it. He had been once in a good way, but had left it, and they saw the effects of that : yet God had mercifully brought him back to it, and therefore he intended to pray them to fear God, and keep his commandments, and it would be well with them.

This was the substance of that which he had purposed to say ; but when he came to the place, the noise was so great there, that he said he would speak nothing, but left it to me to publish what I knew he had intended to say ; and so he continued in his devotions, reading some prayers and hymns out of Dilheren's book ; and, in several passages as he read them, I perceived great joy in his looks : He told me, his mind continued firm and settled in his joy in God ; and so he went on a while reading, at last he threw his book to me, and wished me to give it to some good soul. He said a few words to the captain in High-Dutch, which I did not quite understand ; but by his manner I judged it was a declaring that he forgave him, and died in charity with him ; to which the captain made a short answer, that seemed to me a return of his kindness : but the crowd was such, that the German minister could not possibly come to the place, so this was lost. And this is all the account I can give of lieutenant Stern ; it is the substance of many and long conversations I had with him. French was the language in which we discoursed, and he expressed himself very well in it.

I cannot give so long an account of Borosky, the Polander ; for all my discourse with him was by an interpreter, and the lieutenant did for the most part interpret between us. I found that the course of his life had been very honest and innocent ; and that, before he committed this barbarous act, he had not been guilty of any enormous crime in his whole life : and that, particularly the last year of it, he had a greater sense of the fear of God than formerly ; so that he had reformed his life to such a degree, that he had not been guilty of one act either of drunkenness or uncleanness, of swearing or lying ; and that he had constantly prayed to God. He said, That when count Konningsmark made that proposition to him, (which he told me much more largely than I find it in his confession,) he was troubled at it, and went into another room, and kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer ; but concluded, since his mind was not fortified against it, that God had appointed that he should do it. He said, in his country they were bred up in such an opinion of their duty to their masters, and of their obligation to maintain their honour, that he believing the relation the count made of the English gentleman, (for Mr. Thynn was not named to him,) having intended to murder him, and having set six assassins on him, thought himself in some sort absolved, if he should revenge such an attempt. He was also deluded by what the captain told him, that if they happened to be taken, he only, and not the Polander, would suffer for it ; so that he was easily wrought on to do it. He was not spoken to by the count till one o'clock on Sunday, (but, whether in the morning or afternoon, I do not know,) and it was acted that same evening ; so that he was never alone, nor had he any opportunity of recollecting himself, but was hurried upon it blindly.

He told me one passage that befel him after his imprisonment, which he firmly believed was real, and not the effect of a disturbed fancy. He said, being shut up in his chamber a day or two after his imprisonment, he thought in the night, (being fully awake,) that one opened the door, which he fancied was his keeper coming to him ; but when he looked at it, it was a woman who had appeared sometimes to him before in Germany, upon some extraordinary occasions : she looked on him, but spoke nothing to him ; and vanish-

ed. He verily believed this was sent from God to him, to touch his heart: and, whether it was real or only imagined, it certainly had a very good effect on him; for from that time he was wonderfully changed. He said, he continued about four days as in hell, by the rack that he felt in his conscience; but, after that, he came to have great quiet, and assurance of God's mercy. He had no fear of death, but every time I asked him concerning it, he said he was ready for it, and longed for it more than ever he did for any thing in his life. He assured me he had from his heart forgiven both the count and the captain, and that he prayed earnestly for them.

The lieutenant often told me, That he had an excellent soul; and that, though he had not much knowledge, yet he himself learned much from him; for he had the simplicity of a little child, and a love to God, and to his Saviour, that passed all knowledge: so that he spent almost his whole time in praying, and praising God. He went out of the chamber, when he was called on by the officers to his execution, with great cheerfulness; and, by his looks, and carriage in the cart, expressed a great sense of his condition. He seemed to have no sort of fear in him, nor did he in the least change colour, or was he at all terrified.

In the last place, I must say somewhat of captain Vrats; which I do unwillingly, because some passages are not such as I can reflect on with any great satisfaction. It is certain, that never man died with more resolution and less signs of fear, or the least disorder. His carriage in the cart, both as he was led along, and at the place of execution, was astonishing: he was not only undaunted, but looked cheerful, and smiled often. When the rope was put about his neck, he did not change colour nor tremble, his legs were firm under him: he looked often about on those that stood in balconies and windows, and seemed to fix his eyes on some persons. Three or four times he smiled: he would not cover his face as the rest did, but continued in that state, often looking up to heaven, with a cheerfulness in his countenance, and a little motion of his hands. I saw him several times in the prison: he still stood to the confession he made to the council till the last day of his life: he often said to me, he would never say any thing but what he had said at first.

When I was with him on Sunday before his death, he still denied all that the lieutenant and the Polonian had said, and spoke severely of them; chiefly of the lieutenant, as if he had confessed those things which he then called *lies*, in hopes of saving his own life by it, or in spite to him, that he might not be pardoned: and all, I could say, could not change his mind in that. I told him it was in vain for him to dream of a pardon, for I assured him, if any kept him up with the hopes of it, they deceived him. He had two opinions, that were (as I thought) hurtful to him: the one was, "That it was enough if he confessed his sin to God, and that he was not bound to make any other confession; and he thought, that it was a piece of popery to press him to confess." He had another odd opinion also of the next state: he thought the damned were only excluded from the presence of God; and endured no other misery, but that of seeing others happier than themselves: and was unwilling to let me enter into much discourse with him for undeceiving him. He said it was his own affair, and he desired to be left to himself; but he spoke with great assurance of God's mercy to him.

I left him, when I saw that nothing I could say had any good effect on him, and resolved to have gone no more to him: but when I understood by the German minister, and by the message which I heard delivered in his name to the lieutenant and Polander, the night before his execution, that he was in another temper than when I saw him last, I went to him: he received me more kindly than formerly. Most of his discourse was concerning his going to the place of execution; desiring that it might be in a coach, and not in a cart: and, when I prayed him to think of that which concerned him more, he spoke with great assurance, that it was already done, that he knew God had forgiven him. And when I wished him to see that he might not deceive himself, and that his hope might not be ill grounded; he said it was not hope, but certainty, for he was sure God was reconciled to him, through Christ. When I spoke to him of confessing his sin, he said he had

written it, and it would be published to all Europe, but he did not say a word concerning it to me: so I left him, and saw him no more, till I met him at the place of execution. When he saw me, he smiled on me, and whereas I had sometimes warned him of the danger of affecting to be a counterfeit bravo (*faux brave*), he said to me, before I spoke to him, That I should see it was not a false bravery, but that he was fearless to the last. I wished him to consider well upon what he grounded his confidence. He said, he was sure he was now to be received into heaven; and that his sins were forgiven him. I asked him if he had any thing to say to the people? He said, no. After he had whispered a short word to a gentleman, he was willing the rope should be tied to the gibbet. He called for the German minister; but the crowd was such, that it was not possible for him to come near; so he desired me to pray with him in French: but I told him I could not venture to pray in that language; but, since he understood English, I would pray in English. I observed he had some touches in his mind, when I offered up that petition, That, for the sake of the blood of Christ, the innocent blood, shed in that place, might be forgiven; and that the cry of the one for mercy might prevail over the cry of the other for justice. At these words he looked up to heaven with the greatest sense that I had at any time observed in him. After I prayed, he said nothing, but that he was now going to be happy with God: so I left him. He continued in his undaunted manner, looking up often to heaven, and sometimes round about him to the spectators. After they had stood about a quarter of an hour under the gibbet, they were asked when they would give the signal for their being turned off; they answered, That they were ready, and that the cart might be driven away when it pleased the sheriff to order it. So a little while after it was driven away; and thus they all ended their lives. It is possible, that conversing in French, as we did, some small mistakes might have been made, either by them in expressing themselves, or by me in not understanding them right: but I am sure they could not be material; for I took care to make them repeat what they said, that was of any importance, often, and in different words; so that any errors, that may have been committed, are inconsiderable.

March 11, 1681-2.

G. BURNET.

Dr. Horneck's Account of what himself observed in the Carriage of the late Prisoners.

THE lieutenant and Polonian, the authors of the following papers, having acquainted me with their intent to have them published to the world, to testify the sincerity of their repentance; I was very willing, at the desire of Dr. Burnet, with whom they intrusted them, to be instrumental in the translation, and to take this opportunity to give my sentiments of the behaviour of the respective prisoners. The first time the doctor and myself went to visit them, we saw no sense of the crime in any of them, but the Polonian; who professed his sorrow, and gave me a large account of his condition, and how he came to be drawn into the barbarous murder, by the captain: adding, that whatever the captain might say in his own vindication, that it was through his servant's mistake that the fact was done; if he had a thousand lives, he would venture them all for this truth, that the captain did peremptorily bid him fire upon the coach, and kill the gentleman that was in it. And that he was so far from mistaking his command, that after reasoning with him about the barbarousness of the deed, the captain bid him not trouble himself about that, but do what he commanded. The lieutenant, when I told him, that according to our laws, men present at a murder committed, were liable to the same penalty with the actors; replied, If that be your law, I have nothing to say against it. And, at that time, seemed to have no great remorse; which made us leave him, after some exhortations to repentance, and consideration of his ways.

The captain, at the same time, hard as flint, entertained us with a discourse of his resolutions to believe himself innocent, to defy death, and to fancy, that if his judges would

be impartial, they could not blame or condemn him. So we left him. The second visit I made them was in a few days after, when the lieutenant sent for me: and, being then to pass by the captain's chamber, I thought fit to call upon him, before I saw the other; and here repeating my former counsels to him, and putting him in mind of the All-seeing Eye above, who knew his crimes, though he did conceal them from man; he was pleased to tell me, he had far other apprehensions of God, than I had; and was confident God would consider a gentleman, and deal with him suitably to the condition and profession he had placed him in; and would not take it ill, if a soldier, who lived by his sword, revenged the affront offered to him by another. I replied, that there was but one way to eternal happiness, and that God, in his laws, had made no exception for any sorts or degrees of men; and, consequently, revenge in a gentleman was a sin God would not pardon, without true repentance, any more than he would forgive it in a peasant. He asking me here-upon, what repentance was? I told him it was, so to hate the sin we had done, that, for the future, no argument should prevail with us to commit it again. To which he said, that if he were to live, he should not forbear to give any one as good as he brings: with some other expressions, which I am loth to repeat, for they made me so melancholy, that I was forced to leave him. Yet I bid him consider of what he had said, as he loved his own soul.

I went from thence to the lieutenant, in whom I found a very great alteration, and saw now several good books, and the Bible among the rest, lying before him; and he now was readier to confess his guilt, than I to exhort him to a free confession. Several things, he had said to Dr. Burnet, he expressed now to me; adding, that it was God's just judgment upon him to let him fall thus: for when he consented to engage with the captain in the fatal enterprise, he had not said his prayers, nor read in his beloved book, 'Dilheren's Way to Eternal Happiness,' a month before; which two things, if he had continued to do, with that devotion he used formerly, the devil could not, and should not have persuaded him to come into such a desperate confederacy. I advised him to repeat Psalm li. often, as being most suitable to his condition; and directed him to other prayers in a book, which the Lutheran minister had lent him. He now told me how he was concerned for the captain, and cried out, O this hard-hearted captain, I pray for him day and night, that God would turn his heart and melt him, and make him sensible of the errors of his ways! He professed that he did not desire to live: all the favour he begged of the king, was, that he would cause him to be beheaded; for the reasons mentioned in the preceding papers. Yet he hoped his fall was permitted by Almighty God, to bring him to a true sense not only of this, but of all his other sins; and that God suffered him thus to be thrown down, that, through that toss, he might rebound the higher; and that though he had walked in the dark, yet he doubted not, but God would draw light from that darkness. He protested, at that time, upon my expostulations with him, that it was not approaching death, and the punishment that was like to attend him in this world, that moved him to repentance; but the blackness of the crime, and his offending a gracious God, and forgetting his dear Redeemer's precepts. And here he broke forth into holy ejaculations fit for a Christian and a true penitent. And when, among other passages, I minded him, that it would not be long before he would come to his trial, and so to his execution: he cheerfully replied, that he was ready to obey God's summons. And whereas I told him, it would be within a few days: he said, he should be content, if it were within a few hours. He then shewed me the places, in a little book he had by him, 'The Way to Eternal Happiness,' which gave him the greatest comfort; and prescribed him most excellent directions. The book treated of the nature of a true repentance, of confession to the ministers of the Gospel, of the Lord's Supper, and the rule of a Christian life; to which are added several meditations proper for festivals, prayers suited to all conditions, and a pathetic sermon on the Passion of Christ: all which, he said, were a great support to him in his present condition; which he deplored chiefly, because he had made so bold with God, who had manifested himself to him upon many occasions. I asked him whether he had been seduced by the count, or by the captain? To which

he answered, that he had been in the count's company twice, but the captain would not let him know that it was the count; yet he believed it was he, having formerly seen him, and that the captain still told him he had a quarrel with such a gentleman.

I went from thence to the Polonian, whom I found engaged in reading a German book, containing prayers and devotions, fit for a penitent; which, he told me, he was repeating to himself day and night. I gave him such heads of contemplation, as I thought proper for his condition and capacity; exhorted him to recollect himself, and to find out what other sins he had formerly lived in; it being not sufficient to deplore one, but all he could remember, upon serious examination; which he promised me to do, and so I departed.

The last time I was with them was on the eighth of March, and while Dr. Burnet went to the lieutenant, I visited the captain; whom, when I had saluted, I told him, I hoped he had taken his dangerous condition into consideration, and wrought himself into a greater sense of his sins, than I could observe in him, when I was last with him. He said he knew not what I meant by this address. I then explained myself; gave him to understand, that I spoke it with relation to the late great sin he had been engaged in, and that I hoped, his approaching death had made him more penitent, than I had found him the other day. To which he replied, That he was sensible he was a great sinner, and had committed divers enormities, in his life-time, of which he truly repented, and was confident that God had pardoned him: but he could not well understand the humour of our English divines, who pressed him to make particular declarations of things they had a mind he should say, though never so false, or contrary to truth; and at this, he said, he wondered the more, because, in our church, we were not for auricular confession. He guessed indeed, he said, what it was we would have him declare, &c. that count Koningsmark had been the contriver of the murder, and had been in consultation with him about compassing his design, and prompted and bribed him for that end; which falsehood he would never be guilty of, if he had never so many lives to lose. He understood, he said, that the lieutenant had been tampered with, and by promises of a decent burial, enticed to confess things notoriously false: as that he should shew the said lieutenant a letter, signed by count Koningsmark, to engage him in the business, and offer him money to stab Mr. Thynn, &c. but, as for his part, he was resolved to confess no more, than he had already declared publicly before the council.

I let him run on, and then told him, that he was much mistaken in the divines of the church of England, who neither used to reveal private confessions, nor oblige offenders, in such cases, to confess things contrary to truth: that this was both against their practice, and their principles. The confession, I said, he was so often exhorted to, was no private, but a public confession; for, as his crime had been public, so his repentance and confession ought to be public too; and, in that he was loth to come to it, he gave us but too much occasion to suspect, that his pretended repentance was not sincere and cordial. I told him, that in such wrongs and injuries as he had done, there was either restitution or satisfaction to be made: at which word he replying, how could he make restitution, now Mr. Thynn was dead? I answered, Because he could not make restitution, that therefore he should make some satisfaction; and this he might do, by a free and full confession of his sin and of the cause of it, and who they were that put him upon it. I added, that where true repentance melts the heart, after such commissions, there the true penitent was readier to accuse himself, than others to charge him with the crime; and would have that abhorrency of the sin, that he would conceal nothing, that served either to aggravate, or expose it to the hatred of all mankind; and that it was an injustice to the publick, not to betray the accomplices, and assistants, and occasions, in such heinous offences. I told him, he seemed to talk too high for a true penitent; for those, that were truly so, were exceeding humble, not only to God, but to men too: and one part of their humility to men was, to confess to them, and to their relations, the wrong they had done them. Whereupon he answered, that it was enough for him to be humble to God, but he knew of no humility he owed to man; and God, he believed, had a greater

favour for gentlemen, than to require all these punctilioes at their hands; and that it was absurd to think, that so many thousand gentlemen, abroad in the world, that stood upon their honour and reputation as much as he, should be damned, or for ever miserable, because they cannot stoop to things, which will prejudice and spoil the figure they make in the world. As for his part, he said, he believed Christ's blood had washed away his sins, as well as other men's; for on this errand he came into the world, to save sinners: he was, indeed, sorry Mr. Thynn was dead, but that was all he could do. I told him, that Christ's blood was actually applied to none but the true penitent; and that true repentance must discover itself in meekness, humility, tenderheartedness, compassion, righteousness, making ingenuous confessions, and, so far as we are able, satisfaction too; else, notwithstanding the treasure of Christ's blood, men might drop into hell.

Upon this he replied, that he feared no hell. I answered, possibly he might believe none, or, if he did, it might be a very easy one of his own making. He said, he was not such a fool, as to believe that souls could fry in material fire, or be roasted, as meat, on a great hearth, or in a kitchen; pointing to the chimney. His belief was, that the punishment of the damned consisted in a deprivation of the gracious and beatifick presence of God: upon which deprivation, there arose a terror and anguish in their souls, because they had missed of so great a happiness. He added, that possibly I might think him to be an atheist, but he was so far from those thoughts, that he could scarce believe there was any man so sottish in the world, as not to believe the being of a God, gracious and just, and generous to his creatures; nor could any man, that was not either mad or drunk, believe things came fortuitously, or that this world was governed by chance. I said, that this truth I approved of, and was glad to see him so well settled in the reasonableness of that principle: and, as for material fire in the other world, I would not quarrel with him for denying it, but rather hold with him, that the fire and brimstone, spoken of in Scripture, were but emblems of those inward terrors, which would gnaw and tear the consciences of impenitent sinners: but still this was a greater punishment than material fire, and this punishment he had reason to fear, if he could not make it out to me, or other men, that his repentance was sincere.

Hereupon he grew sullen; and, some good books lying upon the table, one of which was 'Arnt's true Christianity,' he turned away from me, and seemed to read in it; and, after a short pause, he told me, that he understood the lieutenant's papers were to be printed, wherein there would be part of count Koningsmark's letter, with some other circumstances, reflecting on the count and himself; but, if they were printed, he would print his own story too, which should undeceive the world, in the fancies and opinions, the lieutenant's papers should draw them into; and, in that paper, he would set forth the behaviour and manners of the English clergy, and the strange way and methods they take with poor prisoners, to extort confessions from them. As for the lieutenant, he said, he was a fellow that was poor and wretched, and, by his means, kept from starving, and sometimes he was not well in his wits; that himself was a gentleman, and a man of an estate, and should leave great sums of money behind him; and that no English gentleman would have been so coarsely used in his country, meaning Pomerania, as he hath been in this; and, if the lieutenant persisted in his falsities, he would die with a lye in his mouth. I said, it was not probable that a dying man, and a man that was so very sensible of his sins, and who had betrayed nothing of any disorder in his carriage, during his imprisonment, should tell and aver things, which he knew to be untrue. He said, it was no strange thing, in England, for dying men to speak notorious untruths; there being not a few examples of those who had lately done so. I told him, it would be very fit that the lieutenant and he should speak together; and captain Richardson, I thought, would send him presently. With that he grew angry; and replied, he had nothing to say to him, nor did he care for seeing him, nor for being troubled with any English divines; they being men too inquisitive and meddling, with things that belonged not unto them: and hereupon he turned away from me again to the book that lay upon the table.

By-and-by the lieutenant came in, with a penitent countenance, and a mortified look: the captain, seeing him, grew presently choleric, and retired into a corner of the room, and then asked him, what he came to trouble him for? He did not care for the sight of him, especially since he had bespattered him so notoriously with untruths. The lieutenant very meekly told him, that they had not long to live, and therefore he was come to admonish him to repent of what he had done, and to tell him, that he freely forgave him the wrong he had done him, by drawing him into the late unhappy action. The captain hereupon called him *lyar*, and asked him, how he durst vent such abominable lyes concerning him and count Koningsmark; how he could have the confidence to tell men, that he shewed him a letter of the count's, in order to engage him; and of four-hundred pounds, that he should offer him, to stab Mr. Thynn; and talk sometimes of four-hundred, and sometimes of two-hundred pounds, which was a perfect contradiction: and if, said he, I had been so base or foolish, as to make you such an offer, you, that were the elder man, and may be supposed to have had more wit than myself, why did not you chide and reprove me, for tempting you to such dishonesty? One would think you are distracted, or had a soft place in your head. Is this your gratitude to a person that hath relieved you, and done you kindnesses? And are you not afraid to die with a lye in your mouth? Here I interposed, and told the captain, that this wrath and anger was but an ill preparation for another world, and that greater meekness and charity would become a dying man. To this he answered, it is you divines that are the causes of this passion, by obliging people to confess more than is true. The lieutenant, all this while, heard the captain very patiently; professed that this was the first time that he was called *lyar* to his face; and that, which formerly he could not have endured from the greatest man, he was very willing to bear now, out of respect to that God, from whom he expected pardon of his sins. And, as for what he had said and confessed to other men, he took God to witness, that it was nothing but truth: and though it was possible, in his confessions, he might mistake pounds for dollars, that being the word commonly used in telling money in England, as dollar is in Germany, yet he meant nothing by it but dollars; and what he had said of the different sums, was very true, for at one time he had offered him two-hundred, at another four-hundred, so that could be no contradiction. The captain, notwithstanding this, still called him *lyar*, and ungrateful; while the lieutenant stood before him, talking with great meekness and humility, and for the most part, with his hat off, and saying to him: You know, and your conscience knows the truth of these things; why would you offer me these sums? You know you made me these offers; God forgive you, and I forgive you. This said, when the lieutenant saw that his speaking did but enrage him more, he took his leave, wishing him a sight of the error of his ways. The lieutenant being gone, I stayed; hoping this religious confidence of the lieutenant might work the captain into remorse, but it was all in vain. I persisted in my former assertions, That repentance could not be true, which was not attended with meekness, humility, and patience; but he turning from me, and looking into his book, and refusing to give me an answer, I left him too; wishing him a better mind.

From thence I went up to the penitent lieutenant, where I found the Polonian too. I told the lieutenant, I was heartily glad to see his Christian behaviour under reproaches; and nothing pleased me more in matters of repentance, than humility and patience, under injuries; a thing absolutely necessary, where we have to deal with God, who hath been for many years patient, under the injuries we have offered to his majesty. He then vented some comfortable ejaculations, and expressed how freely he forgave that stubborn man, whom no entreaties or arguments could work upon. And while Dr. Burnet went with the lieutenant to the fire-side, I entered into discourse with the Polonian, who gave me his confession in High-Dutch; written from his own mouth by the lieutenant, and signed by him the Polonian. I asked him, Whether, as he hoped for mercy of the great God, he believed the things said, in that confession, to be true or no? He answered, Yes: whereupon, to be fully satisfied, I desired a German gentleman then present to read it over again

in his, and my hearing, and to read it distinctly, that in case there were any mistakes in it, he might rectify it; for as I was willing, I said, he should clear himself, so I should be sorry, he should asperse another man, or say any thing of him, that might unjustly reflect upon his reputation. He promised me, that he would attend carefully, and take notice of every expression: which accordingly he did; and finding a mistake in the paper, in point of time, he immediately gave notice of it, which I caused to be rectified; and having heard it read over before him, I charged him once more, as he was to give an account to God, in a day or two, to tell me, whether things were carried on, and managed in those circumstances, as are mentioned in the paper? To which he religiously answered in the affirmative. I asked him thereupon, how long he had been a Protestant of the Augsburg-Confession; for he had been bred a Papist? To which he answered, Ever since his last sickness; which, as I remember, he said, was about Michaelmas last; when being told, that the Protestant religion was more conformable to the word of God, he consented to embrace it, and hath kept to it ever since. I demanded of him to tell me seriously, whether he had not led a very debauched life formerly, which made him venture upon that late inhuman enterprize. He told me, No; and that he had been so far from committing any such crime heretofore, that he had had the good fortune to live with masters, who were sober, and men that were enemies to disorder and debauchery; that according to his capacity, he had always made conscience of grosser sins, and had been very punctual in saying those prayers he had been taught, either by his parents, or such persons as he conversed with; and that captain Vrats, when he bid him shoot Mr. Thynn, told him, that it was here, as it was in Poland, where the servant, that doth his master's command in such cases, is blameless, and the master bears all the burden; and that prevailed with him; though he found no small reluctance in his breast, and pleaded with the captain about the heinousness of shedding innocent blood. I then endeavoured to find out what kind of repentance he felt in himself, whether it proceeded from fear of a shameful death, or from an hatred of sin, and love to God; whereupon he gave me such an account as his honest simplicity dictated to him, and said, that if he were to live any longer in this world, he verily thought this one sin would keep his soul so awake for the future, that it would not be an easy matter to make him act again, against his conscience: this had roused him, and he now perceived the sweetness of a good life, and keeping close to the ways of God. He was sensible he had deserved the punishment, the law would inflict upon him; and all his confidence was in the blood of Jesus, who knew how he was drawn in; and the plainness of his temper, wrought upon by the captain's subtlety: however, he freely forgave him, and commended his soul into the hands of God.

And here ended my conference with the respective prisoners. Having wished them the powerful assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I took my leave of them. The lieutenant (who in repeated words expressed his honest design, in having the following papers published,) desired me to go with him, on Friday following, to the place of execution; there to tell the spectators what he should think fit to say to them. I told him I would very readily oblige him in his request, but that I was bound to preach that very morning, and that very hour, when he should be led to the place of execution: however, Dr. Burnet, who had been his spiritual father all along, would not fail to do that last office for him; in which he rested satisfied, and with all humility in a penitent posture, bid us adieu.

In the translation of the following papers, I could not be curious in the style, because I was forced to keep to the simplicity of the lieutenant's expressions. He writ not to shew his learning, but his piety: having never been brought up to letters, rhetorick is not a thing that can be expected from him. Truth sounds better from a plain man, than from an orator; and the less ornament there is in a dying person's discourse, the less it will be suspected of hypocrisy. The expressions used here speak his heart, more than his fancy; and when a man is preparing for a tremendous eternity, it would be foolish to study eloquence. The words here are not chosen, but flow naturally; and the honesty of his soul dwells in the home-spun meditations. To have affected better language, than himself used, had been injustice; and to say in English what he had not said in his own language,

had not been to translate, but to polish his admonitions. Such a plain harangue, it is like, may be nauseous in a critical age, where learning and wit ride in triumph; yet a soul, touched with the same loadstone that his was, can relish the sweetness of it. Himself was afraid, that the simplicity of the language would be an offence to the curious readers; and therefore begs of them, when they came to peruse it, to make greater use of their charity, than their sagacity.

The same I must say of the Polonian's confession, where you must expect no better entertainment: he could but just express his meaning, and was no greater scholar than nature had made him.

I was at first in some doubt, whether I should publish the captain's answers to my queries, and expostulations; because some of them savour of profaneness. Yet considering that the Evangelist hath thought fit to acquaint the world with the ill language of the one as well as with the penitent expressions of the other malefactor, I was willing to follow that great example; hoping that those loose discourses of the man may serve as sea-marks, to warn passengers from running upon those sands. That which I chiefly observed in him was, that honour and bravery was the idol he adored: a piece of preposterous devotion, which he maintained to the last; as if he thought it would merit praise, not to decede from what he had once said, though it was with the loss of God's favour, and the 'shipwreck of a good conscience.' He considered God, as some generous, yet partial prince, who would regard men's blood, descent, and quality more than their errors; and give vast grains of allowance to their breeding and education: and possibly the stout behaviour of some of the ancient Roman bravos (for he had read history) might roll in his mind, and tempt him to write copies after those originals; or to think, that it was great to do ill, and to defend it to the last. Whether after my last conference with him he relented, I know not: those that saw him go to his execution observed, that he looked undaunted, and with a countenance so steady, that it seemed to speak his scorn, not only of all the spectators that looked upon him, but of death itself. But I judge not of the thoughts of dying men: those the Searcher of all hearts knows best, to whom men stand or fall. I cannot say, that I remember every syllable of the several conferences; but sure I am, I have not mistaken the sense of what he said; nay, think I have kept to the very words he then used, as much as is possible. I would not wrong the living, much less the dead; but truth is a thing, which though not always conveniently, yet may lawfully, be said at all times. This was all I aimed at: and because reports are already spread abroad of other discourses and expressions, this unhappy man should use to me, and how he affronted me in prison it was fit the world be undeceived.

At the Savoy, March 13, 1681.

ANTHONY HORNECK.

For Dr. BURNET.

SIR,

I HEARTILY thank you for all your kindness; and promise myself, that, according to your word, you will publish my little writings, intended only to let the world see, that I came not into this country, with a design of being engaged in the late black deed. And since the justices have not declared what I can say, or did say for myself; the rabble, it is like, will be of opinion, that money brought me over into these parts: in which verdict, they will be undeceived, if you will be pleased to let them read, in English, what I have set down in these papers.

Written in the prison, London, 1682.

I remain, Sir, your obliged servant,
JOHN STERN.

The last Meditations, Prayers, and Confession of Lieutenant JOHN STERN.

Let God have all the glory, and man acknowledge his own unworthiness.

I. 'SEEK ye first God's kingdom, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you;' Matt. vi. 33. 'I said in my trouble, I am cast out from thine eyes; notwithstanding, thou didst hear the voice of my weeping. When I cried unto thee, thou didst see my trouble, and didst know my soul in adversity. Watch, and pray, that ye enter not into temptation; for the devil, like a roaring lion, walks about, seeking whom he may devour.' In the third book of Moses, it is written, 'Thou shalt bear no malice to any of the children of thy people:' by these are meant our neighbours. In the first book of Moses, chap. vi. 'The inclinations of man are said to be evil from his youth; but the Spirit of God can endure no such maliciousness.'—I have been a traveller, any time these twenty-three years, and have perceived but little malice in my heart, though I have had too often cause and provocation: yet have I committed all to God, as the supreme Judge of all. What hath brought me to this present misfortune, is known to God alone: yet I am greatly to blame, because I did not abandon the world, lived in carnal security, and minded the lusts of the flesh more than God, blessed for evermore! For which I am heartily penitent; and I thank my God, who hath brought me to a knowledge of myself, and given me his grace, to come to a true sorrow for my manifold sins. If I have been enticed, or tempted by any person to this wickedness, (as it is evident I have,) I beg of God to pardon him, for Christ's sake! and I desire all persons, that shall read what I have written here, during my imprisonment, to consider of it seriously. Let no man rejoice at his neighbour's misfortunes: every man's last hour is not come yet. When you see a prisoner led along, pray for him, for the same may happen to you: have compassion on your neighbours, and God will have compassion of you. Be merciful, and God will be merciful to you. I give thee thanks, sweet Jesus Christ, Son of God, that thou hast given me to understand so much out of thy holy word: give me constancy and perseverance, that I may obtain the salvation of my soul. Amen.

II. God saith, 'Man, help thyself, and I will help thee.' But alas! while we are in this valley of tears, we think seldom, or not at all, of the Divine assistance; our eyes are darkened, and we consider little besides 'the lusts of the eyes, and the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life;' of which Christ himself hath sometimes complained, when men have forgotten him. Happy is the man that feels true repentance in his heart. Lord Jesu! give me that grace, who am the chief of sinners. God! thou hast not sent thy Son into the world, to condemn sinners, but to save them: O, save me, not for my sake, but upon the account of that precious blood, which was shed for me on the cross.

III. I pray God, nobody may be scandalized at what I write; but let every body lay to heart what a poor sinner writes in prison. Ye children of the world, when will you bethink yourselves, and 'consider the things, which belong to your peace: but it is hid from your eyes.' O, may it not continue hid from you! keep close to the word of God, and think on 'the woman's seed, which was to bruise the serpent's head.' Be vigilant, and pray, that ye fall not into temptation: think often, that your sins are 'an abomination to God.' Take heed you give no ill example to young children, which if you do, your account will be dreadful.

IV. John, the forerunner of our Lord Christ, when he began his ministry, the first words, he let drop from his mouth, were to recommend repentance unto the impenitent, Matt. iii. and Matt. iv. saying, 'The kingdom of heaven, and the day of grace, is come to you, and at hand; and God offers you pardon of sin, and eternal life.' In the vith of St. Mark, the twelve apostles went out, and preached, that 'Men should repent;' and Acts iii. 'Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.' And Acts xiv. 'What mean ye, Sirs; we preach unto you the Gospel, that ye may turn to God.' O my dear Lord Jesus, make me partaker of this conversion, for thy name sake! Amen.

V. Acts xvii. 30. 'Ye men of Athens, the times of ignorance God winked at; but now he commands all men every where to repent.' Acts xxvi. 20. St. Paul shews to king Agrippa that he was therefore called from Heaven, to be an apostle, to preach 'repentance both to Jews and Gentiles.' Ye that are parents, if you have children, keep them close to the fear of God; teach them the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; send them to school, and bind them out to an honest trade; be not ashamed of this; it is better than an idle life, or French gallantry, dancing, &c. Keep your children out of bad company, whether they be sons or daughters. A heathen writes, that, 'Evil communication corrupts good manners;' which myself hath had very sad experience of. Before my twenty-three years travel, I should have learned a trade; but it is too late now. God give me patience in all my sufferings! I hope, by the help of God, I shall, before long, be separated from the world; for it is my greatest desire and comfort, to dwell with God. Amen.

VI. Gen. iii. God saith, 'In the sweat of thy brows, shalt thou eat thy bread, till thou return to the earth, of which thou art taken.' Psal. civ. 'When the sun rises, man goes forth to his labour;' but not to such labour, as the devil suggests and tempts men to.

VII. John xxi. When Peter was more concerned about St. John, than about himself, the Lord said, 'What is that to thee?' Luke vi. It is said, 'Thou hypocrite, first pull out the beam that is in thine own eye, and then thou shalt take the mote out of thy brother's eye;' and thus it is with us. The mote in our brother's eye we easily spy, but are regardless of the beam in our own eye.

VIII. Rom. xiv. It is said, 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant; he stands or falls to his own master; he shall be holden up, for God is able to hold him up.' 'Preserve my steps, O Lord, that my foot slip not.' O Lord, by thy power, strengthen the weakness of my flesh, that I may fight manfully, and, both in life and death, may press toward thee. Amen.

IX. And now, ye that are governors of the world, abstain from anger, exercise justice; let not the sword grow rusty in the scabbard, though you begin with mine own head: let the will of the Lord be done. Ye princes, and great lords, do the same; have an eye upon your officers, and take notice, how, instead of doing justice to the widows and orphans, they go about banqueting, visiting of play-houses, playing and hunting; the rest I will not name, for fear of giving scandal to the younger sort; see that none of them take bribes, for unjust bribing cries to Heaven for vengeance. By the word *governors*, I understand kings, princes, viceroys, lords of countries and provinces in Christendom, colonels, captains, and whatever titles they may have: punish none that are innocent; release rather ten that are guilty, than condemn one innocent man. Ye kings, princes, and presidents, let no proud and fantastic dresses be allowed of in your land; for through pride, the angel turned devil. Ye fathers and mothers, clothe your children decently, when they are little; when they grow big, they soon become bad enough. Let no man be taxed or rated above his ability; oppress not the poor, rather help him to bear his burden, as much as it is possible.

X. Let us say, out of Psal. xviii. 28, 'The Lord my God turns my darkness into light.' In Genesis we read, 'That the thoughts of man's heart are evil from his youth.' The Spirit of the Lord can take away that sinful inclination. I will say with David, Psal. lxxxix. 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me; cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me;' Out of Psal. cxv. 'O Lord, not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name, give all the honour and glory.' He that is fallen into poverty, let him hope in God; he will help him. Psal. l. God himself saith, 'Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt praise me.' My strength is made perfect in weakness, for Christ is good and gracious; and, because he is merciful, let us call upon him: as it is said, Luke xv. 'Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired servants.'

XI. The apostle St. Paul mentions, in a certain place, how 'a man may have all things, and yet have no charity.' Christ also exhorts us to 'love one another.' I may say as

it is in the song, Love is quite extinguished among the children of men. Deut. xxii. 'If thou see a stranger's ass, or ox, go astray, thou shalt take them into thy house.' Levit. xix. 'Thou shalt bear no grudge to any of the children of thy people, which have provoked thee to anger.' Prov. xxi. 'If thine enemy hunger, give him meat; if he thirst, give him drink.' Mat. viii. and Luk. vi. 'I say unto you that hear, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute you, and despitefully use you, that ye may be children of your Father, which is in heaven; who is good to the unthankful, and to the evil.' Think of this, ye proud, vain-glorious, and wrathful men, who say, Shall I yield? I am much better than you. 'Agree with your brother quickly, whiles you are yet in the way with him.' When you come to your long-home, you will be weary, and find another register or book of account before you. And here I beg, of all those who shall read these lines, if in any thing I have been against them, or offended them, to forgive me for Christ's sake.

XII. Eccles. vi. Solomon saith, 'It is an evil, that I saw under the sun, and it is very common among men, that God hath given to some men riches and honour, and they want nothing that the heart desires.' By such, Solomon understands lords, and governors in this world. Take heed of pride, and voluptuousness, wrath and anger; for these are now become very common: and such men are apt to cry, 'Am not I a lord? Am not I a governor?' King David was very penitent. Exod. v. Pharaoh tells Moses, Who is the Lord, whose voice I should hear? But notwithstanding he must sink in the Red-Sea. Take heed; the sea of sin is deeper than the Western Ocean: make haste, make haste to get into heaven's boat, that ye may get into the ship of God.

XIII. Ye proud; who is there among you, that will take a view of his life? This is very usual with you to cry, I have sent my taylor into France, to bring me newest modes and fashions. Thou hadst better gone to Jerusalem, and considered the passion of Christ: and much better would it be for thee, if, instead of voluptuous youngsters, thou hadst some grave ancient man about thee, whether secular or ecclesiastical; but such men must be fools among you. Gen. iii. When Adam and Eve, out of pride, affected to be like God, they were cast out from the presence of God. The Sodomites were proud, Ezek. xvi. 49. This was the sin of thy sister Sodom, pride and idleness, and fulness of bread.

XIV. Ye officers, colonels, and great men, how do you live? When a country minister dies, to whom goes the parsonage? to him that brings most money. Ye ask not, Have you studied hard? do you live a good life? are you a good preacher, upon trial? Only the man saith, Here is my purse; and that is enough. The deceased parson hath a son, it is true, that is a scholar; but he hath no money, or he is too young. The widow hath divers children. Thus he pleads: and is not this a most lamentable thing? Ye generals and colonels, where are your camp-preachers? (I do not ask you about quarter-masters, belonging either to generals or regiments; those you do not want, for they fill your purses:) And what religion are they of? Why of this, to take all they can get. Who knows how long it will last? Sometimes you carry your camp-preachers, or army-chaplains, in your pockets: O, how do you rob God of his honour, and your neighbours of their souls! he that serves, let him serve faithfully, that he may be worthy of his salary: he that hath none, needs not trouble himself about entering into service. Ye generals, colonels, and commanders, (when you are in your march, or form a camp, and are either besieging, or besieged,) pray remember to exercise brotherly love to the meanest, as well as the greatest. Ye commissaries, where is the provision ye are to make for the army? Three parts of it are in your pockets; and then you give the general a present, but the poor sheep may go to grass. You countrymen (that is the word), you must pay; give what you have, and the rest you may keep; such a great man, or friend of the general, must have a safeguard. The poor widows and orphans run about like amazed people, with their children in their arms, their hair dishevelled, and tears running down their cheeks like pease; and you shall not find one in an hundred, that will give them one penny, though you great ones have, it may be, taken possession of their cows, calves, and sheep. Your soldiers, in their march, must at least have gifts brought them: sometimes the money

is drawn out of people's purses by dreadful oaths. In another place, you let the poor soldiers lie, as it were, on a heap, and plague the whole country: then the poor must run to the rich, to borrow money of them to treat and entertain the soldiers. You great ones have abundance brought in to you by your officers, whereas the poor soldier must content himself with an empty house. You cause the poor people's oxen and cows to be driven away, and then sell them; but the meaner sort must eat dry bread.

XV. Ye gentlemen, burgomasters, aldermen, and grand bailiffs; pity the poor in your exacting contributions. Take heed ye oppress not the widow and orphan, nor take their goods away for your private use, nor corrupt yourselves with bribes. Do you understand the Latin phrase, *Quid juris?* Or the other, *Da pecuniam?* To make your own cause good, you make feasts at the public cost; and this happens often, when you are to sit as judges, either in matters of blood, or in civil causes. Before you do so, pray the Lord's prayer, and consider the import of that place, John xiii. 34: 'Hereby shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another,' *i. e.* do justice one to another. There are many good Christians among you; but, alas! far more of the other sort.

XVI. My lords, ye bishops, abbots, deans, if it be so, that in the town or country you live in, you have, either for money or kindred-sake, placed any ministers, or school-masters, which are not capable to look to their charge, or to instruct youth, you will have a very great account to give. Ye great-ones, you should at least visit your clergy once a year: but I do not understand to what purpose you put the poor parson to the charge of a banquet², which takes off, at least, a fourth part of his income the first year, if his parishioners in the country do not help him. You should preach, and examine the children; this your office requires. If the minister hath good drink in his house, he is commended; and those that love the good liquor, will commend his sermon: sometimes there is one that will give him a silver cup for his pains, and that is the humour of the world.

XVII. Ye merchants, ye know it is written, 'With what measure you mete, it shall be measured unto you again.' Live up to this rule: put not out your money to usury; content yourselves with honest gain, for all depends upon the blessing of God; unjust gains descend not to the third generation. Let every man, in his own station, take care to mind his calling, and do what he is commanded. Do not sit down and write two for one, and then lay the fault upon your man. Take heed of cursing and imprecations, whereby you endeavour to make old commodities new; especially where the buyer hath no great skill, whence he must needs be cheated: you give it him upon your word, though it is not worth a straw.

XVIII. Ye seamen and skippers, how do you live at sea? Take up your anchors in the name of God, and in the same name you ought to spread your sails. When the merchants grow rich, presently they must have great gardens, with delicate houses for pleasure, where they may treat their rich acquaintance. If they give at any time something to the poor, in their houses, or in the hospitals, it is not much. When they begin to be merry at their feasts, then the next discourse is about their incomes: "I have a ship at sea, saith one; so much I get by this voyage." Wretched man! Thou talkest of thy gain, but dost not pray to God: thou mindest thy pleasure; thou dealest with the great ones in the country; sometimes thou goest abroad thyself, and courtiers cheat thee; then thou cursest, because thou canst not recover it. In travelling, men meet with variety of people. Sometimes thou hast an old mistress, her thou goest to visit; and after thou hast the confidence to ask, why thy ship was lost at sea? He that hath an honest wife, let him make much of her, for she is a rare jewel. The seamen, when they come to shore any where, nothing but drinking and carousing all night will serve them; and the glass must go round, and that is their way of living; and from hence come those many misfortunes at sea.

XIX. Ye doctors of the civil law, proctors, and advocates, it is needless to expound

² [Parochial ministers were formerly obliged to provide entertainment, at the visitation of their ordinaries; in lieu of which, procurations are now taken.]

any thing to you out of the Scripture, you are better scholars than I. Psal. xvi. it is written, 'I have set the Lord always before me.' This is worth your thinking of; for there may be men among you, who love to shear the sheep, so long as there is any wool upon them: many of you are squint-eyed, looking for the hand that comes with a bribe; which is a thing doth more with you, than the greatest justice of the cause that is before you. May be, there is one in fifty who contents himself with half so much as another man takes. The Holy Ghost direct your hearts, that you may mind your neighbour's good and welfare more; for that is to act like Christians.

XX. Ye drunkards, ranters, and blasphemers, and underminers of your neighbours, who give ill counsel to their ruin. Ye whoremasters and gamesters; ye haughty and wrathful men; I pray God send you some sparks of his grace, that you may smite your breasts, as the publican in the temple. I hope you will consider the text we read in the holy Scriptures, Rev. xviii. 7, where it is said of Babylon, 'How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously; so much torment and sorrow give her.' From hence divines do infer, that every sin will meet with a peculiar punishment in hell; and, consequently, a proud and haughty man will have the honour of being tormented first, or before others; or will be trampled on by others. The voluptuous will have a cup of gall given him; a drunkard, be plagued with an infinite thirst, Luke xvi. 24. The unchaste person, with putrefaction and worms, which shall break forth at the members whereby he hath sinned; Eccl. xix. 3. A slanderer, with serpents and scorpions. There were some comfort in it, if there might be an end of this; but, 'As the tree falls, so it will lie; whether it fall towards the south, or towards the north;' saith Solomon; Eccl. xi. 3. So that no change of their torment is to be expected. The damned can get no comfort, no ease, no mitigation of their pain. If they could but have hopes of a drop of water hanging at a finger's end, Luke xvi. 24, this might yet refresh them. Rev. xiv. 11, it is said, 'They have no rest day nor night, but their shame and pain shall last for ever. The smoke of their torment shall rise for ever.' Read the aforesaid place, though you never read or considered it before; the door of grace is yet open. Ye drunkards and whoremongers, ye cry, 'Let us be merry, for who knows how long we are to live?' When thou readest, Prov. vi. 11, 'So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man;' do not take in thy meat and drink like beasts, but with consideration of the superabundant and Almighty goodness and mercy of God. Tit. i. 15. 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. Prov. iv. 17. Ecclesiasticus xxxi. 21. Luke xxi. 34. For God's sake read these chapters, and you will see what hazard you run in living in the world, as if there were neither heaven nor hell. There are too many, God knows, that believe all things alike. Let us confess our sins, and say, Help, Lord and Father, who art good to all, and givest to all; that we may walk in 'newness of life,' and be 'zealous of good works;' to thy glory; and the joy of angels, the love and edification of our neighbour, and the devil's envy; that we may, at last, obtain the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls; and hear the chearful voice, Matth. xxv. 21, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into thy master's joy.'

Great Healer of the wounds sin makes
In hearts with grief, and tears oppress'd;
O! how my soul doth pine away
With dolours great, and hard to bear?
Almighty Saviour, take thou me,
And let me in thy wounds be safe;
Then, then, it will be well with me,
My soul, my flesh, shall rest in thee.

Jonah iii. 6, 7, The king of Nineveh, and all his people, humbled themselves, put on sackcloth, and sat in ashes. Let us put on the garment of love, of true repentance, and sorrow for our manifold sins which we have committed; and, through the grace of God, we shall obtain deliverance from all our sins; for which deliverance I praise him. I do

already feel the Almighty God in my soul; and though I had the sins of the whole world upon my back; yet that good, that gracious God, would not let me sink under that burden, Psal. cxxx. Though our sins are multiplied, yet God's mercy is far greater; his helping hand is not limited. Let the hurt that hath been done, be never so great; still he is 'the good Shepherd,' who will redeem Israel from all his troubles and transgressions. I bless God, who hath brought me to a sense of my sins; nay, I am so well satisfied, (praised be his Name!) that though I might have half the world's goods, I would not desire to live longer. I have had little comfort in this world. Now and then a body is upon the water; by-and-by in a storm: even by land the journeys are long and tedious. How soon doth sickness oppress us? No man is secure of this life. Though a man be above an enemy, yet there is no rest. Emperors and kings rise in the morning fresh and sound, but the least change of air throws them down, and they must wait for the help of God as well as beggars. Let us therefore say, with Jesus Syrach, 'Man, think of thy end, and thou wilt never sin.' And to do so, the Lord Jesus grant us his grace; for in this I have failed frequently.

XXI. Ye tradesmen and artificers, I will make but this simple remonstrance to you. Many of you complain, that you labour day and night, yet you can get nothing. It is not your labour altogether, but God's blessing that is to be regarded. For Christ saith, Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath; and, on that day, go diligently to the house of God. Thou shalt not swear or curse, neither thou, nor thy wife, nor children, nor family. You should not spend so much time as you do in taverns; for there you ordinarily stay till midnight. And ye bakers, brewers, and butchers, sell as you mean to answer it to God; for the magistrates are apt to connive at you upon the account of friendship, or some other relation; but this should not be. On Sunday-morning, instead of your cups of brandy, you should take a Prayer-book in your hands, and out of that instruct your children. Look into Psal. cxxii. 'I was glad (saith David) when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord. Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O thou house of God!' If any of you fall into poverty or sickness, you that are their neighbours set them up again; you need not fear that this brotherly love will make you Anabaptists. Clothe yourselves, and children, according to your state and condition; give to the poor according to your ability, and that is your blessing; for, by this means, you will want nothing that is necessary here on earth.

XXII. And now, ye prisoners, how do you behave yourselves in prison? Keep close to the word of God, and you will receive peace and comfort: Do not you read, Isa. liii. 4. 'He hath surely borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: He was stricken, and smitten of God, and afflicted.' See what he saith, Mark xiv. 34, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.' This said Christ at that time, when, for the sins of the whole world, he suffered himself to be imprisoned and bound. Was not that 'an exceeding great love,' which Christ hath expressed to all mankind? Greater love he could not shew. And this he did, that we might think of him, when any of us are taken prisoners. Let such a one examine himself, for what reason he is imprisoned: if he find himself innocent, let him have patience, let him not curse; if he find himself guilty, let him pray diligently; if the crime be great and heinous, let him pray the oftener, and send up his sighs every moment to God, and he will turn all things to his advantage. Christ, our Lord, when he was taken prisoner, (though we are not to be compared with him,) said, Matth. xxvi. 42, 'Abba, Father, not what I will, but what thou wilt.' Behold here his mighty love, wherewith he hath loved us, when we were yet his enemies! He suffered himself to be imprisoned: this is no small comfort for you when you lie in a prison; for which reason, consider seriously of it; but take heed you do not curse in prison; do not break forth into wrath and anger; be patient, confide in God, who will support you in all things, if you call upon him. Use no threatenings, that, in case you come off, you will remember the persons that have been the cause of your imprisonment. This makes your case but worse; commit revenge to God, for thou art not permitted to be thine own revenger: for 'he that judges shall be judged.' The law of God and man condemns these things; he that

sins much, must repent much; this is God's order, who can truly say of himself, as it is in John xiv. 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' And, if he be the way, we cannot possibly err if we follow him: if he be the truth, we cannot possibly be deceived by him: if he be the life, we cannot possibly come by any thing that is hurtful. If your flesh and blood be straitened in prison by the temptations of the devil; if the chains and shackles press hard upon you; remember the crown of thorns which our Redeemer bore, and without any guilt of his own. Matth. xi. 28, it is written, 'Come to me all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will refresh you:' and let this be for your comfort. Nor is it enough that a man is laden with bonds and chains, for that is only a temporal punishment; you must, at the same time, take your hearts' prisoners by the word of God. Sigh, therefore, with David, and say;

³ Look not upon my sins, O God!
 Make pure my heart, make clean my soul;
 A new gloss on my spirit set,
 And from thy presence chace me not.
 Thy holy spirit grant thou me,
 With peace and health refresh thou me:
 To please thee, make me willing, Lord! Amen.

Thus ought men to live in prison; upon which, by the grace of God, remission of sins must necessarily follow.

XXIII. I had almost forgotten the common soldiery, which I would not willingly do; for there is great philosophy to be found among them, *i. e.* there is nothing in the world, but you may find it among soldiers. You find learned and unlearned, good and bad, holy and profligate men; you find some who really aim at the kingdom of God, and others who suffer themselves to be blinded by the devil, and live according to his will: nay, many strangers, which no man knows who they are; one fears God, another blasphemeth him. In a word, you have among the soldiers pious and impious men: and, if a soldier leads a good life, it may be said to be stricter than a capuchin's; but such a one is a creature very despicable, yet more or less, according to the country he lives in. When an enemy knocks at your gates, ye great ones, and you can but get soldiers, you rejoice exceedingly: but, if God give you peace again, I am sure you have no command from him, that they, who have served you faithfully, should be cashiered and sent away without pay; and those, which stay behind, should scarce have bread enough to eat. I suppose they are creatures created of God, and redeemed as well as you: he, that wrongs them, wrongs God in heaven. Here I must die for a man's fortune, with whom I never changed a word all my life; for a woman, which I never saw: nay, for a man that is dead, whom I never had a view of: and are not these three very great things? I leave it to every man's consideration. It would grieve a man, I confess, it is a little hard: yet be it as God pleases; I have entirely resigned myself to his will.

And now I will tell you all that I have loved in the world. Next to God and his holy precepts, I have loved my neighbour till the late misfortune befel me. I have ever had a great fancy to travel, and from a child have had inclinations to be a soldier; which desire, as that of travelling, hath yet much decreased with time. A courtier's life I never much affected; because the court is generally crowded with a sort of politicians, which are no better than dissemblers. A learned and experienced man I always had a very great esteem for, whether he were rich or poor; for I have met with both sorts. Lastly, I have had a peculiar love for three things, yet have been most miserably cheated by them; yea, these three were instruments I made use of, that day I came into the late misfortune. I thought I had an excellent friend in the captain, but have been sadly deceived in him, and seduced by him; that is one thing. Secondly, I have been no hater of women; and here also I have been cheated. I have also had a great love for horses; and when that late misfortune began, was upon the back of one.

³ This is part of a spiritual hymn used in the Lutheran church:

Let every pious Christian take a view of the world; let him love nothing that is in the world, but God alone. Let him do no wrong; nay, let him not permit another person to do what which he can hinder, especially where the poor and meaner sort are concerned: and he that is rich, let him look to it, that he may communicate to the poor heartily; and let him do the same to the sick, and to distressed families, and to strangers. The recompence God will give; who is so far from forgetting such works, that he will reward them a hundred fold. Grieve no man who is already grieved; for it is sinful. Rejoice not over any man's misfortune; for before a day be past, you may come to some sad accident. Take heed you do not speak ill of God; and take no false oath.

Yesterday I was at the last sermon which I am like to hear in this world; the preacher was an Englishman, and a doctor of divinity, his name Burnet; and I take God to witness, that in this sermon my sinful heart was opened, and received great comfort from it. The text was as follows: 'Christ Jesus came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' O joy above all joy! O comfortable promise! O sweet recreation of my soul! Nay, nothing can be found, that tends more to a poor sinner's comfort, than this comfortable promise. If, therefore, 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;' without doubt, he is come for my sake too. Therefore, O my sins, why do ye trouble me? Jesus Christ is here, who will take you away from me. Sing and rejoice, O my soul, with Jacob, Gen. xxxii. 10, 'I am less than the least of all thy mercies, and the truth thou hast shewn unto thy servant.' With David we will say, 2 Sam. vii. 19, 'What am I, Lord, and what is my father's house, that thou hast brought me thus far?' With the Virgin Mary, we will say, Luke i. 47, 'My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in the God of my salvation; for he hath done great things for me, and holy is his name.'

And here, you great commanders, give me leave to present you with this humble supplication; that you would not take it ill, because this writing comes to you in a homely style; yet it is penned with a good intent, and that is enough. Because I am neither divine, nor philosopher, but have, by profession, been a soldier, I have written things in very coarse language; yet, I hope, no pious man will think ill of it. I have written nothing but what I have seen with mine own eyes. I grant, you are not all such persons, as my writing seems to make out; yet, must confess, that I have known abundance of such; but will not call them by their names. I am sorry I have seen so much, and have not eschewed that evil, which hath at last brought me to shame before the world.

XXIV. I shall, in the last place, briefly acquaint you with my course of life. About twenty-seven years ago, my father (of blessed memory) sent me out of Sweden to Germany; where, for two years together, I went to school. Two years after that, came the Muscovites, which obliged us to fly back to Sweden. About twenty-three years ago, I left Sweden, and went to Pomerania; where I served the elector of Brandenburg a quarter of a year: from thence I went through Poland, towards the German emperor's dominions. From Bohemia, I travelled into the Netherlands; from thence into France; from France again into the Netherlands with the army. After the peace, I went back to Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary, and after that again to the Netherlands, where I staid eight years; from thence I went farther, to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and then to Holstein; which was in the year 1681. During these thirteen years, I have been a papist twelve years; because I was commonly all that time in popish territories: but in Holstein, in the year 1681, I turned again to the Lutheran religion, in which I was born and baptized, and in that (God willing) I mean to die. I could no longer bear with the popish religion, because of their many saints and intercessors. There is no religion comes nearer to mine, than that of the Protestants in England: God grant they may live in peace with the Calvinists, to prevent quarrels; and in opposition to the Papists.

Ah! my dear Jesus, look upon me with the eyes of thy mercy, and chasten me not according to my desert. I firmly hope, thou wilt not dismiss my broken contrite heart without a blessing; the rather, because thou didst bespeak the poor thief upon the cross, with these comfortable words: 'This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' O Jesu!

Let me also hear this word, and my soul will be safe. I will not cease praying to the very last, and to say, 'Lord Jesu, into thy hands I commend my spirit!' These shall be my last words; and when I can speak no more, O Lord Jesu, thou wilt accept of my sighs, for I believe that thou 'camest into the world to save sinners;' of whom I am chief. Now, Lord Jesu, strengthen me in all my sufferings. Thou sayest, 'Come to me all ye who are weary and heavy-laden, and I will refresh you.' In this faith, at thy command, I am come, but altogether unworthy: O Lord Jesu, heal thou me, for thou art 'the true Physician of souls.' Yea, Lord Jesu, I confess, that at present I feel great refreshment in my sinful heart. I am as an armed man, who goes against his enemy, and will not draw back one step, but fight courageously. Now, Lord Jesu, thou hast armed me with a steadfast faith and confidence in thee. Grant me, Lord Jesu, that I may be thankful for this great mercy and goodness; let me wrestle boldly, and press through life and death. Hallelujah!

Let me say, Lord Jesu, with St. Paul, 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' Nay, 'he hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him for our sins.' 'Who will accuse the elect of God? It is God that justifies, Who will condemn? It is Christ that died; who sits at the right-hand of God, and intercedes for us. Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall trouble, shall anguish, shall persecution, shall hunger, shall nakedness, shall peril, or the sword?' As it is written by David, Psalm xviii. 28, 'The Lord make my darkness light;' and the blood of Jesus Christ wash me and purify me from all my sins. Amen, Jesu! Amen, Amen.

Whatever state or dignity a true Christian is of, he must not make light of prayer; or think, I can pray to-morrow, and this business I must do to-day. Ah! Christian, let thy business be rather laid aside; except thy fellow-Christian should be in the pangs of death, or thy house should be on fire; for these things may cause more than ordinary trouble. Neglect not the service of God, O my son, nor the festivals of the church; for I can tell, what will be the effect of that neglect. In a word, nothing should have so much of your care, as the exercise of prayer, and going to the house of God; where you must not sit idle, but work in the vineyard, that you may receive your penny, which the Lord of the vineyard will at last give. Consider this, for Christ's sake. Amen, Amen. My sweet Jesu! Amen.

XXV. And now I will let you know how I came to that late misfortune here in London. About the end of October last I came to London, and lodged in the city, near the Royal Exchange, in Broadstreet, in the Dutch ordinary, at the sign of the City of Amsterdam. When I had been there about a month, a gentleman came to lodge there, who called himself Vallicks, but his name is Vrats: he and I began to be acquainted. At last he told me he had a request to me: to whom I replied, "That to the utmost of my power he might command me." To this he said, "That he had a quarrel with a gentleman, and desired me to be his second." I told him, without any consideration, "I would." A fortnight after, he told me, "That it was good living thereabouts; and if I would take a lodging in that place, during the four weeks he should stay in London, he would pay for me." Hereupon, he took four servants; sometimes he was for marrying, sometimes "for fighting; and if he could get one, who would kill the gentleman, he said, he would give him two-hundred, nay, three-hundred dollars." There it rested for a while. He dismissed two of his servants, and was going for France or Holland. The two servants continued without places. Six days after, I took leave of my acquaintance; and after my things had been two days on shipboard, I went to the Lutheran church, where I received a letter from captain Vrats. O unhappy letter! The contents were as follow:

'Sir,

'I am sorry I could not have the honour to take my leave of you; but be it all to your advantage. I am going for France, yet have not as yet a certain commission. In the mean while, be pleased to continue, either at Mr. Block's, or the City of Amsterdam, where I will not fail to pay for all.

'I am your obliged servant, De Vrats; *aliàs* de Vallicks.'

After I had read this unhappy letter, I changed my resolution, and stayed here, and fetched my things from the ship, and went to lodge in Blackmore-street. About ten weeks after, he returns to London, sends for me, and I came; and himself took a lodging in Westminster, where I was with him; and the count himself lay one night in the captain's and my lodging. The captain then asked me, "How Thynn did?" I told him, I could not tell, for I had never seen him." Thereupon he told me, "I must see now, how to order it, that I may come at him; if I could get but some stout fellows—Do you know no Frenchmen about town, or what other people there is?" I said, "I would see." Then he added, "Could not one get an Italian, who might dispatch him; I would give him three or four-hundred dollars?" I said, "I knew none." Hereupon he got four brace of pistols; three little ones, and one brace of great ones. The great ones, and one brace of little ones, he had by him before, and two long swords; and then said, "Now he is a dead man." He prayed me to cause two poniards to be made, whereof he gave me the draught: but I would not do it. And now he had a mind to draw in a great many more. At last I had a very strange ominous dream. He saw I was musing, and then asked me, "What I ailed?" I told him: and he laughed, saying, "There was no heed to be given to dreams;" yet the dream proved too true. Now, I saw, he was resolved to kill him. When, therefore, he importuned me to engage more men in the business, I told him, "What can you do with so many people; cannot you take three horses, you will have use for no more?" Hereupon he fetched out money; and on the Friday, before the murder was done, he bought three horses. On Sunday following, he told me, I shall get a brave fellow (that was the miserable Polonian) who came to town on Friday: and the Sunday after he killed the gentleman (according to order from his master, and you know who his master was), myself being, then, alas! in the company. Half an hour past four, the gentleman went by in his chariot before our window. Thereupon, we went for the horses, and afterward rid toward the Pall-Mall, where we met the gentleman in his chariot. I rid before the coach, the captain went close by it, and then cried, 'Hold;' and shewed the Polonian the man in the coach; who thereupon gave fire, and shot four or five bullets into his body. They say he lived till next morning, and then died. On Monday following we were all taken prisoners, and now must die too: we have yet four days to live. The great God pardon us this sin, for Christ's sake. Amen. For I repent from the bottom of my heart, that in my old age, to which I was advanced with honour, I should come to this disaster. But it is done, and cannot be remedied. It is written, 'The days of our years are few; and, when we come to our best age, it is then but labour and sorrow.'

Memorandum. The letter, the captain shewed me one day, was to this purpose:

'I have given captain Vrats full commission to dispose of the places of captain, or lieutenant, to whomsoever he shall find capable of it.'

So far I read the letter; five lines lower stood these words, 'six-hundred dollars,' which was not the captain's hand, or writing; it was High-Dutch. I, seeing the letter, threw it down upon the table, but he put it up; and, underneath the letter, was signed 'Koning'smark.' Thus much I saw, but made no farther reflections upon the letter; because, God knows, I was blinded.

Another memorandum I have forgot in the papers, which, after my death, are like to be published, viz. It hath been twice in my thoughts, when captain Vrats was in Holland, to go and tell Mr. Thynn what the captain intended against him; but I still forgot.

I desire the doctor, in case any thing of the captain's writings should come abroad, to compare what he saith with my confessions, and to consider one with the other. 'Give unto the Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' I hope I shall go with the publican into the temple of God; I am a great sinner, yet God's mercy is greater, wherein I trust; nor will Christ therefore refuse a soul, though the body is hanged up by the world. My Lords, ye judges, I do wish you all happiness; I confess you have a weighty office; God give you his grace, that you may neither add to, nor diminish from a cause. You have seen how I have exposed all my failings, and

that openly, to God, and to the whole world ; because others may take warning by me, whom I leave behind me in the world. I beg of God, that people may consider this, my poor writing, the effect of the assistance of God's spirit, and the desire of a pious soul.

The captain desired me, that I would cause two daggers to be made ; because at first it was resolved, we should fall upon Mr. Thynn on foot, and he would have had some Italian, or another, to thrust them into Mr. Thynn's body : yet I neither looked out for a man, fit for that purpose, nor would I cause those daggers to be made. The musquetoon, or the gun, I fetched indeed ; but it was not of a house, which the captain described to me. The holy passion of Jesus Christ preserve me ; the innocent blood of our Lord strengthen me ; the pure blood that flowed from his side, wash me ; the great pain of Jesus Christ heal me, and take away the deadly wounds of my soul.

O bountiful Jesu ! hear me ; hide me in thy holy wounds ; from thy compassionate heart, let there flow into my wicked heart mercy, comfort, strength, and pardon of all my sins.

My Lord, and my God, if I have but thy most holy passion and death in my soul, neither heaven nor earth can hurt me. O Jesu ! I creep into thy gaping wounds ; there I shall be secure, until the wrath of God be overpast. O Lord, let me always adhere to thee ; keep off from me all the assaults of Satan, in the hour of my death. O my dearest Lord Jesu ! who hast spoke comfortably to the penitent sinner on the cross ; call to my dying heart, and speak comfort and consolation to it ; assist me, that, in my last necessity, through thy help, I may happily overcome ; and, when I can speak no more, accept of my sighs in mercy, and let me continue an heir of eternal happiness, for the sake of thy most holy blood, which thou hast shed for me. Amen. Lord Jesu Christ, my Lord and Saviour ! Amen. Amen.

O Jesu ! receive my poor soul into thy hands ; then shall I die thy servant. My soul I commend to thee, and then I shall feel no pain nor sorrow. Amen. Amen. Amen.

These Ejaculations are Parts of such Spiritual Songs, as are usually sung in the Lutheran Churches.

1.

My wants, and my necessities,
Sweet Jesu, I intrust with thee ;
Let thy good-will protect me, Lord,
And what's most wholesome grant thou me.

2.

Christ is my life, death is my gain,
If God be for me, I am safe.

3.

My Lord, my God, O ! pity me,
With free, with undeserved grace :
O ! think not on my grievous sins,
And how I have defiled my soul.
When, in my youthful days, I err'd,
Against thee, Lord, thee have I sinn'd ;
Sinn'd then, and do sin every day :
Thee I entreat, through Christ I mean,
Who was incarnate for my sins.

4.

Consider not, Lord Jesus Christ,
 How heinous my transgressions are;
 Let not thy precious name, O Lord,
 Be lost on this unworthy wretch.
 Thou'rt call'd a Saviour, so thou art;
 With mercy, Lord, look on my soul;
 And make thy mercy sweet to me,
 Sweet Lord, to all eternity!

5.

Almighty Jesus, Son of God,
 Who hast appeas'd thy Father's wrath,
 I hide myself within thy wounds;
 Thou, thou, my only comfort art,
 Amen, thou art, so let it be.
 Give to my faith, give greater strength,
 And take from me all doubts away;
 What I have pray'd for, give me, Lord!
 In thy great Name my soul hath pray'd,
 And now her joyful Amen sings.

'Ask, and ye shall have.'

The Confession of George Borodzycz, the Polonian; signed with his own
 Hand, in Prison, before his Execution.

I, GEORGE BORODZYCH, do here, in few words, intend to make known to the world, how I came into the service of count Koningsmark. About eighteen months ago, I was recommended, by letters, to the quarter-master-general Kemp at Staden; and from thence I was to be sent to the count at Tangier: but, by reason of the hard winter, I was stopped; for the ship, in which I was to go, stuck in the ice in the river Elbe: this made me stay till farther orders. In March last I received a letter, which ordered me to go and stay in a manor, belonging to the count, in the bishoprick of Bremen, and there expect new orders from the count. At last I received a letter, with orders to come by land for Holland; but, destitute of an opportunity, I staid till the twelfth of November, 1681; and then new orders came, that I should come for England to the count's brother, where I should fetch horses, and convey them to Strasburgh: and, accordingly, I left Hamburgh the twenty-fourth of December, 1681, and was at sea till the fourth of February, 1682. When I came to London, I lay the first night in the city, hard by the Royal Exchange, at one Block's; and from thence I was conducted to the count's brother, and from thence to the count himself, who was to be my master. When I came to him, (captain Vrats being with him,) my lord told me, I should be with captain Vrats three days, till his (*i. e.* the count's) baggage and goods, he had on shipboard, came. Whereupon the captain said, he would send his man for me the next day, which was Sunday; which he did accordingly. I went with his man; and my lord charged me, I should do what captain Vrats should order me to do. I went thereupon to my chamber, and said the Lord's Prayer. On Sunday, about one of the clock, came up the captain's man for me, and brought me to the captain. When I saw him, he told me, "It is well you are come, for I have a quarrel with an English gentleman: I did formerly send him two challenges, but he answered them not; whereupon count Koningsmark, and myself, went for France; but

that gentleman sent six fellows after us, who were to kill the count and me. Accordingly they came on us; the count received two wounds, we killed two of them, and I am now come hither to attack that gentleman, in the open streets, as a murderer; and as he hath begun, so I will make an end of it." Whereupon, he gave me the gun, which I should make use of to kill him. When hereupon I pleaded with captain Vrats, and shewed myself unwilling, saying, that, "If we were taken, we should come to a very ill end." He answered, "I need not trouble myself about that; if we should be taken prisoners, it was he that must suffer for it, not I; and, for my service, he would recommend me to count Koningsmark:" whereupon I thought with myself, that it might be here, as it is in Poland, *viz.* where a servant doth a thing, by his master's order, the master is to suffer for it, and not the servant.

We went, therefore, soon after for our horses, and rid towards the Pall-Mall. The captain told me, "I will stop the coach, and do you fire upon the gentleman;" which was done accordingly. Lord have mercy upon me!

I am heartily sorry, that my honest parents must receive this unwelcome news of me: the Almighty God take care of my soul. I have great confidence in Almighty God, and know that he hath offered his Son upon the cross for the sins of all mankind; therefore I believe, that satisfaction was also made for my sins; and in this faith, in the name of God, I will live and die. Lord Jesu, give me a happy end, for thy bitter death and passion-sake! Amen.

What pity is it, that I should be, about the space of seven weeks, upon the sea, betwixt Hamburgh and London, and in great danger, day and night, and yet should fall at last into this unexpected misfortune! I can bear witness, with a good conscience, that I knew nothing of the business aforehand. The great God pardon those men that have brought me to this fall: God keep every mother's child from all such disasters, for Christ's sake! Amen.

And I desire the doctor to pray for me, and to let all the world know my innocence after I am dead, that men may see and fear.

GEORGE BORODZYCZ.

A Conference between the two great Monarchs of France and Spain, concerning these our present Proceedings in England. Wherein is discoursed of the Being of our Runaways under their Dominions, with a Consideration of their Dangers past, in the Wars betwixt England and them.

Printed in the Year 1641.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

France. **H**OW now, brother Spain? How run the cheating dice of this inconstant world?

Spain. Sometimes fives, sometimes sevens, sometimes nines; all upon odd numbers; but if you will but give me the hearing of it, I will tell you such a sackful of news from England, that will make you laugh: hold, buttons, hold.

F. Prithee be brief; I long to hear the news.

S. Then thus: There is a thing held there at this time, which is called a 'Parliament,' in which, as it seems, they use to chide offenders; now there were some which favoured our religion somewhat more than others; and, faith, for fear of chiding, they are run for it, and lie now some under the covert of thy wings, and some under mine: and, on the other side, (for they are, a many of them, in the extremes,) some are so puffed up with pride, that honesty hath got the upper hand; the coblers and weavers, sow-gelders and tinkers, chimney-sweepers and butchers, do not stick to say, but that the spirit moves them to preach; nay, they do it as jealously, as our ancient sex hath done at Amsterdam over a hotchpotch.

F. Faith, this news makes me smile, indeed: but, prithee, tell me, hast thou not some armada intended against that little island, that temple of delight, that paradise, in comparison of all the world again? Have the Jesuits no brains left, to invent a second powder-plot; or one as bad, or else worse? Doth the dragon always wake that keeps these golden apples, the tree of Minerva?

S. Yes, they have brains enough, and courage enough, in setting such plots on foot; but, a pox on it, it takes no effect; for one had as good shoot arrows at the stars, and have a cracked coxcomb for one's labour, as any ways meddle with them: for God doth overlook them, and keep them safe; else could they never have escaped all those plots which I, and mine, had laid for them.

F. Why, sure, they are as wicked as any nation under the sun; how then should God be said to protect them?

S. For the love he bears to some; for there are very honest-meaning men amongst them, which do make a conscience of their ways, which thing is most acceptable of any thing in the sight of God.

F. But, in faith, now were the time, whilst the Scots are intrenched, and their subjects distracted, some on this side, some on that side, to come with some armada, or forward some gunpowder-plot, or some such grand treason. Oh, the fruition of that same little sweet garden-plot would make France and Spain flourish.

S. Hark a while, and you will soon grant how ridiculous this childish folly of yours is: a wise man will never attempt impossibilities; for, certainly, it is as easy for any single arm to equal a whole troop of men, as for you or I to effect our wishes in this thing; for,

certainly, they have borrowed from Jupiter, the heathen god, Argus with his hundred eyes, to overlook all our actions.

F. Tush, tush, thou art just like a coward, who, if he be once beaten, will hardly come on to the combat again: because your 'invincible armada,' as you termed it, was bum-basted by the subjects of a maiden queen, therefore it is impossible for us to do any good upon the same land; come, thou talkest idly for want of sleep.

S. Why, brother of France, did you never feel the force of England? Look you but back to the Black Prince; where you shall find that the then predecessor sent him a ton of tennis-balls, instead of his right he held by the Salick law; but he turned his balls into gun-stones, and kept such a racket about France, that he made the whole court of Gallia shake.

F. I do not deny, but that we have both smarted enough, and that is the reason I am so willing to take an advantage against it.

S. I tell thee what, brother; I can compare England more commodiously to nothing than a lion which lay sleeping by the way-side; the traveller, coming by, would needs make sport with the lion, (as he said,) by hollowing in his ear to awake him, which he did; the lion, being not used to such unaccustomed noise, rose, not quite awaked, and tore this traveller in pieces. Just thus it fareth with us at this time; for England is asleep, and unless it be awaked, we need not fear any thing; but if we compel it to draw its sword once, it is not all our entreaties will sheathe it again.

F. Well, thou hast given me such an *item*, that I will look before I will leap; I will surely have some great occasion, before I will meddle with them.

S. Faith, we have business enough of our own, if we would but look after it.

F. True; yet I thank God I am in peace with the whole world.

S. I would that I could say so too; for I protest ingenuously, I can scarce tell which way to turn myself; for on one side of me the great Turk lies like some unseen monster, devouring all which shall come before him; on the other side, the Hollander is as a devil to me, for I cannot have a ship on the seas, but if espied by him, he is sure to sink for it. And, again, I look every day when the Portuguese will fasten on me; and, above all things, I fear them, because they have been for men in England.

F. Why, I prithee, whither wilt thou fly in this distress?

S. I know not whither; unless I shall do, as the fool said he would, put on a clean shirt and drown myself.

F. Then what will become of thy soul?

S. Psha, I will have a pardon from the pope before I do it.

F. That was well thought on, indeed: but hark, I prithee, what dost thou think of the pope's imperious government? Dost thou think it to be lawful according to the commands of God?

S. Faith, I cannot tell; but I had a little pity and compunction rose the other day in my stomach towards the Protestants, but they were presently down again: I hope it is the right way.

F. I hope so too: for, if it be not, I protest we are in the wrong way, and a wrong way will lead us to a wrong place, and that wrong place will not yield us half the delight we expect; wherefore it behoves us to take heed what we do, and, for all the pox, look to ourselves.

S. As you think, so think I: for certainly we are guided by some wandering planet; for such sudden changes in such great personages, as I have seen many, stand for example to confirm their assertion to be true. But, faith, methinks I could even love the English heretical religion: what musick hath transformed me from myself? Where is now the pride of our ancient religion, that it is thus turned topsy-turvy? What, have we lost our boasted freedom? What unknown desires are these which invade and take possession of my frightened soul? Are all those virtuous objects, which I heretofore perceived in our Roman religion, vanished? Have I stood the shocks of so many fierce wars for religion-sake, stopped mine ear against all syren-notes that heresy ever sung? To draw my barque

of faith (that with wonder hath kept a constant and honoured course in this channel of my religion) to be carried into the gulf of a continual heresy? But now, methinks, I feel my soul return again, and answer: I will first with mine own hands dig up a grave to bury the momental heap of all my years, before I will change my plighted faith unto the church of Rome.

F. Well said, at last: in troth, I was afraid that the beast of Rome had been some kin to a stag, and had used to shed her horns; but thank God it is no worse.

S. If I have offended, at the worst, to die is a full period to calamity.

F. But is there nothing to be felt after death? Dost thou think that thou thus singest a *requiem* to thy soul before thou diest? I prithee, consider, and tell me what thou thinkest on it?

S. Why, I have heard, that there is a place called the Elysian fields, where those that have done well shall rest in peace. I have heard again, that our English hereticks hold, that there is only a heaven and a hell: those that do well shall enjoy the joys of heaven, and those that do ill shall feel the torments of hell. But our pope makes us believe that there is a purgatory: but, faith, I cannot tell what to think of it.

F. Well, farewell, brother; I protest, I persuade myself that the world is almost at its end, for I hear it is buzzed abroad in England, that the monuments of the kingdom shall all be pulled down, and crosses, of which, I have heard, that Abington and Cheapside crosses excel all: also, there must be no organs, to the utter undoing of all singing men.¹ But, brother, farewell: the news you hear, I pray, inform me of.

S. I will: farewell, farewell.

¹ [*Vide* the ordinance for demolishing organs, images, and monuments, &c. The present Vol. p. 107.]

The Character of a certain great Duchess¹ deceased, by a certain great Poet lately deceased. [MS.]

BUT what are these to great Atossa's mind?
 Scarce once herself, by turns all womankind!
 Who, with herself, or others, from her birth,
 Finds all her life one warfare upon earth:
 Shines, in exposing knaves, or² painting fools,
 Yet is, whate'er she hates or³ ridicules.
 No thought advances, but her eddy brain
 Whisks it about, and down it goes again.
 Full sixty years, the world has been her trade,
 The wisest fool that⁴ time has ever made.
 From loveless youth, to unrespected age,
 No passion gratify'd, except her rage.
 So much the fury still out-ran the wit,
 The pleasure miss'd her, and the scandal hit.

¹ [*i. e.* The Duchess of Marlborough, by Alex. Pope. *Vide* his epistle on the characters of women, l. 115. *et seq.* This character was an insertion, added with no great honour to the poet's gratitude.]

² [*And.* Warburton.]

³ [*And.* W.]

⁴ [*Much.* W.]

Who breaks with her, provokes revenge from hell.
 But he's a bolder man, who dares be well :
 Her ev'ry turn, with violence pursu'd,
 Nor more a storm, her hate, than gratitude :
 To that each passion turns, or soon or late,
 Love, if it makes her yield, must make her hate ;
 Superiors ? death !—⁵if equals ? what a curse ;
 But an inferior, not dependent ? worse.
 Offend her, and she knows not to forgive ;
 Oblige her, and she'll hate you while you live :
 But die, and she'll adore you,—then the bust,
 And temple ^{too,}⁶—then fall again to dust.
 Last night, her lord was all that's good and great,
 A knave this morning, and his will a cheat.
 Strange ! by the means, defeated of the ends ;
 By spirit, robb'd of power ; by warmth, of friends ;
 By wealth, of followers ; without one distress,
 Sick of herself, through very selfishness !
 Atossa, curs'd with ev'ry granted pray'r,
 Childless, with all her children, wants an heir ;
 To heirs unknown, descends th' unguarded store,
 Or wanders, heaven-directed, to the poor.

⁵ [*And. W.*]

⁶ [*Rise. W.*]

The Travels of three English Gentlemen, &c. [MS.]

[Concluded from Vol. V. p. 365.]

To the Readers of the HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

Gentlemen,

BEING obliged, by necessary business, to reside a great part of the summer in a village, above an hundred miles from Oxford, where all my books and papers have for many years been deposited ; I found it absolutely impossible to attempt preparing for the press the following sections, before the beginning of September. Neither would a severe cold and feverish indisposition (under which I have laboured since the middle of October, with little intermission,) permit me to put the finishing hand to them before the beginning of this month. However, this delay will be abundantly compensated by the present situation of affairs in those parts of Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg here described ; which renders the publication of this description much more seasonable and *à propos* now, than it would have been in May, June, or July. As many of you have expressed a great desire of seeing the conclusion of 'The Travels,' &c. and some authors of note have already had recourse to that part of this piece about a year ago published ; I thought it proper to communicate to you and the publick the reasons why the remainder could not sooner see the light. These, it is hoped, will have their due weight, and prove satisfactory to you ;

and consequently clear Mr. Osborne¹ (as in justice they ought) from the imputation of having, with sinister views, retarded the publication of it. I am, with great respect, Gentlemen,

Oxford, Dec. 5, 1745.

Your most faithful, and
Most obedient, humble servant,
The AUTHOR, &c.

SECT. VI.

A Journey from Prague to Dresden, the Metropolis of the Electorate of Saxony.

ABOUT two hours and a half after our departure from Prague, we came to Tursko, (or, as Vidari calls it, Tursklo,) a small village, with a church, between two and three German miles from Prague. The greatest part of this road was mountainous and bad. Tehnitz, Podhaba, and some other small places, stand between the extremities of this post. The western bank of the Moldau, corresponding with it, is, for the most part, mountainous. At Podhaba, not far from the Moldau, near a German mile north of Prague, we passed a rivulet, which is a small branch of the Moldau. As Tursko is a place of little note, we did not stay there much above half an hour. This village is in the circle of Rakonitz, though upon the borders of that of Caurzim.

The next place we stopped at, in order to take fresh horses, was called Welwarn. This post is a short one, the road good, and the country appeared fertile and pleasant. Welwarn is a small walled town of Bohemia, in the circle of Rakonitz, about two German miles north-west of Tursko. It is seated on a rivulet, that discharges itself into the Moldau, and consists principally of one street. The houses, of which it is composed, made a tolerable good appearance, and the inhabitants seemed clean and neat. We observed some ponds, or standing waters, between Tursko and Welwarn, such as those formerly mentioned. The villages we passed through this post were Minitz and Mikowitz. Minitz stands upon the bank of a rivulet, but is a small and obscure place. Mikowitz is seated at a small distance from the opposite bank, and has a castle; but in other respects, it is very inconsiderable.

The following post, which is a fine verdant plain, ends at Budin, Budein, or Budyn. Budin is a little walled town of Bohemia, in the circle of Rakonitz, two long German miles north-west of Welwarn, and about the size of that town. It is not far from the southern bank of the river Egra, upon the confines of the circle of Leitmeritz. The country, in which Budin stands, abounds with corn, as the postiglioni informed us; and indeed this sufficiently appears from the present face of it. The principal, if not only villages that occurred this post, were Czernowitz and Martinowitz; the first of which is situate upon a rivulet that empties itself into the Moldau, and the other a little to the south of one that may be deemed a small branch of the Egra. The road was good, but the post something longer than the preceding.

From Budin, we advanced to Lowositz, (or as some call it, Labasitz,) two good German miles north-west of Budin. Lowositz is a pretty town of Bohemia, in the circle of Leitmeritz, at a small distance from the Elbe. This post is good road, and a fine open country, throughout. There are two villages between Budin and Lowositz, called Brzesan and Dolanek; of which the former stands about a quarter of a German mile from Budin, and the latter in the post-road, at almost an equal distance from Brzesan and Lowositz. We passed the Eger, or Egra, one of the principal rivers of Bohemia, this post. This

¹ [The publisher of the former edition of the Harleian Miscellany.]

river runs between Budin and Labasitz, which stands upon the banks of it. We did not stay above an hour here.

The postiglioni next conducted us to Aussig, a post and a half, or three German miles, north of Lowositz. Aussig, in Latin *Austa*, (or as Dresserus will have it, *Austia*,) is a considerable city of Bohemia, upon the Elbe, in the circle of Leitmeritz, with a castle of pretty great antiquity. According to Æneas Sylvius, the emperor Sigismund gave it to the marquises of Misnia and the dukes of Saxony, to be defended by them as a frontier. It was besieged by Ziska, who was repulsed with great loss, in an assault he made upon it; notwithstanding which, he continued the siege, and defeated an army of a hundred-thousand men, raised by the elector Frederic, in Franconia, Thuringia, Saxony, Misnia, Voigtland, and Lusatia: after which, it immediately surrendered to him. The Austrian and Bohemian writers affirm, that halberds were first used in this engagement by the Germans; and a crooked instrument, then of a new invention, by the Bohemian infantry; to strip the enemy's cavalry of their horse-harness and accoutrements. After this blow, Aussig remained three years in a ruinous condition; but then revived, and was ranked amongst the royal cities of Bohemia. It was almost entirely laid in ashes, in the year 1538. The Saxons made themselves masters of it, in 1631; as did the Swedes, in 1639. The antient monastery of the Prædicants here, was destroyed by the Hussites; but in the room of it was substituted another within the walls, dedicated to St. Adalbertus, in 1618. At present, it seems to be no very considerable town; though the market-place is a tolerable good square, and the town-house new, and built upon pilasters. Here we lay all night; but the accommodations we met with were very indifferent, and the bill handed to us in the morning pretty extravagant. The post-house was the inn we put up at, as do most other English gentlemen who come this way. We passed by Czernusek, Kwalen, and some other small villages upon the Elbe, before our arrival at Aussig. There is a pretty high and extensive hill, a little to the left, at a small distance from Lowositz; and another on the same side, about a German mile nearer Aussig. The greatest part of this post, we rode along the western bank of the Elbe, and found the road there, in some parts, mountainous and bad; besides which, nothing remarkable occurred.

Peterswalda, Peterswald, (or, as some call it, Veiderswalda,) terminates the following post, which is a pretty long one; being near three German miles. As the road here is, for the most part, mountainous and bad, we were above four hours upon it. Peterswalda is a small inconsiderable place, upon the borders of Saxony, and the last village in Bohemia. It stands in the circle of Leitmeritz, on the post-road to Dresden. Here is a defile, which it is pretty difficult for a body of troops to pass. Not far from Aussig, on the left-hand of the post-road, there is a village upon a hill, the name of which we did not learn. We were very hungry, when we came to Peterswalda; but could meet with nothing there, except a few eggs and a little small white wine, which scarce deserved that name. The people here were clean and neat, and some of them talked Latin, though they seemed extremely poor. We must not omit observing, that the air, through the two last posts, was very cold and piercing, and the hills or mountains in that tract covered with snow.

Soon after we left Peterswalda, we entered the marquisate of Misnia, and the electorate of Saxony. The first village we passed through in this electorate was called Hellendorf; and this seemed to be but a poor inconsiderable place. From thence we advanced to Gishubel, or Gishibel, which is a town that made a better appearance. Sehst, or Ziehst, a village only remarkable for being on the post-road, received us next. This is something above two German miles north of Peterswalda, and supplied us with fresh post-horses for Dresden. We must here remark, that from Sehst, travellers pay a florin a horse, for every post through the empire, and that sixteen grosse only in Saxony go to a florin. The imperial postilions have strings over their right shoulders, striped with yellow and black, and a horn at the bottom; whereas those of the elector of Saxony use strings striped with yellow and blue. In the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, three Karantani make a gross, and twenty grosse a florin: but, in Saxony, a florin consists of sixteen grosse, and

a gross of four karantani. In the territories of the emperor, an ungar, or hungar, is composed of four Austrian florins and three grosse; but in Saxony, an ungar goes for four Saxon florins and two grosse. After a short stay at Sehist, we resumed our march for Dresden, by the route of Pirna.

Pirna is a large town, containing four or five hundred houses upon the Elbe, about half a German mile north of Sehist. Here is a fine bridge over the Elbe, which is an ornament and advantage to the place. Between this place and Dresden, at a small distance from the Elbe, is a village called Leuben. This last post, from Sehist to Dresden, may be considered as three German miles. The road is, for the most part good, but the latter part of it indifferent. At half a German mile's distance from Dresden, a traveller has a good prospect of the town. The king of Poland's officers were very civil and obliging, and examined our baggage with great lenity. The catalogue of posts between Prague and Dresden stands thus:

From Prague to Tursko, two German miles and a half.

From Tursko to Welwarn, two German miles.

From Welwarn to Budin, two German miles.

From Budin to Lowositz, or Labasitz, two German miles.

From Lowositz to Aussig, three German miles.

From Aussig to Peterswalda, two German miles and a half.

From Peterswalda to Sehist, or Ziehst, two German miles.

From Sehist to Dresden, three German miles.

Total eight posts, nineteen German miles.

Dresden, in Latin *Dresda*, is a fair, large, and strong city, in the circle of Upper Saxony, the metropolis of the marquisate of Misnia, and the seat of the elector of Saxony. It is about nineteen German, or seventy-six English miles, north-west, or rather al. north of Prague, in 51 deg. 8 min. north lat. and 13 deg. 40 min. east of London. It consists of two parts, called the Old Town, and the New Town; which stand on the opposite banks of the Elbe, and are joined together by a fine stone bridge supported by seventeen arches. Though it seems to be well fortified, after the modern way; yet many people doubt, whether it would be able to make a long defence, if attacked by a powerful and well-disciplined army. Be that as it will, this whole electorate found itself obliged to submit, without making any resistance, to the victorious arms of Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, in 1706. The streets of Dresden are wide and clean, and the inhabitants extremely neat. The new city, in which is the electoral palace, is much stronger, better fortified, and more beautiful than the old town, or Alt Dresden, as it is termed by the natives. As this city was formerly denominated Dresden, some imagine, that it derived its name from three lakes (in High Dutch, *von den dreyen Seen*) at a small distance from it; but this etymon must be allowed to be a little precarious. Be that as it will, Dresden is, undoubtedly, a place of considerable antiquity, and an exceeding fine town. The houses appeared so neat and clear, that the generality of them seemed to be new. Every evening, upon the approach of the dusk, most of the houses have a candle or lamp lighted over their doors; which renders it easy to walk in the streets all night, prevents many disorders that might otherwise happen, makes the city appear illuminated throughout, and consequently enables it to exhibit as fine a nocturnal appearance, as any city in Europe.

The Saxons are all Lutherans, and so strict and rigid, that the Roman-Catholic religion, though the religion of the court, is scarcely tolerated amongst them; the people of that persuasion having no place of worship to resort to, but the king of Poland's chapel, in Dresden: and that of the castle of Pleissenburg, at Leipsick. Near the market-place, (which is large and spacious, and serves the soldiers of the garrison, who are frequently exercised there, for a parade,) a fine new Lutheran church is erecting, which has been a long time in building, and is not yet finished. The principal church here is fair and beautiful, and the others sufficiently neat. We did not however observe many pictures, or internal decorations of that kind, in them; the Lutherans not being so fond of such

ornaments for churches, as the Roman Catholics are. The Roman Catholic religion seems to be fixed in the electoral family, by the union of that family with the house of Austria.

We were several times at court, whilst at Dresden, and found it brilliant and shining enough. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was returned hither, some time before our arrival, from Cracow; and that in so great a hurry, that his subjects here, as well as his friends at Vienna, and the imperial court, were exceedingly alarmed at it, or at least appeared so to be. The queen of Poland, the emperor Joseph's daughter, is a little woman, has a red face, the Austrian lip, a pretty large mouth, and none of the finest features; so that she cannot be looked upon as a beauty. However, she has a piercing eye, and by reason of her good qualities, though of a different persuasion, is beloved by the Saxons. The king is a tall lusty man, pretty corpulent, and of a portly majestic countenance. He has a florid look, and is about thirty-eight years of age; he seemed to be very affable and gracious, even to some of the meanest of his subjects, who were admitted to kiss his hand: and, to speak the truth, he is generally esteemed as a prince of a very humane and benevolent disposition. I had seen the king's picture at Rome, in cardinal Albani's palace, which being extremely like his majesty, I knew him at first sight. He was dressed in red cloth, covered with gold lace, and the queen in black velvet. We saw the whole royal and electoral family performing their devotions in the chapel belonging to the palace, where they appeared very fervent. This chapel seemed to have very few internal ornaments and decorations; which is agreeable enough to the taste and genius of the Saxons, and which consequently demonstrates the king of Poland to be a wise prince. The palace is large, but, in our opinion, neither grand nor elegant. However, the court is very polite, and the king gives all strangers of distinction here a very gracious reception.

In this palace, however, there are many fine apartments; but the most splendid part of it, if we regard the furniture it contains, is the gallery; which is one of the greatest curiosities in Dresden. This furniture consists of antique busts, vessels, pictures, and other curiosities. The hall is noble and spacious, and adorned with many draughts of cities, &c. which have been more than once taken notice of by travellers. There are likewise here several chambers full of rarities and treasure, not in many places to be paralleled. These consist of images, and curious devices cut in ivory; a vast quantity of plate, and vessels adorned with granates, amethysts, topazes, emeralds, &c. a great variety of Saxon porcelane, most beautiful to behold; and rich snuff-boxes set with gems and precious stones of various kinds, &c. Some of the rooms, where these are deposited, seem (if one may use the term) to be wainscotted with a superfine large glass; and one of them has three or four glass pilasters in it, which make a very beautiful and grand appearance. Amongst other curiosities in these chambers, we saw two exceeding large onyxes, of an oval figure, extremely beautiful; which, according to the person who attended us, cost the elector several thousand florins. We likewise met here with swords, scimitars, watches, &c. adorned with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, opals, sapphires, topazes, and other kinds of precious stones; as also with a vast number of diamond buttons for coats, waistcoats, breeches, &c. and several rubies, emeralds, sapphires, &c. of an uncommon size: so that, with regard to his personal estate, the elector of Saxony may be considered as one of the richest princes in Christendom. In one of these chambers, is a piece of the great Mogul, walking in state, with all his attendants; which, we were assured, cost king Augustus the Second thirty-thousand florins. The chambers, or apartments, above-mentioned, shining with jewels, and things ornamented with them, are called 'the Treasury.'

The Turkish palace, or Turkish house, (so called from the furniture within it,) is seen, with great pleasure, by every foreigner of taste who comes to Dresden. This is adorned with pictures representing the civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers of the Turks, all in their proper habits. Here are likewise portraits of the Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Persian, Georgian, Circassian, &c. women, in theirs. In one room of this house, or palace, we saw part of a tea-equipage, set with several kinds of precious stones, made, as we were told, at Ispahan in Persia; and others that came from Constantinople, according to the

information we received, which were exceedingly curious. Here we likewise saw a variety of Turkish, Barbarian, and Persian pipes, of different forms; one of which went upon wheels, that a person might make use of, either walking, standing, or in any attitude whatsoever. We were likewise shewn here a Persian small vessel, holding about a quart, which the late king of Poland frequently drank off to the friend he introduced into this place, and obliged that friend to pledge him in the same. This he did, in order to welcome him: but we were told, that this practice had, for some years, been discontinued.

The new bridge over the Elbe is extremely curious, as is likewise the Palais d'Hollande, where the porcelane is kept. The garden belonging to the Palais d'Hollande is adorned with many fine statues of white marble, and extends as far as the Elbe. The arsenal also contains a great number of curiosities; but, as a catalogue of these has been published, it would be impertinent here to give a detail of them.

We must not omit taking notice of the king of Poland's wild beasts, which are numerous and various. Amongst others, we saw several monkies and baboons, which seemed to have something very peculiar in them. One of the baboons was of a very large size, laughed or grinned at us, in a remarkable manner, and frequently farted whilst we stood gazing upon them. One of the young lions here was so tame, that the keeper played with him, as if he had been a puppy. The Hungarian wild cats appear to be the fiercest creatures here, though leopards, lions, tigers, &c. made up part of the collection. This collection has been enriched by the gentlemen sent by the late king Augustus the Second into Africa, who brought with them home to Dresden several African foxes, and other creatures, before unknown in Germany. The two principal persons attending Dr. Hebenstreit into Africa were M. Ludowick and M. Eversbach. We were told that these gentlemen, (whom we had not the honour to see,) made honourable mention of Mr. Shaw, chaplain to the English factory at Algiers, from whom they had received great civilities. This gentleman I had the honour to be acquainted with, above a year ago, in Italy.

The people of Dresden are very polite, and seem to have much of the French taste. They have a vast regard for their prince, and royal family, though of a different persuasion. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, has at present six children: 1. Frederick Christian, the prince royal and electoral, born September the 5th, 1722. 2. Maria Amelia, born September the 13th, 1727. 3. Maria Anna, born August the 29th, 1728. 4. Xavier Augustus, born August the 25th, 1730. 5. Maria Josepha, born November the 4th, 1731. 6. Charles Christian, born July the 13th, 1733. The king of Poland's eldest son has the title of Royal Highness, and his royal highness's eldest son, as we were informed, that of Piast; which, we were likewise told, descended to all future generations.

According to the most celebrated authors, who have treated of the affairs of Germany, the best High Dutch is spoke in Saxony. The women here are likewise reckoned, for the generality, to be more beautiful than those in any other part of the empire. But, with regard to the last article, we must own ourselves to differ from the most common and received opinion. The women of Austria and Bohemia, both in their persons and dispositions, come up at least, as we imagine, to those of Saxony.

It is well known, that the elector of Saxony is one of the most potent princes of the empire. He has now on foot an army of twenty-eight-thousand men; nineteen-thousand of which are in Poland. The troops we saw were in exceeding good condition, and perfectly well versed in the military art. His Polish majesty, however, in case of need, can make a considerable augmentation to his forces; and this, it is said, he will do; as finding it absolutely necessary, in the present conjuncture.

We lodged at Zimmerman's in the market-place, an inn frequented by the English gentlemen that travel through Saxony, and one of the best in Dresden. Here we lived elegantly enough; but, at our departure, were presented with a most enormous bill. But this we were not surprised at; since most countries, even our own, love to prey upon foreigners. The landlord, however, to do him justice in all respects, was very complaisant and obliging. Having gratified our curiosity in Dresden, we made the necessary preparations for our journey to Berlin, where we proposed some time to stay.

SECT. VII.

A Journey from Dresden to Berlin, the Residence of the King of Prussia,
Elector of Brandenburg.

THE first place we stopped at, after our departure from Dresden, was the town of Meissen, (in Latin *Misna*, or *Misnia*,) which gives name to the marquisate in which it stands. It is about a post and an half, or three German miles, north-west of Dresden; and was formerly the capital of the marquisate of Misnia, though it now makes no great figure. It is seated on a small river of its own name, on the western bank of the Elbe, over which it has a very good bridge. Its situation is partly in a valley, and partly on the declension of a hill, on the top of which are the antient palace, or castle, and the cathedral. Here was formerly a monastery, which, since its becoming subject to the electorate of Saxony, in 1581, has been converted into a public school. We were told, that there were formerly here some indecent pieces of painting, representing the intrigues and debaucheries of the monks. The manufacture of porcelane at Meissen renders that place famous all over Europe. This porcelane is much more beautifully painted and enamelled than that of China and Japan; and a suite of it, as we were told, sometimes went off at auctions in Holland for above twelve hundred florins. The elector, into whose coffers this porcelane brings very considerable sums, frequently makes presents of great quantities of it to foreign princes in alliance with him. Some people here affirm, that the art of making this fine and beautiful ware was accidentally discovered by an adept, in his attempts to find out the philosopher's stone. Be that as it will, we were assured, that the artificers, or operators, were a sort of prisoners; being confined to this place, for fear this art, so advantageous to Saxony, should be communicated to other nations. The road, this post, we found mountainous and bad. There are many fine vineyards on the banks of the Elbe, between Dresden and Meissen. The chief villages between those two places are Niderwarte and Scharfenberg on the western, and Ketzchen on the eastern bank of the Elbe. The place where the porcelane is made at Meissen cannot be seen without an express order from the veldt marshal count de Wackerbarth.

From Meissen our postiglioni conducted us to Stauchitz, or Stoschitz, where we were supplied with fresh horses. Stauchitz is about two German miles and a half almost west of Meissen. This is a village of no great note. Here we stopped about half an hour, and refreshed ourselves. The wine was very indifferent, and the other accommodations bad; so that, including the greasing of the wheels, we did not spend here two florins. The country made much the same appearance this as the preceding post.

Hubertsburg, or Hubertsberg, the next place we arrived at, and which terminated the following post, is a village that makes no considerable figure. However, the king of Poland has a palace, or hunting-house, here, which he visits several times in a year, and particularly when he goes to the fair of Leipsick; and this a little distinguishes the place. Hubertsburg stands about two German miles from Stauchitz. The tract between these two villages is, for the most part, a corn-country, though woods sometimes occur.

From Hubertsburg we advanced to Wurtzen, which is a long post, consisting of about two and a half German miles. This post throughout we found good, and met with a village or two in it. The country appeared open, and had several young woods. Wurtzen is a small village, though seated in a pleasant country. The inhabitants seemed to be very neat and clean. Here we saw a stork's nest, with four young ones, and were told, that these birds were pretty numerous in this part of Saxony. We took up our lodging at the post-house in Wurtzen, where we met with very good accommodations.

The distance between Wurtzen and Leipsick, (or, as the Germans call it, Leipzig,) is about three German miles. The road we found very indifferent. The country, however, appeared agreeable enough; especially as the spring was now pretty far advanced. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, keeps his roads in very good order and condition; and

travellers, to their great satisfaction, frequently meet with a sort of column, having an inscription upon it, exhibiting the number of miles to the next considerable town, as in many parts of England. Many of these, that we met with, were erected in the year 1722 and 1723. About two English miles, or half a German league, from Leipsick, we had a good prospect of the town, and thought it made a very fine appearance. Leipsick being one of the most celebrated cities in Germany, our readers will expect a short description of it here.

Leipsick, or Leipzig, (in Latin *Lipsia*, or, according to some, *Lipsurdum*,) is the capital of a circle, or district of the same name, in the marquisate of Misnia, and electorate of Saxony. It stands about ten German miles north-west of Meissen, and thirteen almost west of Dresden, 51 deg. 21 min. north lat. and 12 deg. 48. min. east of London. As the country round it is a charming, beautiful, and fertile plain, diversified with woods, orchards, corn-fields, meadows, &c. and it stands at the conflux of the Elster, Pleissa and Barde, its situation must be allowed very delightful; especially, as it is at no great distance from the Saal and the Moldau, two extremely fine rivers, and the tract appertaining to it abounds with all the necessities, and many of the elegancies, of life. Some assert it to have been built by the Vandals, about the year 700, and to have derived its name from Lipzk, a lime-tree; with which sort of trees the same persons suppose the country it stands in to have formerly abounded.

It has been already observed, that the university of Leipsick owes its origin to the departure of a great body of German students from Prague, about the year 1408, or 1409; so that it may justly be looked upon as a colony of the university of Prague. The four colleges, of which it consists, are adorned with twenty-four professors, who are generally very learned men. The nations, of which this university is composed, are the Misnians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles; though under some one of these they will admit, as we were told, the students of most other nations. The university is said to be subject to the town, and not to the elector; which we thought pretty extraordinary.

The library of the university, or rather of the senate, of Leipsick, which must be allowed to be a very good one, is enriched with a great variety of MSS. taken out of the monasteries at the reformation. Here is likewise a considerable collection of curiosities; a catalogue of some of the principal of which, as well as of the most valuable MSS. we may perhaps hereafter oblige our readers with. The very worthy and learned librarian, Dr. Mascou, made me a present of a small piece, containing the catalogue abovementioned, and an elegant description of this library, wrote in Latin; which has prefixed to it the following title:

Q. D. B. V.
BIBLIOTHECAM
MAGNIFICI. AMPLISSIMI. QVE
SENATVS. LIPSIENSIS
EX. DECRETO. EIVS
BONAE. MENTI
IAM
DEDICANDAM. ATQVE. APERIENDAM. FORE
INDICIT
GOTTFRIDVS. CHRISTIANVS GOETZIVS
PRAETOR. ET. BIBLIOTHECARIVS.
L I P S I Æ,
MDCCXI.

The city of Leipsick is very populous, and the houses therein, (especially those about the market-place,) very stately and grand, and built of free-stone. Some of these are, at least, six or seven stories high. The roofs of some of the houses are exceeding steep, and even approaching to a perpendicular to the horizon. The streets appear beautiful enough, being broad, clean, and well paved. Near the market-place are two extremely fine houses

belonging M. Appel and M. Heuman, both merchants, as we were told. M. Bosen and M. Appel, both merchants, have likewise most beautiful gardens near the gates of Leipsick. That of M. Bosen is full of exotic plants, and managed by M. Hebenstreit, or Hebenstreet; one of the gentlemen sent by king Augustus the Second into Africa, who is the director of this garden. M. Bosen has likewise a very fine collection of natural curiosities, he being a man of great substance, and having a passionate fondness for every thing rare and uncommon in this branch of literature. The number of students here, as we were informed, amounted to above a thousand.

I must not omit observing here, that I was extremely obliged to M. Maurice George Weidmann, bookseller in Leipsick; and counsellor, as he informed me, to the late king of Poland. He was so good as to give me a full and ample account of the town and university of Leipsick; and to introduce me to the very learned and famous Dr. Mascou, whom I found a gentleman of uncommon erudition and politeness. Dr. Baudisius and Dr. Gebauer gave me the meeting one evening at Dr. Mascou's; where, in all respects, I was entertained very agreeably. All these gentlemen, to do them justice, expressed the highest regard for the English nation; and allowed it to be inferior to none in the world, in point of literature. However, they seemed a little too much prejudiced in favour of M. Leibnitz, and spoke, in my opinion, rather too coldly of Sir Isaac Newton; of whom yet their character ran in a very high strain. This a little warmed me, so that I could not forbear saying some things, which I found the company did not perfectly relish. But, by mutual agreement, we dropped this subject; and spent the evening, not only in perfect harmony, but in perfect friendship; neither did I ever in my life meet with any company that appeared to me more agreeable. Dr. Mascou is certainly a gentleman of most profound erudition, and intimately acquainted with the whole circle of literature; though he seems to shine most in ancient history, particularly that branch of it relating to his native country. All the other gentlemen of this university, that I had the honour to be in company with, I found likewise to be very learned, polite, and ingenious men. In short, no one can wish better to the learned university of Leipsick than I do, as no one can be more fully convinced of their learning and politeness. Neither can any one more heartily desire, that a good understanding between the members of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Leipsick may be always preserved; and that they may always, if any disputes betwixt some of them should happen to arise, behave towards one another with candour, charity, and good nature; which, I am firmly persuaded, will be for their mutual interest and advantage.

The literary journal published here, intituled at present, '*Nova Acta Eruditorum publicata Lipsiæ*,' is the most famous and most universal literary journal in Europe. It first began to be published, under the auspices of M. L. Otto Menckenius, in 1682; and was continued by his son, M. Joannes Burchardus Menckenius, who died in April 1731. Its title, from the beginning to the death of this polyhistorian, (as the gentlemen of Leipsick style him,) was '*Acta Eruditorum*,' &c. But his son, M. Frid. Otto Menckenius, who succeeded him in the direction of this monthly paper, has given it the title of '*Nova Acta Eruditorum*.' 'Tis published the first day of every month, and dispersed over every part of the learned world. The title of '*Nova Acta Eruditorum*' commenced in January 1732. This journal comprehends all subjects, gives an account of the productions of the most celebrated authors of every nation, and contains a considerable number of small polemical pieces not elsewhere to be found. I bought here the '*Nova Acta Eruditorum*' for the months of the year 1734, elapsed before we arrived at Leipsick; the last of which first saw the light, just before our arrival there. Not only the editors of these *Acta*, but all the other academicians of the university of Leipsick, that I had the honour to be in company with, expressed a great desire to keep up an epistolary correspondence with me. The principal of these were Dr. Mascou, Dr. Baudisius, Dr. Gebauer, Dr. Rechenberg, and M. Jöcher, professor of philosophy. I was told likewise, that M. Plattner and M. Walther, whom I had not the honour to see, were very learned men.

We were informed, that there is here a high-court of judicature independent on the

elector; and before which, he himself, if summoned, is obliged to appear. This seemed to us very strange; considering that the elector is generally looked upon, in England, as an absolute and despotic prince. But, as several German authors have set this affair in a true light, we must beg leave to refer our readers to them for a farther account of it.

The fairs at Leipsick, towards the beginning of the new year, at Easter, and Michaelmas, are very celebrated and remarkable. Such vast quantities of valuable merchandize and rich curiosities, are then brought hither by the principal merchants of all nations, that perhaps the like is not to be seen in any other city. This induces sometimes a great number of persons of distinction, and even many princes and princesses of sovereign families, to honour the city of Leipsick with their presence on these occasions.

Leipsick is a place of no great strength, though fortified with ramparts and a ditch. The castle of Pleissenburg, however, seems capable of sustaining, at least, a short siege. Notwithstanding which, it surrendered to Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden, without making any defence. Though the town is not large, the streets are very regular, and some of them even grand. The town-house is a noble structure; as is likewise St. Nicholas's church, abounding more with internal ornaments and decorations, than perhaps any Lutheran church in the empire. The ground-floors of most of the merchants-houses are warehouses, as in the cities of Lisbon, Genoa, Leghorn, &c. It must not here be forgot, that the merchants, who frequent the fairs of Leipsick, are, by the elector's order, exempted from tolls. Most of the young women here have fine complexions, and appeared to us extremely beautiful. Such vast numbers of them walking in the streets seemed to be pregnant, that we remember not to have seen any where the like. We heard a minister preach at St. Nicholas's church, who had an hour-glass placed by him, and saw it near twice out. The congregation, during the time of divine service, appeared very devout.

M. Linckius, an apothecary here, fellow of the Royal Society of London, has a noble collection of curiosities, and is a very great virtuoso. We did not see him, but take him to be a man of note, as he bears a high character amongst the principal members of the university of Leipsick. In the garden of M. Bosen may be seen a plant, supposed to be a species of the *musa* of the Arabs, the *pala* of Pliny, and the *pisang* of the Javanese. This plant, being then three years old, and six feet and a half high, in ten weeks time, arrived at the stature of sixteen feet, and had a considerable quantity of fruit upon it, in 1733. The chief inn in Leipsick is 'Joachim's Stall,' which is a house of very good note. Here we met with exceeding good accommodations; though the bill handed to us, at our departure, was pretty extravagant. The physic-garden of Leipsick is full of exotic plants, some of which are of a very extraordinary nature. Having taken a view of every thing worthy of observation here, we set out for Berlin, which was the next place we proposed to visit.

From Leipsick we advanced to Hogelheim, a village of no great note, where we took fresh horses. This post consisted of about two short German miles. The country, through which we passed, appeared open and pleasant, and, as we were told by the postiglioni, is very fertile. We staid about an hour here.

The next place we arrived at was called Duben, and stands, at least, two exceeding long German miles almost north of Hogelheim. Duben is situate in such a country as that just mentioned, and may be considered as a very pretty town. We did not stop above half an hour here. Both Duben and Hogelheim appertain to the electorate of Saxony.

Gamberg, or Kemberg, which terminates the next post, is three good German miles north of Duben. It is a place of no manner of note; consisting, as we supposed, of not above fifty houses. The tract between Duben and Kemberg seems to abound with firs. As nothing curious presented itself to our view here, as soon as we could be accommodated with fresh horses, we set out for Wittenberg, which is not above a German mile from hence.

Wittenberg, or Wirtenberg, (in Latin *Witemberga*, *Witeberga*, *Wittemberga*, *Vitem-*

berga, Vittemberga, Vitenberga, Viteberga, or Viturum Mons,) stands on the eastern bank of the Elbe, in 51 deg. 58 min. north latitude, and 13 deg. 10 min. east of London, about eight German miles north-east of Leipsick. It was formerly the seat of the electors of Saxony, and is at present very well fortified both by nature and art. We observed that Wittenberg consists chiefly of one large street. There is a strong castle here, built by the elector Frederic the Third, who likewise founded here an university, in 1502. St. Ursula's church, the principal one in Wittenberg, in the castle, was founded by the elector John Frederic, in 1518. The castle itself likewise, and the bridge over the Elbe, are entirely owing to his munificence. This town and university are famous on many accounts, as will appear to every one in the least conversant with the German historians. Before we entered Wittenberg, we passed the Elbe, which is very broad and rapid at this place. The streets are broad and clean, and the houses well built. We were told that the university at present does not make near so considerable a figure as those of Halle and Leipsick. The post-house here, where we lodged, is very much frequented by travellers. The elector of Saxony's garrison in Wittenberg does not exceed four-hundred men.

Our postiglioni conducted us from Wittenberg to Crobstadt, a village of no repute. This post is two easy German miles. The road is good, and in it we met with a tolerable plenty of fir-trees. Crobstadt does not seem to consist of above thirty houses.

The next post, terminated by Trevenbrietz, or Treuenbritzen, is an exceeding short one, and the road very good. Though the tract is a little mountainous, yet it seems pretty open. Some woods of firs likewise here occurred. Trevenbrietz is the first town, on the borders of Saxony, in the electorate of Brandenburg; and, as we imagined, is composed, at least, of three-hundred houses. The inhabitants seemed more robust and large than the Saxons; especially the women, who were very masculine and strong. Treuenbritzen stands upon the river Niepelitz, and not far from its source.

From Trevenbrietz we went to Belitz, a considerable walled town on the river Ada, two German miles north of the former place. We found the road this post exceeding good. The women here appeared extremely handsome. We were told, that the king of Prussia's garrison in Belitz did not exceed two-hundred men.

Our postiglioni carried us from Belitz to Potsdam; a place, at present, of great note. Potsdam is a fine new city of the marquisate of Brandenburg, on the river Havel, about four German miles almost north of Belitz, and above three almost west of Berlin. This city, in a manner, owes its being to the present king of Prussia, since before his time it was a poor inconsiderable town. He has a noble palace here, lately built, that has a fine saloon, which, for its extraordinary height, is scarce to be paralleled in Europe. The king, when here, entertains the foreign ambassadors, and other persons of the first distinction, in this saloon. In the middle of the town is a new beautiful canal, on both sides of which stand several magnificent and superb houses, belonging to some of the Prussian generals, and other persons of quality. We saw the king exercise two battalions of his tall grenadiers in the gardens of his palace, and afterwards in a plain at a little distance from the town. They made a surprizingly fine appearance, and performed their exercise with the utmost regularity and exactness. In fine, they are the best troops we ever saw. The third battalion of these grenadiers is quartered at Brandenburg. We put up at the 'City of Hanover,' which is a very good inn, where we were very well used. Since the beginning of the present king's reign, the inhabitants of Potsdam have received an augmentation of some thousands of families. The king is a short squat man, very fat, and extremely bloated. All his *ritratts* that we have seen are very much like him. His face seemed almost as blue as his coat; he, as well as the prince royal, and all his generals and officers, wearing the uniform of the tall grenadiers. As we made some short stay at Potsdam, we picked up a great many curious particulars relating to the king, the royal family, the court, the army, and the place; all of which we hope to have an opportunity of communicating to the public in a short time.

From Potsdam to Berlin, the road was fine and pleasant. We met with many fir-trees

this post, several of which had been blown down by tempestuous weather. The same thing we observed between Belitz and Potsdam; as we had before done, in the tract between Bistritz and Dnespeck, in Bohemia. The prospect of Berlin, at about the distance of an English mile, is noble and grand. The principal villages, in the post-road, between Potsdam and Berlin are Stolpe, (near the point where the Saar dischargeth itself into the Havel,) Zehlendorff, Steglitz, and Schoneberg; none of which can be deemed very considerable. But Charlottenburg, which stands between those two places, (not far from the point where the Havel and the Spree unite their streams,) is a fine town, and, on many accounts, not a little remarkable. There is a fine palace here, called at first Lutzenburg, from the little village of Lutzen, near which it stands. Frederick the First denominated it Charlottenburg, in honour of his queen, mother to the present king; and built a town near it, which has always gone by the same name. Of this that prince was pleased to declare himself burgomaster, or mayor; and the margraves, or princes of the blood, principal ministers of state, and generals, aldermen and common-council. He also appointed two noblemen of the court to execute the office of bailies. His majesty expended immense sums, in beautifying and increasing the buildings of the palace; which contains several wings, grand apartments, and a fine orangery. Before the Dorotheastadt-gate, there is a park, through which a fine road has been made from Berlin to Charlottenburg; and contiguous to that end of this park, near the latter place, a charming pleasure-garden, appertaining to the palace there. In the late king's time, the road between Berlin and Charlottenburg was adorned with two rows of lamps on each side, which appeared like two columns of fire. We stopped, this post, at a small village called Seldau. The catalogue of posts between Dresden and Berlin stands thus:

From Dresden to Meissen, one post and a half, three German miles.

From Meissen to Stauchitz, one post, two German miles.

From Stauchitz to Hubertsburg, one post, two German miles.

From Hubertsburg to Wurtzen, one long post, two German miles and a half.

From Wurtzen to Leipsick, one post and a half, three German miles.

From Leipsick to Hogelheim, one short post, two short German miles.

From Hogelheim to Duben, one long post, two exceeding long German miles.

From Duben to Kemberg, one post and a half, three German miles.

From Kemberg to Wittenberg, half a post, one German mile.

From Wittenberg to Crobstadt, one short post, two easy German miles.

From Crobstadt to Treuenbrizen, one short post, one German mile and a half.

From Treuenbrizen to Belitz, one post, two German miles.

From Belitz to Potsdam, two posts, four German miles.

From Potsdam to Berlin, two posts, four German miles.

Total, seventeen posts, thirty-four German miles.

Berlin, the residence of the king of Prussia, is one of the largest towns in Germany. It stands upon the river Spree, in 52 deg. 28 min. north lat. and 33 deg. 48. min. long. Though this city now makes the greatest figure of any in the king of Prussia's dominions, Brandenburg has always been esteemed the capital of the marquisate and electorate of the same name. Berlin was built by the margrave Albert, in the year 1163, but has, since that time, been greatly enlarged, and consists at present of eight parts: 1. The city of Berlin, properly so called, on the eastern bank of the Spree. 2. Coln, on the opposite bank, where the margraves had formerly a palace. 3. Frederick's-Werder, built by the elector Frederick William the Great. 4. The Dorothean Town, or New Town, erected likewise by the same elector, in honour of his second wife Dorothea, of the house of Holstein Glucksberg. 5. The King's Town, formerly called the Town of St. George, terminated by the King's Gate, known antiently by the name of St. George's Gate. 6. New Coln, into which travellers enter by the Copenick-gate. Adjoining to New Coln is a suburb, which has the appearance of a pretty handsome town, and a church of considerable note. 7. The Sophian Town, or Sophiastadt, formerly called the Spandau Suburb, because fronting the Spandau gate. It was greatly augmented and enlarged by Fre-

derick the First, king of Prussia, in 1712, and then denominated Sophiastadt, in honour of that prince's third wife, and the present queen, then princess royal, whose name was Sophia. 8. Frederick's Street, or Frederickstadt, bounded, on the side of Saxony, by the Leipsick-gate. This street, which seems to be one of the most famous in Europe, was begun by the present king in 1730, and has now, though unfinished, above eight-hundred houses, many of which are palaces; appertaining to lieutenant-general Schwerin, lieutenant-general Schulemburg, the privy-councillors M. De Happe, M. De Marshal, &c. Frederickstadt is said to be at present above a German mile long. The houses, for the most part, are built of free-stone, but some of them of brick. This street is likewise very broad, and makes an exceeding fine appearance. The king being now at Potsdam, there is no court at present there.

Though every one, in the least acquainted with the present state of Europe, must have a tolerable good idea of the royal family of Prussia, we believe our readers will not be displeased to find the following brief account of it here: 1. Frederick William, king of Prussia and elector of Brandenburg, was born August the fourteenth, 1688, married Sophia Dorothea of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, November the twenty-eighth, 1706, and succeeded his father, as king and elector, in 1713. 2. Sophia Dorothea, queen of Prussia, was daughter to George Lewis, elector of Hanover, and afterwards king of Great-Britain, born March the sixteenth, 1687, and married, as aforesaid, November the twenty-sixth, 1706. 3. Charles Frederick, prince royal of Prussia, and electoral of Brandenburg, prince of Orange, &c. was born January the twenty-fourth, 1712, and married Elizabetha Christina of Brunswick-Bevern, March the tenth, 1732. 3. Elizabetha Christina, spouse to the hereditary prince, &c. was born November the eighth, 1715. 4. William Augustus, prince of Brandenburg, born August the eleventh, 1722. 5. Frederick Henry, prince of Brandenburg, born January the eighteenth, 1726. 6. Augustus Ferdinand, prince of Brandenburg, born May the twenty-third, 1730. 7. Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, married to the hereditary prince of Brandenburg-Bareith, was born September the twenty-eighth, 1709. 8. Philippina Charlotta, princess of Brandenburg, married to the hereditary prince of Brunswick-Bevern, was born March the thirteenth, 1716. 9. Dorothea Sophia, princess of Brandenburg, born January the twenty-fifth, 1719. 10. Louisa Ulrica, princess of Brandenburg, born June the twentieth, 1720. 11. Anna Amelia, princess of Brandenburg, born November the ninth, 1723. 12. Sophia Louisa of Mecklenbourg, dowager of Frederick William the First, born May the sixth, 1685. To enumerate all the princes and princesses of the different branches of the house of Brandenburg would render us too prolix.

The king's character is not to be easily described, as containing a contrast of good and bad qualities; and the odd stories we heard of him in Berlin, his metropolis, however absolute he may be, were almost innumerable. Some of the principal of these we have an intention to publish hereafter. At present it may be sufficient to observe, that he is short in stature, has a stern martial look, is very fat and bloated, eats much, and drinks to great excess. All the accounts we received of him agree in this, that he has something extremely brutal in his deportment; which may be attributed to the vast quantity of English strong-beer he daily drinks, as well as to the ferocity of his nature. The highest pleasure he seems capable of, (as we were told by some of his own subjects,) is to get drunk with his general officers, and to vent his spleen and resentment against a prince, with whom he ought to be in the strictest manner united. The difference betwixt these two princes is certainly a very melancholy affair, if we consider the Protestant interest in general, but particularly in the empire; and this difference, it is said, has been greatly increased and fomented by count Seckendorf, the imperial minister. That gentleman, though a Protestant, being a favourite of the king of Prussia's, has created a thorough aversion betwixt the houses of Brandenburg and Hanover, in order, at the instigation of the Jesuits at the imperial court, to weaken the Protestant interest in the empire. This (if we may be allowed to give our opinion) is a very impolitic point of conduct in the court of Vienna, and may hereafter prove of very ill consequence to the house of Austria.

The queen is a lady possessed of many amiable qualities, and greatly beloved by the Prussians, but said to meet frequently with ill treatment from her husband; of which, were it proper, we could produce several instances. She has a good affection and esteem for her brother, the king of Great-Britain; but of late years has not dared to express it. Her spouse was so polite as to tell her, in the year 1729, when he had assembled an army of forty-thousand men, to invade the electorate of Hanover; that, before his return to Berlin, he intended to lay in ashes the city where she was born. Neither the many children she has had by him, nor the sweetness of her disposition, nor her dutiful deportment towards him, have been able thoroughly to engage to her the king's affection.

The prince royal and electoral was neither at Berlin, nor Potsdam, when we were there; but with his regiment (according to the information we received) at Custrin. He is said to have been a most charming and amiable prince till of late; when, in order to recover his father's favour, he found himself obliged to comply with the most disagreeable foibles, the worst and most vicious inclinations, of that prince. This has so altered him, that many of the Prussians fear he will one day turn out a most ambitious, perfidious, avaricious, and cruel tyrant; though others, it must be owned, expect and hope for much better things from him. With regard to the king's other children, the people we conversed with were almost entirely silent; though several persons seemed to promise themselves no great matters from them, especially the princes, on account of the bad example shewn them daily by the king, who very frequently, as was said, whilst we were at Berlin, both by his words and actions, expressed little regard either to virtue, decency, or religion. Notwithstanding which, we were told, that he had given frequent proofs of his zeal for the Protestant religion, and of his aversion to popery; as also, that sometimes he seemed to be acted by a true spirit of devotion. He is likewise said sometimes to be very impartial in the administration and distribution of justice; though it is notorious, that he has, on many occasions, demonstrated himself capable of the greatest partiality in this particular.

It is well known, that the king of Prussia has on foot an army of, at least, seventy-thousand effective men; and these, perhaps, the best troops in the world. They are undoubtedly better disciplined, and more frequently exercised, than the forces of any other potentate; and made by much the finest appearance of any troops we have hitherto seen. The king is extremely fond of his tall grenadiers, which he has collected out of almost all parts of Europe. These, or rather two battalions of these at a time, he reviews most days, whilst at Potsdam, in his gardens there, from five till nine of the clock in the morning; and afterwards on a plain, on the other side the Havel, till eleven. Though these grenadiers are the king's greatest favourites, yet, as most of them have been either forced or decoyed into the service, they take all opportunities to desert; neither are his other forces over closely attached to him. This disposition of the Prussian soldiery enabled a certain French minister, at the court of Berlin, to rally the baron D'Ilgén, with a good deal of poignancy. That minister having expostulated with the baron, on account of the king of Prussia's failing in the execution of a certain treaty, and expressed his master's disapprobation of that prince's conduct with some warmth; the latter said, "That more decent terms ought to be used in a conference with the prime minister of a monarch, who kept on foot an army of seventy-thousand men." To which the Frenchman replied, "That these men were not soldiers, but slaves, and required an army of at least seventy-thousand soldiers to keep them firm in their duty." The king, every time we saw him, appeared in the uniform of his tall grenadiers; esteeming it the greatest honour to be considered as the head of that corps.

His Prussian majesty sometimes takes delight in hunting, though he is rather too corpulent and unweildy for that sort of exercise. He has a very short neck, his face is often of the colour of gun-powder; and, with regard to his features, most of his *ritratts* pretty much resemble him. He is capable of sustaining toil and fatigue to a tolerable degree, and of using rather more than moderate exercise; which he actually does, and which, with rising early in a morning, probably keeps him alive. But, as he is dropsical, eats

and drinks immoderately, is fond of the strongest kinds of liquors, (which he frequently intoxicates himself with,) has of late had repeated twitchings and convulsive motions, cannot sleep in any other posture than sitting, is lethargic, and, upon the least cessation of exercise, often falls asleep; it is generally believed, that he will not be long-lived. And this seems the more probable, as he has already been attacked once by an apoplectic fit, which had like to have carried him off.

We met with no wild beasts, appertaining to the royal palace at Berlin, as at Vienna and Dresden; the king not having a taste for such creatures. However, we saw at Potsdam an eagle, and seven or eight vultures, of a very large and uncommon size. In lieu of wild beasts, his Prussian majesty keeps several jesters, or buffoons, who, on many occasions, afford him a most agreeable entertainment.

The principal places, in and about Berlin, worthy the attention of a curious traveller, are the royal palace, the arsenal, and Monbijou. Every gentleman of taste, who peruses this narrative, will expect a short description of these.

The royal palace stands in the Frederickstadt, and consists of two large courts. Every thing belonging to it, particularly the windows and entries, appear sufficiently grand. It has a noble prospect towards the grand parade, where formerly were the royal gardens. That part of the palace, to the right of the parade, contains the royal library, the royal apothecary's apartments, the royal confectionery, the royal laundry, and several other rooms occupied by the domesticks of the court. To this adjoins the grotto-work, made of shells; contiguous to which, is the fine orangery, in form of a half-moon. The library contains a noble collection of printed books, all bound in red morocco, and gilt on the backs. Near to this, is a large chamber, full of MSS. and books that may pass for exceeding great curiosities. Some of the principal of the latter are several Chinese books, and the Koran in the original; sent, as we were told, about a century ago, by the grand-signior to Mecca. This, according to the same persons, was seized by the wild Arabs, and sold by them to some merchants, from whom it came into the hands of the elector of Brandenburg. It is rolled round a pretty large piece of solid gold, resembling a short stick, or staff. It is adorned with precious stones of various kinds, and has two knobs of gold, at each end; but the workmanship seems clumsy and rude, at least, far from being elegant. The library of the late learned baron Spanheim was purchased by Frederick the First, and annexed by him to the royal library, though it stands in a room by itself. It is opened only once or twice a week; though the king's library is opened twice every day, once in the forenoon, and once in the afternoon, except in the dog-days, when it is shut every afternoon. In the palace, we likewise met with a bed adorned with pearls, which is much admired. We saw many things in the chamber of rarities, which were extremely curious. The principal of which were a figure in wax of Frederick the First in an easy chair, adorned with a red coat, star, and order of the Garter; many tables, bureaux, &c. of amber, with the figures of leaves, insects, &c. upon them; a piece of amber weighing an hundred pounds; a piece of amber, with the fish, called *Barbatula*, (in High Dutch, *Schmerling*,) in it; other pieces of amber, with beetles, horse-flies, fish-bones, shells, sea-weeds, moss, &c. in them; and lastly, a most invaluable collection of ancient Egyptian, Persian, Phœnician, Punic, Greek and Roman medals; of which M. De la Croze, the king's librarian, has published a complete catalogue in quarto, with a great number of plates exceedingly well done. Other chambers of the palace are remarkable for the great number of large tables, locks, and almost all sorts of furniture of massy silver, they contain. In the royal chapel there is an organ likewise, whose pipes consist of silver. The greatest part of the amber-curiosities above-mentioned came from Prussia, particularly, the district of Königsberg, the capital city; though several of them were the produce of his majesty's German dominions.

In that part of Berlin, called Frederick's-Werder, the king has two armories, or arsenals, known by the names of the Old Arsenal and the New Arsenal. The Old Arsenal is contiguous to the wall, between the Leipsick or Frederickstadt-Gate and the New Town or Dorotheastadt-Gate. It is a long low building, that makes no grand appearance; but it contains a

vast quantity of arms, and has always two centinels posted before the door. The New Arsenal (by way of eminence, called the Arsenal,) stands near the Dorotheastadt-Gate, opposite to the palace, which formerly was the governor's house, but now belongs to the prince royal; and is one of the most superb and magnificent buildings in Europe. It forms a square, is built of free-stone, has large sash-windows, and on the top a stone-gallery. This gallery is adorned with statues, trophies, and several historical figures, all of stone. Several statues, trophies, and figures of the same kind are likewise placed in niches round the building, all done in an elegant taste. From the New Arsenal, you have a delightful prospect of the royal palace. Before this edifice, opposite to the grand parade above-mentioned, at the distance of about ten paces, may be seen an immensely large cannon, carrying a ball of an hundred pounds weight, and called *Europa*. The reason given by some for this name is, because the cannon is the largest piece of artillery in Europe; but this does not appear to us altogether satisfactory. Round this arsenal are placed immense quantities of bombs, cannon-balls, and grenadoes in a pyramidal form. Here are arms more than sufficient for an army of two hundred thousand men, all beautifully polished, and kept in the nicest order. Cannons likewise, of various sizes, mortars, &c. it is most plentifully furnished with. In the reign of Frederick the First, this arsenal was looked upon to be the largest in Europe, and since that time it has been continually increasing. In the year 1717, the present king cast a new train of artillery, consisting of ninety pieces of cannon and twenty-four mortars, and placed it here; and many additional trains of field-artillery have since been cast. An infinity of cuirasses, helmets, and all other offensive and defensive instruments of war; and, in fine, all kinds of military accoutrements, are likewise to be met with in this arsenal. Parties of the artillery company keep guard here alternately. They are besides employed in filling the patronen, or charges, and in casting leaden balls for carbines, musquets, pistols, &c.

Monbijou is a small delightful summer-palace, with very beautiful and magnificent gardens, and several buildings round it, appertaining to the queen. It can scarce be deemed an English mile from the Spandau-Gate, and is visited by all travellers that come to Berlin. The name is French, and equivalent to 'my Jewel,' or 'my Delight,' in English; the reason of which no one, who has seen this palace, will be at a loss to discover. The Czar Peter the Great, with his consort Catharina, had the curiosity to see the palace and gardens of Monbijou, and was most magnificently entertained there, by the Prussian court, in 1717.

The king has no taste for literature, nor is he an encourager or patron of learned men. There are, however, at Berlin several persons of great erudition, of whom M. Christfried Kirch, the king's astronomer, and member of the academy of sciences, M. Alphonse des-Vignoles, and M. Maturin Veyssiere la Croze, the royal antiquary and librarian, are the most celebrated and considerable. M. Kirch I was not in company with above once or twice; but his character is so well known and established, in the learned world, that it would savour of vanity to attempt it here. M. des-Vignoles is a most venerable old gentleman; being, as he informed me, eighty-four years of age. I was several times in company with him, at M. La Croze's, when he discovered an immense fund of learning. He is now publishing a learned and curious piece, intitled, '*Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte, & des Histoires Etrangères qui la concernent, depuis la Sortie d'Égypte, jusqu'à la Captivité de Babylone*;' to which he did me the honour to invite me to be a subscriber. M. La Croze is a very great critick in antient learning, and the oriental languages; particularly Coptic and Armenian. The celebrated pieces he has obliged the republick of letters with, will eternize his name. He entertained me several times with his curious researches into antiquity and discoveries, for which I held myself greatly obliged to him. He affirmed, that Dr. Wilkins was a novice in the Coptic language, and that no European had sufficiently applied himself to the Armenian tongue. The Armenian, he said, was nearly related to the old Persic, as he had found by comparing Dr. Hyde's piece, '*De Religione veterum Persarum*,' with all the best authors treating of the subject, and his own observations. He affirmed, that he had drawn up a dissertation, which proved this to de-

monstration; and that he had composed Coptic-Latin Latin-Coptic, and Armenian-Latin Latin-Armenian lexicons, that formed two very large volumes in quarto, which, as he said, he never intended to publish. This so excited my curiosity, that I could not be easy till I had seen them; and, upon his shewing them me, I used all the arguments I could think of to persuade him to make them public, but without effect; he persisting in his resolution to the contrary. He told me, the king of Prussia had the finest collection of Bibles, in different languages, to be met with in the world; and that his majesty was still augmenting this collection. He was turned of seventy-six years of age, and in a very infirm condition. He assured me, that he wished for nothing more than that we should keep up a constant and regular correspondence, and that he should always retain a great regard and friendship for me.

Though we have postponed several odd and unaccountable stories of the king of Prussia to another opportunity, yet we have been prevailed upon to insert one or two of them here. Mr. Guy Dickens, the English resident, with whom we several times dined, and who is a very obliging and accomplished gentleman, assured us, that he had waited above six weeks in vain for an audience, though the king had granted audiences to all the other foreign ministers, as soon as desired; and that his majesty scarce ever used him as a gentleman, much less as a public minister, though the king of Great-Britain, his master, and that monarch were in friendship and alliance. But Mr. Dickens added, that this happened to the extreme regret of all his subjects. We ourselves likewise are witnesses of the savage and brutal disposition of this prince. For, when we went one morning at five o'clock, to see him exercise his tall grenadiers, in his gardens at Potsdam; just as he went off, he sent an officer to the author of this narrative, to enquire who we were? who answered, "three English gentlemen, on their return to England, who, having frequently heard of this celebrated body of his majesty's troops, were extremely desirous of seeing them." To which no reply was made. But when we followed his majesty over the Havel to the plain, where he constantly reviewed his grenadiers after the exercise at Potsdam, we were surprised to meet with an officer, who told us, (by his majesty's order) that the king never suffered any foreigners to attend him over the Havel, and therefore we were enjoined to return to our inn at Potsdam. But as we were returning, in compliance with this order; Mr. Wentworth (a near relation of the earl of Strafford, in the king of Prussia's service,) met us, and, upon hearing our story, placed us behind a large overgrown oak, where we could easily see the king exercise his grenadiers. But the same gentleman informed us, that we ran a considerable risk; since, if the king discovered us, he could not tell what might be the consequence of a non-compliance with the order abovementioned.

The same Mr. Dickens informed us, that the king of Prussia and all his ministers drank extremely hard, and were frequently guilty of very odd pranks. But the most unaccountable instance of hard drinking, according to this gentleman, was general Jagosinski, the Russian ambassador. He once or twice a week dined with Mr. Dickens, who went to dinner about one o'clock. From that time till twelve, the bumper went incessantly round; and Mr. Dickens's company, except M. Jagosinski, were generally twice overpowered before that time, as a half-pint glass of wine was circulated without intermission. But M. Jagosinski took his bumpers, without solicitation; foiled the rest of the gentlemen twice; and then left them, seemingly, as cool and unconcerned as when he first came amongst them. What renders this the more strange and surprising is, that M. Jagosinski, every morning, as soon as he arose, drank off a full half-pint of brandy, and sometimes a much larger quantity.

From what has been already observed, it must plainly appear, that Berlin is one of the largest, finest, and most populous cities in Germany. Nay we may venture to affirm, that in some respects no other town of Germany can vie with it. Since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, vast numbers of French Protestants have settled here, as well as in many other parts of the king of Prussia's dominions. We were told, that they make up near one third of the inhabitants of this city. These inhabitants are said to amount to eighty-thousand souls. The Prince-Royal, where we put up, is an exceeding good inn, neither was

the bill brought us by the landlord at our departure very extravagant; since the whole expence we incurred, by eating, drinking, and lodging, did not amount to above fifteen florins *per diem*. We gave as a gratuity to the servant, who shewed us the palace, an hungar or ducat; to him who shewed us the armory or arsenal, six florins; and to him who shewed us the house and gardens of Monbijou, two florins. Having satisfied ourselves with the sight of every thing curious at Berlin, we next proposed visiting the city of Hanover, and viewing whatever occurred to us worthy of attention there.

SECT. VIII.

A Journey from Berlin, the Residence of the King of Prussia, to Hanover, the Capital of the Electorate of Brunswick-Lunenbourg.

THE road to Spandau, the first place we arrived at after our departure from Berlin, appeared pleasant and agreeable enough. There are, however, some woods in this tract. Spandau is a considerable walled town of the marquisate of Brandenburg, upon the western bank of the Havel, about two German miles north-west of Berlin. Prisoners of distinction, as well as others of an inferior rank, are frequently sent to the castle here; inso-much that it is scarce ever without some of them. There are at present here, (as we were told at Berlin,) betwixt forty and fifty soldiers, who some time since came to a resolution to desert in a body; and, in order to facilitate the execution of this design, proposed to dispatch every person they met with in their route. But one of the party discovered the whole affair to the king, who immediately ordered their ears and noses to be cut off, and then sent them to the castle of Spandau; where they are to be confined with chains about their legs, for life. At a small distance from the town, we saw a gallows and some wheels erected for the execution of criminals and malefactors. According to information received from persons of good authority at Berlin, the king is for the most part his own prime-minister. However, he permits his ministers of state and privy-councillors to deliver their opinions upon any scheme he forms, and even to offer to it whatever objections they think proper twice; but if any one of them presumes to attempt invalidating the king's answers to these, he is presently sent to the castle of Spandau. Nay, as the same persons assured us, when his majesty is in an ill humour, (which pretty frequently happens,) after he has answered the first objections urged against his project, he draws upon a piece of paper the castle of Spandau, a gallows, a gibbet, wheel, or something of that kind, and orders it to be posted over the objector's door. This is very well understood; and not one of the ministers of state dares afterwards offer any arguments against what the king has been pleased to advance.

From Berlin, through the king of Prussia's territories, we paid three grosse per post, for each of our post-chaises. This he allows the post-masters, in order to compensate the loss they sustain by their post-waggons, or brouettes, lying idle; which our readers will allow to be a great imposition.

From Spandau we proceeded to Wustermarck, or Woostermart, a small inconsiderable village. Woostermart stands about two German miles north-west of Spandau. Nothing remarkable occurred this post. The road was sandy, and for the most part an ascent. We must not forget observing, that the people at Wustermarck, as well as at Spandau, were very civil and obliging. The post-office at Spandau seemed a tolerable good house.

We found the following post, terminated by Barnovitz, or Barnewitz, about the same length as the preceding. The road likewise betwixt Barnewitz and Woostermart continued sandy. As Barnewitz is a place of no note, and nothing worthy of a traveller's attention presented itself to our view, we did not stay above half an hour there.

The next place we arrived at was Ratenau, or Ratenou, about three German miles almost west of Barnovitz. Ratenau is a pretty considerable town upon the Havel. We found some Prussian foot in garrison here. We took up our lodging at Ratenau, and met there with very good accommodations.

Setting out early the next morning, we breakfasted at Tangermiinde, or Tangerminden. Tangerminden is a large town, on the western bank of the Elbe, about two German miles west of Ratenau. This post we crossed the Havel and the Elbe, and passed through a sort of morass. We found several Prussian companies of foot in garrison at Tangerminden.

Gardeleben, the place we next visited, stands about four German miles almost west of Tangermiinde. This post the road was sandy and heavy. Between this town and Tangermiinde we passed through a village, called Stendel. There are at present two or three companies of foot posted here, but the worst Prussian infantry we have hitherto seen.

From Gardeleben we advanced to Steincke, upon the frontiers of the duchy of Lunenburg. This is a small village, about three German miles almost west of Gardeleben. The road being very bad this post, we found ourselves a little fatigued, and therefore agreed to lodge at Steincke. The accommodations here were very indifferent; but, as we set out very early in the morning, this was no great inconvenience to us.

Between Steincke and Brunswick, (or, as the Germans call it, Braunschweig,) the road was very bad; insomuch that we were frequently in danger of being overturned. The country, however, appeared very agreeable and delightful, and not unlike some parts of England. Steincke stands about five German miles off Brunswick, in a north-east direction. We met with nothing worth any attention this post.

Brunswick is a very large, strong, and ancient city of Germany, upon the Ocker, about one and a half German miles north of Wolfenbuttle, and about seven German miles east of Hanover. It is subject to the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, and famous for a liquor called Mum, which was formerly exported from hence into several parts of Europe, and particularly England, but is not now in very great vogue. The Latin names of Brunswick are *Brunopolis*, *Brunswiga*, and *Brunsviga*. According to the German historians, this city was built by Bruno, a duke of Saxony, A. D. 861. It is two miles in compass, and surrounded with double walls and ditches. Each of the five corporations into which it is divided, has its proper magistrates, public hall, and courts of judicature; but in matters relating to the common interest, they all unite. It was formerly a noble Hans Town, and then in a much more flourishing condition than at present; though it may be considered now as a rich and populous city. The principal curiosities to be seen here are the following: 1. The duke of Blanckenburg's palace, a fabrick of very considerable antiquity, and, for the time when it was built, sufficiently grand. 2. The new palace built by the present duke Lewis Adolph, which is magnificent enough, and of a very large extent. 3. The town-house, which merits the attention of every curious traveller. 4. The church of St. Blaise, which is the principal one of the town. Here several of the dukes are interred. 5. The lion of brass, in a square opposite to the church of St. Blaise, representing the animal of that name, which followed duke Henry, surnamed the Lion, wherever he went. 6. The fortifications of the city, which are so complete, that it cannot be besieged without a numerous army. 7. The rich furniture, fine pictures, cabinet of curiosities, &c. in the new palace. 8. The citadel, which is a place of great strength. The duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle always keeps a good garrison here.

We put up at the Golden Eagle, which is looked upon by most English gentlemen, that have travelled of late through this part of Germany, to be the best inn in Brunswick. The women here did not seem so modest and reserved in their behaviour, as we found the dominions of the emperor, the king of Poland (elector of Saxony), and the king of Prussia. The mum we met with here was much inferior, in fineness of flavour, to the liquor of the same kind we had drank in London. But this is not to be wondered at; since the mum sent to London is not only, as our landlord informed us, the best brewed here, but the flavour of the liquor itself is likewise vastly improved by its passage to London. Though Brunswick is a place of considerable note, the entertainment we met with in it was by no means elegant. They have an exceeding good coffee-house here. The duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle's postilions have strings over their right shoulder striped

with red and white. Brunswick stands in 52 deg. 14 min. north lat. and 10 deg. 44 min. east of London.

The next place we arrived at was called Payn, Pein, or Peina. This post we traversed part of the bishoprick of Hildesheim. Peina is a considerable town near the borders of the electorate of Hanover, about three German miles west of Brunswick. It stands upon the river Eubse, in the bishoprick of Hildesheim. Peina being a place of some strength, there was a garrison in it, which the postmaster informed us was a detachment of the Hanoverian forces. We were extremely hungry upon our arrival at Peina; but could meet with nothing, except a few eggs and a little bread, there.

From Peina to Hanover, we found it four long German miles. There are several considerable woods in this tract, which may be deemed part of the *Silva Hercynia* of the ancients. That this forest, which was of such a prodigious extent, consisted chiefly of firs, seems probable; not only from what we have observed of the woods in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, but likewise from Hartz-Forest, the modern name of part of the remains of the *Silva Hercynia*. For Hartz, in the High Dutch, or German language, signifies the juice, sap, or exsudation of fir-trees. The latter part of this post was sandy, and, consequently, the road tolerably good. The number of posts between Berlin and Hanover stands thus:

From Berlin to Spandau, one post, two German miles.

From Spandau to Wustermarck, one post, two German miles.

From Wustermarck to Barnewitz, one post, two German miles.

From Barnewitz to Ratenau, one and a half posts, three German miles.

From Ratenau to Tangermünden, one post, two German miles.

From Tangermünden to Gardeleben, two posts, four German miles.

From Gardeleben to Steincke, one and a half posts, three German miles.

From Steincke to Brunswick, two and a half posts, five German miles.

From Brunswick to Peina, one and a half posts, three German miles.

From Peina to Hanover, two and a half posts, five German miles.

Total, fifteen posts, thirty-one German miles.

Hanover, in Latin, *Hanovera*, the capital of the duchy and electorate of the same name, is situate on the river Leine, in a sandy soil, about seven German miles west of Brunswick, and seven south-west of Zell. It is a place of considerable strength, and the seat of the elector, our present most gracious sovereign. The river Leine divides it into two parts, known by the names of the New and the Old Town. Though it cannot be deemed a very grand and stately city, yet the streets are regular, broad, and well-paved, as well as extremely clean and neat. There is, properly speaking, no court here, in the absence of the king of Great Britain. But the states of the electorate are governed by a council of regency; some members of which reside at London, as long as his Britannic majesty remains in England, and the rest at Hanover. For this reason, scarce any thing very magnificent presented itself to our view here. The houses in general make no very grand appearance, most of them consisting of timber and clay; though there are many likewise of brick and stone. The Leine, that runs through Hanover, being a delightful river, gives the town a pleasant aspect, and renders the situation much more charming and agreeable. The streets are finely illuminated every dark night, during the winter season. We were told, that the air here is very salubrious, that the citizens are seldom visited by any epidemical disease, and that many of them arrive at a good old age.

Provisions of all kinds the city is supplied with in great plenty, and the inns (if we may form a judgment of them from the City of London, where we lodged) as good as any in Germany. That inn we take to be as polite a one as ever we saw; though we have traversed the best part of Europe. The landlord was extremely civil, and did what he could to oblige us. We had our dishes served up both in the English and French way, with the utmost elegance. One article the cook was resolved to oblige us in, whether we were English or French, for we did not at first discover to what country we belonged; and that was the dressing of a hare. That we might not fail of being pleased, the hare was roasted,

one half larded, and the other plain. We met likewise here with a considerable variety of wines; every species of which, that we tasted, was extremely good. And our landlord, civil and obliging as he was, in order to be consistent with himself throughout, by his bill at our departure, treated us as persons of the first distinction.

The principal things worthy of a foreigner's notice in Hanover are the following: 1. The elector's palace, founded upon the ruins of a monastery, and adorned with a vast quantity of rich furniture. The tapestry and paintings here are extremely fine. Much of the furniture, as tables, &c. consists entirely of silver; with which valuable metal the elector is supplied most copiously from the rich silver-mines in the duchy of Lunenburg. Here is likewise a cabinet of curiosities, and a noble collection of antient and modern medals. This palace is of a large extent, has several courts, and a very fine chapel. In this chapel, under the communion-table, as we were informed, the body of king George the First lies interred. We must not omit observing, that the whole is a structure of free-stone. 2. The church of Santa Croce, or the Holy Cross, which has a double row of galleries round it from the altar, and upon the first the history of the Gospel in fifty-three parts, painted with exquisite art. 3. The church of St. James, which is adorned with many fine pictures of apostles and saints, all done by very able masters. 4. The Roman-Catholic church, which the emperor Leopold obliged the present king of Great-Britain's grandfather to grant to those of his communion, when he invested him with the electoral dignity, in 1692. 5. The church built by the princess Sophia for the French refugees, to which king William the Third was a benefactor. 6. The churches of St. George and St. Giles, &c. 7. The printing-press, from whence pieces of erudition are now and then sent into the learned world; as also the hospital, and orphanotrophium; every one of which deserves to be seen.

When the king of Great Britain resides here, the court is very brilliant and polite. Besides the frequent concerts, balls, assemblies, festins, &c. they have, as we were informed, for the most part, French comedies acted several times a week, in the theatre appertaining to the Palace. And as people of all ranks and degrees are admitted *gratis* to this last diversion, (of which they are very fond,) the arrival of his Britannic majesty at Hanover always occasions great festivity and rejoicing. Indeed, that monarch is extremely well beloved, and even almost adored by all his electoral subjects; insomuch that they never part with him, but with the utmost regret. Operas, we were told, of late years, have not been so much in vogue here; though the elector has a fine opera-house adorned with paintings, &c. that render it a real curiosity. Perhaps, in some respects, it is not inferior to any thing of the same kind in Europe.

Hanover was formerly a Hans Town, and enjoyed a very flourishing commerce. It has at present four fairs a year, to which many foreign merchants resort. This brings considerable wealth to the place; which is increased by the produce of the silver-mines of Lunenburg. In fine, we saw no signs of poverty here. On the contrary, a plenty of money is visible; and all kinds of provisions, though by no means scarce, fetch a pretty high price; both indisputable indications of a very considerable share of wealth. Hanover stands in 52 deg. 23 min. north lat. and 10 deg. 16 min. east of London.

The elector of Hanover is one of the most potent princes of the empire. He has at present on foot an army of twenty-two-thousand men, all regular troops; and can augment his forces with a body of thirteen or fourteen thousand men, without burthening his subjects. The accession of the duchies of Lunenburg, Saxe-Lawenburg, Zell, Bremen, &c. to the patrimonial estates of the elector, render him above twice as powerful as he was about forty years ago. His revenues arise not only from the silver-mines above-mentioned, but likewise from several others of iron and copper; from taxes on land, cattle, merchandize (particularly from brewhan, a thick sweet liquor brewed at Hanover, and exported from thence into all the neighbouring parts) public-houses, and inns; and from the salt-pits, or springs, that rise within the walls of Lunenburg. These revenues at present are said to amount to above five-hundred-thousand pounds sterling *per annum*.

The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, is thought to be one of the richest princes in Germany. He has some troops of life-guards, and two regiments of foot-guards, of one battalion each, clothed in red lined with blue; which made an exceeding fine appearance. He has also five or six courts, or councils; and officers of state, usual in courts of crowned heads. But, for a particular account of these councils and officers, we must beg leave to refer our readers to several modern writers, who have treated of the German affairs, and given us a minute and circumstantial description of them.

Lutheranism is the established religion in this electorate, though both Roman-Catholics and Jews are tolerated here. The latter have a synagogue at Hanover; and the former are pretty numerous there. These are, however, people of low rank; almost all the nobility and gentry being Lutherans. Before the emperor Leopold would grant duke Ernest the investiture of the electoral dignity in 1692, he obliged him to admit of an apostolical vicar in his dominions, and to permit him to reside at Hanover. A toleration is not only granted to the Calvinists here, but likewise to people of all other persuasions. We did not hear of many learned men at Hanover; though, we doubt not, many are there to be found. However, the fame of M. Heumannus soon reached us, as it will many future travellers who visit this place. That gentleman has a vast fund of erudition; as clearly appears from the numerous learned treatises he has already published. A list of these treatises is inserted in the preface to a learned piece of his, the third edition of which was printed the last year at Hanover, with the following title:

CONSPECTUS REIPUBLICÆ LITERARIÆ,
SIVE
VIA AD
HISTORIAM LITERARIAM
JUVENTUTI STUDIOSE
APERTA
A
CHRISTOPHORO HEVMANNO D.
Editio tertia locupletior.
HANOVERÆ,
APUD JO. JACOBUM FOERSTERUM.
MDCCXXXIII.

This piece is dedicated to the famous Dr. John Burchard Menckenius, Aulick councillor and historiographer to Augustus the Second, king of Poland, fellow of the Royal Society at London, and public professor of history in the university of Leipsick. Mr. Heuman was born in the year 1682, and, from the list above-mentioned, it appears that the books, tracts, dissertations, &c. he published between 1701 and 1730, amount to one-hundred forty-four.

The two elegant seats in the neighbourhood of Hanover, called the Fantasy, or the Whim; and Montbrillant, or Mount Pleasant; are viewed by all foreigners that traverse this part of Germany. They were built by Madame the baroness de Kilmanseck, and the countess de Platen. But the noblest seat, or palace, out of town, is Herenhausen, on the Leine; about one and an half English miles, as we guessed, north of Hanover. The gardens here are most charming and delightful, and the wilderness of ever-greens scarce to be paralleled. The orangery likewise, and theatre cut out into green seats, with arbours and summer-houses on both sides of it, for the actors to dress in, are justly celebrated all over Germany. But the greatest ornament of these delicious gardens are the large basons, beautiful cascades, and water-works here; which, by all good judges, are looked upon to be the finest in Europe. We found a Yorkshire man, who (as he said) came hither in the beginning of king George the First's reign, and had the management and direction of the water-works committed to his care. He gave the highest character of that excellent prince; as,

indeed, did all the people we conversed with at Hanover, but more especially his domesticks. His majesty, for the most part, held his residence in the castle of Herenhausen, during the time he found his presence necessary in his German dominions.

When we went out of Hanover, in order to take a view of Herenhausen, some soldiers, posted at the gate we passed through, seemed to look upon us with an evil and malicious eye; the reason of which we could never discover. The post-master likewise, (to whom we applied for post-horses the day before we left the place,) insisted, at first, upon our taking an additional horse to each of our chaises. But, upon our acquainting him, that we were English gentlemen, and could not avoid thinking it hard, that people under the same sovereign with ourselves should treat us more harshly than the subjects of the emperor, the king of Poland, and the king of Prussia had done; he permitted us to pursue our journey with the same number of horses we brought with us to Hanover: and in palliation of what he had done, alleged that he had been informed we were Frenchmen, and consequently belonged to a nation then at war with the empire. Whether this was the real cause of his unpolite behaviour, or only a pretext, we will not take upon us to determine: be that, however, as it will, it was some matter of comfort to us to find, that of all nations in the world, the French, at this juncture, were the most disagreeable to the Hanoverians. Having seen every thing worthy of a curious traveller's attention at Hanover, we made the necessary dispositions for our departure from that place; proposing to finish our travels in the empire, by continuing them to Hamburg. To that famous emporium therefore we resolved next to direct our march; and in order to this, to take the route of Zell.

SECT. IX.

A Journey from Hanover, the Metropolis of the Electorate of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, to Hamburg; the second of the Hans Towns.

WE arrived at Zell, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The tract between Hanover and Zell is, for the most part, heathy and sandy; though part of it is very well cultivated and manured. The postiglioni told us, that it abounded with hares; and we ourselves saw two of those animals, as we passed the road. There are likewise some woods in this tract, which may be looked upon as certain small remains of the *Silva Hercynia* of the antients. The city of Zell, at about the distance of an English mile, has only the appearance of a very large village.

Zell, the capital of the duchy of the same name, stands in 52 deg. 43 min. lat. and 10 deg. 17 min. east of London, near the conflux of the Aller and the Euhse, about seven German miles north-east of Hanover. It is situated in a sandy plain, and has some large woods at a small distance from it. The city has a very rural aspect, and nothing very remarkable in it, but the ducal palace. The terrace round the town is, however, curious enough; as being adorned with trees planted all along, and rendered more delightful by the fine gardens, orchards, and grottoes adjacent to it. The palace is very large; but there having been no court here since the year 1705, when the late duke died, the furniture in the rooms is gone greatly to decay. None of these rooms, except that in which king William lay, made any tolerable figure. The servants shewed us a room, wherein was a bed with curtains of black velvet lined with damask, which they affirmed to be above two hundred years old. In this bed, they said, lord Harrington lay, when he came with the king last into Germany. The palace stands near the Hanover-gate, and is a square building of a large extent, with a platform at each corner moated round. The houses are all of timber; but the churches, which are very mean, of brick. The several rows of trees planted in the streets give Zell the appearance of a large country-town, in which but little business is stirring; and this is pretty much the case with the inhabitants, who seem much poorer than the people of Hanover. We put up at the Wine-Cellar, an inn in great repute amongst the English gentlemen, who have been at Zell; but met with an enormous

bill and very indifferent accommodations. The printing-press here deserves to be remembered, as ending out into the republick of letters, now and then, a learned piece. Though Zell has been in a manner deserted by the court near thirty years, and is not looked upon as a place of any great consequence; it is tolerably well fortified, and has an Hanoverian garrison in it. The terrace above-mentioned is so broad, that several coaches may meet thereon abreast. There is a pretty little theatre appertaining to the palace here, which at present appears in a ruinous condition.

From Zell we went to Vitzendorf, which is a village of no great note. The country this post was sandy, and, for the most part, a heath; interspersed with some spots of cultivated ground. Several large woods are likewise to be found in this tract. These woods consist chiefly of firs, as do most others in the duchy of Lunenburg, though sometimes oaks and elms are to be found. Several hares, with which animal this country is said to abound, appeared this post; some of which our Swiss servant attempted to shoot. We lay at the post-office in Vitzendorf, and met with better accommodations than at Zell. The distance between these two places is at least four German miles.

We advanced from Vitzendorf to Sorensdorf, a small inconsiderable village. The road and country this post agreed in all particulars with the preceding. We could meet with nothing to dine upon at Sorensdorf, but a bit of cold a-la-mode beef, which was very acceptable to us. Both Vitzendorf and Sorensdorf are in the duchy of Lunenburg. That duchy abounds in heaths and woods, some remains of the *Silva Hercynia*; and more especially the northern part of it. We might here mention many curious particulars relating to Hartz-forest, which would be entertaining enough; but, as we have already the natural history of that remarkable forest in our own language, our readers will consider this as altogether unnecessary. Sorensdorf is above four German miles north of Vitzendorf. We saw last night, about half a German mile from Vitzendorf, an infinite number of chafers, or beetles, of a very large size, a little after sun-set.

The next post was terminated by the town and port of Harburg, and consisted of, at least, four German miles. I was informed at Berlin and Leipsick, that some of the Wenden, or posterity of the antient Venedi, were seated in the duchy of Lunenburg. Neither is this to be wondered at, since their chief seats in this duchy are said to be Danneberg and Luchow, or Lochow, on the river Tetze; but we did not meet with any of them. The greatest part of the remains of that antient nation, to the number of 10,000 men, women, and children, is, as they told me, at the places just mentioned, settled in Lusatia. They have an aversion to the Germans, are half Catholicks and half Lutherans, partly subject to the king of Prussia, and partly to the elector of Saxony; and occupy the tract between Lubben and Budissin. They are likewise a strong hardy people, and will sustain toil and fatigue to an uncommon degree. They still use their antient language, have a dress different from that of the Germans, retain many of their old customs, and in several points agree with their ancestors, who lived in the time of ² Tacitus. They are most of them servants, and remarkable for their singular fidelity to their masters. But, as we have some years since received a very ample and particular description of this people from the reverend and learned Dr. Jablonski, it would be entirely superfluous to expatiate any further upon them here. The following table exhibits the number of German miles between Hanover and Hamburg:

From Hanover to Zell, seven German miles.

From Zell to Vitzendorf, four German miles.

From Vitzendorf to Sorensdorf, four German miles.

From Sorensdorf to Harburg, four German miles and a half.

From Harburg to Hamburg, about two German miles.

Harburg, or Harborg, is a pretty strong and flourishing town of the duchy of Lunenburg, upon the river Loze or Lotze, and near its influx into the Elbe, almost opposite to Hamburg. The streets are pretty broad, clean, and well paved; and almost all the houses are built of brick, most of them seeming perfectly new. It is a long town, about twelve

² Tacit. de Mor. German. sub fin.

German miles and a half north of Zell, and has a Hanoverian garrison. It has a good harbour, a handsome church, and several elegant squares. The people, in their air, behaviour, and manner of dress, are said to resemble the Dutch more than the Germans; as also in their language. This is supposed to retain much more of the old Saxon in it than the High Dutch, though the inhabitants and all the people of the adjacent country write in High Dutch. The castle is very strong, both by nature and art, and has sluices, which, in case of need, can drown a considerable extent of the adjacent territory. The garrison consisted of some of the best Hanoverian troops we have seen. We saw a vast number of pregnant women here. The town, which consists principally of one long street, is perfumed in every part with pitch and tar, which to me was by no means unpleasant or disagreeable. The King's Arms is the best public-house in Harburg. In our passage over the Elbe to Hamburg, we met with several islands surrounded with dikes, which were covered with a most beautiful verdure. It is said, that these islands are so fertile that their owners are amply paid for their cultivation of them.

The city of Hamburg was reckoned the metropolis of the duchy of Holstein, before it became a free state of the empire. It is situate on the northern bank of the Elbe, in 53 deg. 41 min. north lat. and 10 deg. 11 min. east of London, about fourteen German miles and an half north of Zell. This famous city, according to the German historians, owes its origin to Charlemagne, who built a fort upon part of the ground on which Hamburg stands, before the year 810. It was erected first into a bishoprick, and afterwards into an archbishoprick, by Ludovicus Pius, that prince's son. It was formerly under the jurisdiction of the Saxons, but became subject to the empire in 1215. The Danes took it from the empire in 1220, and sold it to Albert count of Orlemund and his heirs; and he soon after sold his pretensions to the citizens, who then declared it a free and independent city. The emperor Charles the Fourth took it under his special protection in 1359; though, according to some, that emperor enjoined the Hamburgers to acknowledge the immediate sovereignty of the county of Holstein in 1375. Others deny that fact. The kings of Denmark, succeeding the counts of Holstein in their dominions, upon the failure of the male line of those counts in 1459, succeeded them likewise in their pretensions to the sovereignty of this city. Those pretensions still subsist. But the neighbouring princes, not judging it consistent with their interest to permit the Danes to make themselves masters of Hamburg, have hitherto preserved its independency. Notwithstanding which, the Hamburgers have been several times fleeced by the neighbouring princes, since the beginning of this century. They are always, and particularly at present, extremely jealous of the Danes.

Hamburg, by its situation, enjoys all possible advantages of trade, both foreign and domestic; and has actually a better inland trade than any city in Europe, except London and Amsterdam. The English merchants here are the great support of the place, and are very numerous. They have several extraordinary privileges granted them, that are denied to the merchants of other nations. And this is not to be wondered at; since the greatest, and almost only, protection the Hamburgers have, notwithstanding they pay eighty-thousand crowns a year to the emperor to protect them, is from the English nation. The constitution and polity of the city of Hamburg are so very well understood, and we have had of late such full and ample descriptions of them, that we shall not touch upon them here. Our readers, we doubt not, will excuse us, as the present relation of our travels has so far exceeded the limits we at first proposed confining it to, if we entertain them only with some simple observations of our own, that we made, whilst at Hamburg.

The Hamburgers are most fierce Lutherans, and almost as much addicted to persecution as the Roman-Catholicks. That incendiary Erdman Nieumeister, a Lutheran preacher, so well known for his bitter, furious, and antichristian spirit, is in the highest repute amongst them. They are said to behave with as much rancour to the Calvinists, or Reformed, as to the Jews, Roman-Catholicks, or Mohammedans. The cathedral, with the chapter, and many houses belonging to it, are under the protection of his Britannic majesty, as duke of Bremen. It was built above nine-hundred years ago. There are

five very large parish-churches here, and eight of a lesser size. A branch of the Elbe separates the Old from the New Town. Hamburg is very well fortified, but the garrison serves only for a shew. We were told, that two companies of burghers guard the walls every night. The city of Hamburg contains about two-hundred thousand souls. The number of coaches here amounts to above three-hundred; which, in proportion, exceeds that of any other city in Europe. The cathedral goes generally by the name of the Dome.

At present the burghers keep guard day and night in Hamburg. This is owing to the king of Denmark's being encamped at Ottensee, a small village of Holstein, about four English miles from Hamburg, with six-thousand men; which he is sending, as his contingent, to the imperial army upon the Rhine. We saw these troops reviewed, by his Danish majesty; and they made a very fine appearance. The king of Denmark, at present, resides for the most part in the neighbourhood of Altena. He seems to be of a very thin habit of body. We were told, that general Morner commanded the abovementioned corps.

There are six lofty steeples in Hamburg, some of which are covered with copper. St. Catharine's, one of these, has a stately front, and many statues in niches. Round the middle of this steeple is a crown, richly gilt. In the church of St. Catharine we saw a piece of painting, representing the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour between two thieves, one of whose souls was carried by an angel to heaven, and the other by a devil to hell. This is tolerably well done, and seemed to me to be a piece of considerable antiquity. All the churches in Hamburg, except New St. Michael's, are said to be older than the Reformation. It is no wonder, therefore, that they should abound with crucifixes, statues of the Virgin Mary, &c. It is said there is an image of the Virgin Mary, in St. Peter's, for which the Roman-Catholics have offered twenty-thousand rixdollars. The spire of St. Peter's is by much the highest of any in the city.

From the Lombard bridge, over the river Alster, a person has a very good prospect of the town. This river forms a fine bason within the town, which to me seemed to be in the form of an amphitheatre. The source of the Alster is about thirty English miles from Hamburg. This river, as it is called, does not seem to be a running water, but to be supported by imperceptible subterraneous springs.

The walls of Hamburg are said to be between five and six English miles in circumference. The walk round them is very pleasant and agreeable. The New Town, we were told, was built in the year 1621. The senate-house is adorned, both within and without, with statues of the modern Roman emperors, the nine worthies, &c. The exchange is opposite to the senate-house, on one side is adorned with several fine trees, and has a most pleasant situation on a branch or canal of the Elbe. That river forms several canals in the Old Town, by means of which the merchants have their wares brought to the back part of their own houses. At a small distance from Hamburg stands a *fortezza*, called *Hornschantz*, between which and Hamburg there is said to be a subterraneous communication. The garrison here does not consist, as we were informed, of above thirty men; but, according to the same persons, by means of the abovementioned communication, it may be continually reinforced, and supplied with ammunition, provisions, &c. from Hamburg. The greatest part of the garrison in this city, if our friends may be depended upon, is composed of the lower kind of mechanicks. The whole is said to amount to above two-thousand men.

It is a common maxim amongst merchants, that no town can enjoy a flourishing trade, except its inhabitants permit the Jews to settle amongst them. This maxim, as it should seem, has prevailed in Hamburg; since there are above thirty-five thousand Jews in that city. Many of these inhabit part of the New Town, towards Altena. The streets occupied by the Jews are pretty large, but consist of very poor houses. They have here, as in other places, several marks of distinction, by which they are easily known.

Our friends here informed us, that every person who walked the streets of Hamburg, between Michaelmas and Lady-day, after ten o'clock at night, without a lantern, ran a

considerable risk of being arrested. There is a fine library belonging to the town. In many of the churches here, which are constantly open, we were surprized to meet with booksellers' shops. The Lutheran nuns here marry whenever they please. We were told, that few were found amongst them, but such as have some deformity, or defect. Nay, some of our acquaintance said, that none but such were qualified to live amongst them. But this we know not how to give credit to.

The Hamburgers are the most charitable people in the world. All real objects of charity amongst them are provided for; but the sturdy beggars, that in other places infest the streets, are sent to the workhouse, that they may be thereby rendered serviceable to the publick. Hence it comes to pass, that a beggar is scarce ever to be met with in the streets of Hamburg. But, as soon as we came into the king of Denmark's dominions, we were accosted by several of them. The Hamburgers bear a great antipathy to the Danes. If a native of Hamburg is found guilty of fornication, he is obliged to pay a considerable fine; but the English are exempted from this mulct. We were told of an apparition at St. Peter's church, that frequently alarmed the neighbouring inhabitants. The person, who mentioned this, is a merchant of great substance and reputation. He assured us, that scarce any body in Hamburg doubted of the reality of it. But, notwithstanding this is so well attested, we leave our readers, as we have done upon a parallel occasion, to believe as much or as little of it as they please.

We saw once or twice Dr. Nieumeister, a Lutheran clergyman of very intemperate zeal. He has great influence in Hamburg, though all men of sense look upon him as a most furious incendiary. We were told, that his works, and those of M. Esardus, professor of philosophy here, had been burnt by the common hangman at Berlin. M. Esardus is a prodigious bigot, and has wrote with great acrimony against the Reformed. There is a tun here, which is said to contain seventy-six hogsheads; and a cellar containing above four-thousand tuns of wine. The academy, or gymnasium, here has produced many learned men, and is at present adorned with some persons of great erudition. Of these M. Wolfius and Dr. Fabricius are the chief.

Mr. Thomas, chaplain to the British factory, or Hamburg company, here, a gentleman that I can never sufficiently praise for his great capacity, politeness, and erudition, introduced me to Dr. Fabricius. That venerable and truly learned old gentleman charmed me with his conversation. The scholar, the gentleman, and the Christian perfectly shone in him. He has a most noble and magnificent library; and in it a vast number of literary journals, in several languages. His librarian is a modest, worthy, and learned gentleman; and entirely of the same disposition with himself. Dr. Fabricius expressed a great desire of keeping up a constant literary correspondence with me.

The clocks in Hamburg strike half an hour before the hour expires. Thus, for example, at half hour past ten the clock strikes eleven, which the Hamburgers call half eleven; and at eleven it strikes again, which they call eleven. The sounds of these two pulsations are so different, that a person may easily distinguish the one from the other.

Hamburg is almost of a circular form, and reckoned near six miles in circumference. It is a place of considerable strength, a great part of it being situated upon islands. It is divided into the Old and New City, by a canal. Besides the abovementioned bason within the town, the Alster forms another, much larger than the former, just without the town; and then, passing by several sluices and canals through the whole city, falls into the Elbe. The funeral processions at Hamburg, especially of persons of fashion and distinction, are very grand, attended by many of the senators, principal elders, graduates in law, divines, regular physicians, &c. The bearers appear all in black, and have a very particular kind of habit. The body, as we were informed, is for the most part thrown into the grave, without any service or ceremony; though the Sunday following, if the same authority may be depended upon, there is generally a funeral sermon. M. Wolfius here bears a very excellent character; and M. Esardus, professor of philosophy, is reported to be a man of great learning, but a most violent enemy to the Reformed.

We were several times at Altena, a large and populous town, subject to the king of

Denmark, and the residence of the governor of Danish Holstein. It is joined by a row of houses on the Elbe, to Hamburg, being a little to the north-west of that city. Altena was laid in ashes, by the Swedish army under count Steinboch, in 1712; but has since been rebuilt, and makes now a finer figure than ever. It has, at present, a very commodious harbour, and enjoys a flourishing trade. The Roman-Catholicks, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Jews, &c. are all tolerated here; the king of Denmark judging this a proper expedient to extend and enlarge the commerce of the place. We were told, that the town consisted of about two-thousand houses, and contained near twelve-thousand inhabitants. The king of Denmark's palace here, or rather that of the Danish governor, makes a very mean appearance. The streets are clean, neat, and well paved; and the houses, for the most part, built of brick. A small part of the town is said to belong to the Hamburgers. We saw several ships in the harbour here, appertaining to merchants of different nations. Our friend that conducted us to Altena, who was a Hamburg merchant, assured us, that, within the space of fourteen or fifteen years, a considerable spot of ground had been recovered from the Elbe, on which one of the best streets in Altena at present stands. Some pieces of erudition, elegantly printed, are now and then emitted into the learned world, from the printing-press here. M. Wilh. Ern. Ewaldus, a clergyman of Altena, has lately published a book, which has gained him great reputation in many parts of Germany. Our learned readers will not be displeased to see the title of it; which therefore we have thought proper to insert in this place:

Wilh. Ern. Ewaldi, V. D. M. Altonaviensis, Emblemata sacra miscellanea.
Altonaviæ, apud Jonam Korte,
 1732.

We heard this treatise highly commended at Hamburg, where the author is considered as an eminent member of the republick of letters. Altena is, however, more properly a seat of merchants, than learned men; as evidently appears from the great number of Jews settled there. Besides Altena, we saw several other places in Holstein, as Relling, Stelling, Barnvelt, &c. all in the neighbourhood of Hamburg. The White Swan in Altena is a tolerable good inn. The six-thousand Danes abovementioned were assembled at Relling, whilst we were at Hamburg.

The cellar in Hamburg abovementioned is a sort of cave; and the wine in it chiefly old hock. This cellar may be considered as a kind of tavern, since it is kept by a select number of the magistrates, under the direction of a deputy; and strangers, as well as natives, of the best fashion, frequently take a cheerful glass in it; it is said to bring in a considerable revenue to the state. The merchants settled at Hamburg, and particularly those of our own nation, treat strangers with great elegance and liberality. The streets of this city are generally crooked, but pretty wide, and famous for their high and stately houses, most of which are built of brick. Just out of town, we saw a gallows, with the skeleton of a woman hanging upon it entire, with all the hair on the skull reaching down almost to the knees; which made a very ghastly appearance. The Little English Arms here is a very good house. Several ingenious and learned pieces are published every year, in Hamburg; as sufficiently appears from the foreign literary journals, and particularly from the '*Nova Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ*;' which we take to be more extensive and universal, and consequently better, than any of the rest.

We had the honour to be invited once or twice to dine with sir Cyril Wich, envoy extraordinary of his Britannic majesty to this state. He seems to be a gentleman of a good political capacity, and of great affability and politeness. The late czar of Muscovy, Peter the Great, as he informed us, did him the honour once to dine with him: to which he added, that, some time after dinner, a Russian lieutenant-general, pursuant to former orders, waited upon his czarish majesty, who took him to a corner of the room, and there had a short confabulation with him. Which being ended, his czarish majesty took the said lieutenant-general, who was a short squat man, with a black curled head of hair, by both his ears, knocked his head several times against the wall, and at last kicked him out

of the room. This fact sir Cyril urged, as an argument of the absolute and unlimited power of the Czar, as well as the mean, slavish, and savage disposition of the Muscovites. He likewise told us, that the daughter of the Czar, that was married to the duke of Holstein, was the most amiable and beautiful creature in the world. The reverend Mr. Thomas, chaplain to the factory, was so good as to accompany us to the envoy's. Sir Cyril's wife is a Danish lady, and of a most amiable disposition. One James Mac Geoghegan, an old Irish poetaster, for some time, perpetually infested us here. Though we at present conclude our travels at Hamburg, we have an intention to visit Holland and Flanders, and that by the way of Bremen.

England's Tears, for the present Wars;¹ which, for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of Strength, the Diversity of Battles, Skirmishes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in so short a Compass of Time, cannot be paralleled by any precedent Age.

*Hei mihi, quam misere rugit Leo, Lilia languent ;
Heu, Lyra, quam mæstos pulsat Hiberna sonos.*

Printed at London, according to Order, by Richard Heron, 1644.

[Quarto ; containing twenty-two pages.]

To my Imperial Chamber, the City of London.

Renowned City,

IF any showers of adversity fall on me, some of the drops thereof must needs dash on thy streets. It is not a shower, but a furious storm, that pours upon me now ; accompanied with thunder, and unusual fulgurations. The fatal cloud, wherein this storm lay long engendering, though, when it began to condense first, it appeared but as big as a hand, yet by degrees it hath spread to such a vast expansion, that it hath diffused itself through all my regions, and obscured that fair face of heaven, which was used to shine upon me : if it last long, it is impossible but we both should perish. Peace may, but war must destroy. I see poverty posting a-pace, and ready to knock at thy gates : that ghastly harbinger of death, the Pestilence, appears already within and without thy walls ; and methinks I spy meagre-faced Famine afar off, making towards thee ; nor can all thy elaborate circumvallations, and trenches, or any art of enginery, keep him out of thy line

¹ [The author of this tract is James Howell ; of whom something has already been said, in the preceding volumes. Vide further in Wood's Athen. Oxon. ii. 381. It was printed again in 1650, and Latinized under the title of "*Angliæ Suspiria & Lacrymæ*," &c. 1646. 12°.]

of communication, if this hold. Therefore, my dear daughter, think, oh think upon some timely prevention; it is the counsel, and request of
 Thy most afflicted mother,

ENGLAND.

OH that my head did flow with waters! Oh that my eyes were limbecks, through which might distil drops and essences of blood! Oh that I could melt away, and dissolve into tears, more brackish than those seas that surround me! Oh that I could weep myself blind, to prevent the seeing of those mountains of mischiefs, that are like to fall down upon me! Oh that I could rend the rocks that gird me about, and with my ejaculations tear and dissipate those black dismal clouds, which hang over me! Oh that I could cleave the air with my cries, that they might find passage up to heaven, and fetch down the moon, that watery planet, to weep and wail with me; or make old Saturn descend from his sphere, to partake with me in my melancholy, and bring along with him the mournful Pleiades, to make a full concert, and sing *Lacrymæ* with me, for that woeful taking, that desperate case, that most deplorable condition, I have plunged myself into un-awares, by this unnatural self-destroying war, by this intricate odd kind of enigmatical war wherein both parties are so intangled, like a skein of ravelled silk, that they know not how to unwind and untwist themselves, but by violent and destructive ways; by tearing my entrails, by exhausting my vital spirits, by breaking my very heart-strings to cure the malady! Oh I am deadly sick, and as that famous chancellor of France spoke of the civil wars of his country, that France was sick of an unknown disease; so, if Hippocrates himself were living, he could not be able to tell the true symptoms of mine, though he felt my pulse, and made inspection into my water, never so exactly: only in the general, he may discover a strange kind of infection, that hath seized upon the affections of my people; but for the disease itself, it will gravel him to judge of it; nor can there be any prediction made of it, it is so sharp; which made some tell me, that I cannot grow better, but by growing yet worse; that there is no way to stanch this flux of blood, but by opening some of the master veins; that it is not enough for me to have drunk so deep of this cup of affliction, but I must swallow up the dregs also!

Oh, passenger, stop thy pace, and if there be any sparkles of human compassion glowing in thy bosom, stay a while, and hear my complaints; and I know they will not only strike a resentment, but a horror into thee: for they are of such a nature, that they are able to penetrate a breast of brass, to mollify a heart hooped with adamant, to wring tears out of a statue of marble.

I that have been always accounted the 'Queen of Isles,' the 'Darling of Nature,' and 'Neptune's Minion;' I that have been styled by the character of 'the first Daughter of the Church,' that have converted eight several nations; I that made the morning-beams of Christianity shine upon Scotland, upon Ireland, and a good part of France; I that did irradiate Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, with the light thereof; I that brought the Saxons, with other Germans, high and low, from paganism, to the knowledge of the Gospel; I that had the first Christian king that ever was (*Lucius*) and the first reformed king, Henry the Eighth, to reign over me; I out of whose bowels sprung the first Christian emperor that ever was, Constantine; I that had five several kings, (*viz.* John king of France, David king of Scotland, Peter king of Bohemia, and two Irish kings) my captives, in less than one year; I under whose banner the great emperor Maximilian took it an honour to serve in person, and receive pay from me, and quarter his arms with mine; I that had the lion rampant of Scotland lately added to fill up my escutcheon, and had reduced Ireland, after so many intermissive wars, to such a perfect pass of obedience; I that, to the wonderment and envy of all the world, preserved my dominions free, when all my neighbour countries were a fire; I that did so wonderfully flourish and improve in commerce, domestic and foreign, by land and sea; I that did so abound with bullion, with buildings, with all sort of bravery that heart could wish: in sum, I that did live in that

height of happiness, in that affluence of all earthly felicity, that so methought I had yet remaining some ingots of that gold, whereof the first age was made. Behold! I am now become the object of pity to some, of scorn to others, of laughter to all people; my children abroad are driven to disavow me, for fear of being jeered; they dare not own me for their mother, neither upon the Rialto of Venice, the Berle of Ausburgh, the new bridge of Paris, the Cambios of Spain, or upon the quays of Holland, for fear of being baffled. Methinks I see my next neighbour, France, (through whose bowels my gray-goose wing flew so often) making mouths at me, and saying, That whereas she was wont to be the chief theatre, where fortune used to play her pranks, she hath now removed her stage hither: she laughs at me, that I should let the common people, and now lately the females, to know their strength so much.

Methinks I see the Spaniard standing at a gaze, and crossing himself to see me so foolish as to execute the designs of my enemies upon myself. The Italian admires to see a people argue themselves thus into arms, and to be so active in their own ruin. The German drinks carouses, that he hath now a co-partner in his miseries. The Swede rejoices, in a manner, to see me bring in a foreign nation to be my champion. The Netherlander strikes his hand upon his breast, and protests, that he wisheth me as well, as once the duke of Burgundy did France, when he swore, he loved France so well, that, for one king, he wished she had twenty. Methinks I see the Turk nodding with his turban, and telling me, that I should thank Heaven for that distance which is betwixt us, else he would swallow me up all at one morsel. Only the Hollander, my bosom-friend, seems to resent my hard condition: yet he thinks it no ill-favoured sight to see his shops and lombards everywhere full of my plundered goods; to find my trade cast into his hands, and that he can undersell me in my own native commodities; to see my gold brought over in such heaps, by those that fly from me with all they have for their security; in fine, methinks I hear my neighbours about me bargaining very hotly for my skin, while, like an unruly horse, I run headlong to dash out my own brains.

O cursed jealousy, the source of all my sorrows, the ground of all my inexpressible miseries! Is it not enough for thee to creep in betwixt the husband and the wife, betwixt the lemon² and his mate, betwixt parents and children, betwixt kindred and friends? Hast thou not scope enough to sway in private families, in staple societies and corporations, in common-councils; but thou must get in betwixt king and parliament, betwixt the head and the members, betwixt the members amongst themselves? but thou must divide prince and people, sovereign and subject. Avant, avant, thou hollow-eyed, snake-haired monster; hence away into the abyss below, into the bottomless gulf, thy proper mansion; sit there in the chair, and preside over the councils of hell, amongst the cacodæmons; and never ascend again, to turn my high law-making court into a council of war, to turn my cordials into corrosives, and throw so many scruples into that sovereign physick, which was used to cure me of all distempers.

But when I well consider the constitution of this elementary world, when I find man to be part of it, when I think on those light and changeable ingredients that go to his composition; I conclude, that men will be men while there is a world; and, as long as the moon hath an influxive power to make impressions upon their humours, they will be ever greedy and covetous of novelties and mutation: the common people will be still mon people, they will some time or other shew what they are, and vent their instable passions. And when I consider further the distractions, the tossings, the turmoilings, and tumblings of other regions round about me, as well as mine own; I conclude also, that kingdoms, and states, and cities, and all bodies-politick, are subject to convulsions, to calentures, and consumptions, as well as the frail bodies of men, and must have an evacuation for their corrupt humours; they must be phlebotomized. I have often felt this kind of phlebotomy, I have had also shrewd purges and pills given me, which did not only work upon my superfluous humours, but wasted sometimes my very vital spirits; yet I

² [Or *leman*; a lover.]

had electuaries and cordials given me afterwards, insomuch that this present tragedy is but *vetus fabula, novi histriones*; it is but 'an old play represented by new actors;' I have often had the like: therefore, let no man wonder at these traverses and humours of change in me. I remember there was as much wondering at the demolishing of my six-hundred and odd monasteries, nunneries, and abbies, for being held to be hives of drones, as there is now at the pulling down of my crosses, organs, and windows. Tereh was as much wondering when the pope fell here, as now that the prelates are like to fall. The world wondered as much when the mass was disliked, as men wonder now the oliturgy should be distasted: and God grant that people do not take at last a surfeit of that most divine ordinance of preaching; for no violent thing lasts long. And, though there should be no satiety in holy things, yet such is the depraved condition of man, he is naturally such a changeling, that the over-frequency and commonness of any thing (be it never so good) breeds, in tract of time, a kind of contempt in him, it breeds a fulness and nau-sousness in him.

The first reformation of my church began at court, and so was the more feaseable, and it was brought to pass without a war. The scene is now otherwise; it is far more sanguinary, and fuller of actors; never had a tragedy acts of more variety in so short a time. There was never such a confused mysterious civil war as this; there were never so many bodies of strength on sea and shore, never such a choice of arms and artillery, never such a numerous cavalry on both sides, never a greater eagerness and confidence, never such an amphibolous quarrel; both parties declaring themselves for the king, and making use of his name in all their remonstrances to justify their actions: the affection and understandings of people were never so confounded and puzzled, not knowing where to acquiesce, by reason of such counter-commands. One side calls the resisting of royal commands, loyalty; the other terms loyalty, the opposing of parliamentary orders and ordinances. Both parties would have peace: the one would have it with honour, the other with truth (and God forbid but both should go together); but, *interea ringor ego*; 'in the mean time I suffer' by both; the one taking away what the other leaves; insomuch that whosoever will be curious to read the future story of this intricate war, (if it be possible to compile a story of it,) he will find himself much staggered, and put to a kind of riddle: for, touching the intricacy of it, touching the strange nature, or rather the unnaturalness of it, it cannot be paralleled by any precedent example. For in my chronicles I am sure no age can match it; as I will make it briefly appear, by comparing it with all the wars that ever embroiled me, which I find to be of three sorts; either by the invasion of foreigners, the insurrection of my commons, or by the confederacy of peers and princes of the blood.

I will not rake the ashes of antiquity so far as to speak of that deluge of blood I spilt before I would take the Roman legions for my garrison: I am loth to set down how the Saxons used me, and how the Danes used them; nor how I had one whole brave race of people (the Picts I mean) quite extinguished in me. I will begin with the Norman expedition; and, indeed, to make researches of matters, before, is but to grope in the dark; but I have authentic annals and records, for things since. The Normans came in, with the slaughter of near upon sixty-eight thousand combatants upon the place; a battle so memorable, that the very ground, which sucked in the blood, retains the name of it, to this day. The Dane, not long after, struck in to recover his right, with the sacking of my second great city of York, and the firing of her, with the slaughter of three-thousand of my children, in one afternoon; yet he was sent away without his errand. In the reign of Rufus, I was made of his colour, red with blood, both by the Welch and the Scot, who lost his king Malcolm, in the battle of Alnwick. All my eight Henries were infested with some civil broils, except my Fifth Henry, (the greatest of them,) who had work enough cut him out in France; and he plied his work so well, that he put that crown upon his son's head. All my Edwards also had some intestine insurrection or other: indeed, two of my three Richards had always quietness at home, though the First did go the furthest off from me, and was longest absent of any: and the Third, though he came in by blood,

yet the short time of his triennial reign, he was without any, and proved one of my best lawgivers; yet his life ended in blood. Touching my Second Richard, and Second Edward, there were never any of my kings came to a more tragical end; and the greatest stains in my story were the violent deaths they suffered by the hands of their own (regicide) subjects. The two sister queens, that swayed my scepter, had also some domestic commotions; and now my Charles hath them to the height; insomuch that, of those five and twenty monarchs, who have worn my diadems since the Norman entered, there were only four, (*viz.* the forementioned Henry, and Richards, with king James,) escaped free from all intestine broils. Oh, how it torments my soul to remember, how my barons did tear my bowels! What an ocean of blood the two roses cost me, before they were conjoined: for during the time that I was a monster with two heads (made so by their division) I mean, during the time that I had two kings at once, Edward the Fourth, and Henry the Sixth, within me; in five years space, I had twelve battles fought within my entrails; and I lost near upon fourscore princes of the royal stem, and parted with more of my spirits, than there were spent in winning of France. The world knows how free and prodigal I have been of my blood abroad, in divers places; I watered the Holy Land with much of it; against my co-islander the Scot, I had above twenty pitched battles; took many, and killed some of their kings in the field; the flower de-luces cost me dear, before I brought them over upon my sword; and the reduction of Ireland, from time to time, to civility, and to an exact rule of allegiance, wasted my children in great numbers. I never grudged to venture my blood this way; for I ever had glorious returns for it, and my sons died in the bed of honour: but for them to glut themselves with one another's blood, for them to lacerate and rip up (viper-like) the womb that brought them forth, to tear the paps that gave them suck: Can there be a greater piacle against nature? Can there be a more execrable and horrid thing? If a stranger had used me thus, it would not have grieved me half so much; it is better to be stung with a nettle, than pricked by a rose; I had rather suffer by an enemy, than by my own natural born offspring. Those former home-waged wars, whereof there happened above fourscore since the Norman came in, were but as fires of flax, in comparison of this horrid combustion, both in my church and state. One may find those wars epitomized in small volumes; but a whole library cannot contain this. They were but scratches, being compared to those deep wounds which prince, peer, and people have received by this; such wounds, that it seems no gentle cataplasms can cure them; they must be lauced and cauterized, and the huge scars, they will leave behind them, will, I fear, make me appear deformed and ugly to all posterity; so that I am half in despair to recover my former beauty ever again. The deep stains, these wars will leave behind, I fear all the water of the Severn, Trent, or Thames, cannot wash away.

The twentieth moon hath not yet run her course, since the two-edged sword of war hath raged and done many horrid executions within me; since that hellish invention of powder hath thundered in every corner; since it hath darkened and torn my well-tempered air; since I have weltered in my own blood, and been made a kind of cockpit, a theatre of death; and, in so short a circumvolution of time, I may confidently affirm, (take battle, rencounters, sieges, and skirmishes together,) there never happened so many in any country: nor do I see any appearance (the more is my misery) of any period to be put to these distractions. Every day is spectator of some new tragedy; and the relations, that are hourly blazed abroad, sound sometimes well on the one side, sometimes on the other, like a peel of bells in windy weather, (though, oftentimes in a whole volley of news, you shall hardly find one true report) which makes me fear that the All-disposing Deity of heaven continueth the successes of both parties, in a kind of equality, to prolong my punishment. *Ita ferio, ut diu me sentiam mori*; I am wounded with that dexterity, that the sense and agonies of my sufferings are like to be extended to the uttermost length of time, and possibility of nature.

But, O passenger, if thou art desirous to know the cause of these fatal discomposures of this inextricable war; truly I must deal plainly, I cannot resolve thee herein to any full

satisfaction. Grievances there were, I must confess, and some incongruities in my civil government (wherein, some say, the distaff was too busy); but I little thought, God knows, that those grievances required a redress this way. Dost thou ask me, whether religion was the cause? God forbid! That innocent and holy matron had rather go clad in the snowy white robes of meekness and longanimity, than in a vest of sanguine dye; her practice hath been to overcome by a passive fortitude without re-action, and to triumph in the milk-white ivory chariot of innocency and patience, not to be hurried away with the fiery wheels of war: *les larmes* not *les armes* (as my next neighbour hath it), groans not guns, were used to be her weapons; unless in case of open and impending danger, of invincible necessity, and visible actual oppression; and then the arms she useth most is the target to shroud herself under, and fence away the blow: she leaves all other weapons to the Alcharron, to propagate and expand itself. This gentle grave lady, though the rubricks of her service be in red characters, yet she is no lover of blood; she is an improver of peace, and the sole object of her devotion is the GOD of peace, in whose highest name, in the name JEHOVAH, as the rabbies observe, all the letters are *quiescent*. That sacred comforter, which inspires her ambassadors, uses to ascend in form of a dove, not in the likeness of a devouring vulture; and he that brings him down so may be said to sin against the Holy Ghost: to beat religion into the brains, with a pole-axe, is to make a Moloch of the Messias, to offer him victims of human blood. Therefore, I should traduce and much wrong religion, if I should cast this upon her: yet methinks I hear this holy distressed matron lament, that she is not also without her grievances; some of her chiefest governors, for want of moderation, could not be content to walk upon the battlements of the church, but they must put themselves upon stilts, and thence mount up to the turrets of civil policy; some of her preachers grew to be mere parasites, some to the court, some to the country; some would have nothing in their mouths, but prerogative; others, nothing but privilege; some would give the crown all, some nothing at all; some, to feed zeal, would famish the understanding; others, to feast the understanding, and tickle the outward ear (with essays and flourishes of rhetorick) would quite starve the soul of her true food; &c.

But the principal thing, that I hear that reverend lady, that queen of souls, and key of heaven, make her moan of, is; that that seamless garment of unity and love, which our Saviour left her for a legacy, should be torn and rent into so many scissures and sects, by those that would make that coat, which she wore in her infancy, to serve her in her riper years. I hear her cry out at the monstrous exorbitant liberty, that almost every capricious mechanick takes to himself, to shape and form what religion he lists; for the world is come now to that pass, that the taylor and shoemaker may cut out what religion they please; the vintner and tapster may broach what religion they please; the druggist and apothecary may mingle her as they please; the haberdasher may put her upon what block he pleases; the armourer and cutler may furnish her, as they please; the dyer may put what colour, the painter may put what face upon her he pleases; the draper and mercer may measure her as they please; the weaver may cast her upon what loom he pleases; the boatswain and mariner may bring her to what dock they please; the barber may trim her as he pleases; the gardener may lop her as he pleases; the blacksmith may forge what religion he pleases; and so every artisan, according to his profession and fancy, may form her as he pleases. Methinks I hear that venerable matron complain further, how her pulpits in some places are become beacons; how, in lieu of lights, her churches up and down are full of firebrands; how every caprichio of the brain is termed tenderness of conscience, which well examined is nothing but some frantic fancy, or frenzy rather, of some shallow-brained sciolist; and, whereas others have been used to run mad for excess of knowledge, some of my children grow mad now-a-days, out of too much ignorance. It stands upon record in my story, that when the Norman had taken firm footing within me, he did demolish many churches and chapels in New Forest, to make it fitter for his pleasure and venery; but amongst other judgments, which fell upon this sacrilege, one was, that tame fowl grew wild. I fear God Almighty is more angry with me now than then, and that I am guilty of worse crimes; for not my fowl, but my folk and people, are grown half wild in many places; they would not worry one another

so in that wolvisb belluine manner else ; they would not precipitate themselves else into such a mixed mongrel war, a war that passeth all understanding ; they would not cut their own throats, hang, drown, and do themselves away in such a desperate sort ; which is now grown so common, that self-murder is scarce accounted any news ; which makes strangers cry out, that I am all turned into a kind of Bedlam ; that Barbary is come into the midst of me ; that my children are grown so savage, so fleshed in blood, and become so inhuman and obdurate, that, with the same tenderness of sense, they can see a man fall, as a horse, or some other brute animal ; they have so lost all reverence to the image of their Creator, which was used to be more valued in me, than amongst any other nations.

But I hope my king and council will take a course to bring them to their old English temper again, to cure me of this vertigo, and preserve me from ruin : for such is my desperate case, that as there is more difficulty, so it would be a greater honour for them to prevent my destruction, and pull me out of this plunge, than to add unto me a whole new kingdom ; for true wisdom hath always gloried as much in conservation, as in conquest.

The Roman, though his ambition of conquering had no horizon, yet he used to triumph more (as multitudes of examples might be produced) at the composing of an intestine war, than for any new conquest, or foreign achievement whatsoever : and though he was a great martial man, and loved fighting as well as any other, yet his maxim was, that no peace could be so bad, but it was preferable to the best war. It seems the Italian, his successor, retains the same genius to this day, by the late peace (notwithstanding the many knots that were in the thing) which he concluded : for, although six absolute princes were interested in the quarrel, and that they had all just pretences, and were heated and heightened in their designs ; yet, rather than they would dilaniate the entrails of their own mother, fair Italy ; and expose her, thereby, to be ravished by Tramontanes ; they met half way, and complied with one another in a gallant kind of freedom, though every one bore his share in some inconvenience. Oh ! that my children would be moved by this so seasonable example of the Italian, (who, amongst others of his characters, is said to be wise *à priori*) before the blow is given. I desire my gracious sovereign to think, that it was never held inglorious or derogatory for a king to be guided, and to steer, by the compass of his great council ; and to make his understanding descend, and condescend, to their advice : nor was it ever held dishonourable for subjects to yield and bow to their king ; to be willows, not oaks³ ; and, if any mistake should happen, to take it upon themselves, rather than any should reflect upon their sovereign : and if, in case of difference, he be willing to meet them half way, it were handsome they went three parts thereof to prevent him. Therefore I conjure them both in the name of the great Deity of Heaven, who transposes kingdoms, and tumbleth down kings in his indignation, that they would think of some speedy way to stop this issue of blood : for, to deal plainly with them, I see far greater reason to conclude this war, than ever there was to commence it. Let them consider well they are but outward church-rites and ceremonies they fight for, as the rigidest sort of reformers confess. The Lutheran, the first reformist, hath many more conformable to the church of Rome, which he hath continued these hundred and twenty years ; yet is he as far from Rome as the first day he left her, and as free from danger of relapse into popery, as Amsterdam herself. And must I, unhappy I, be lacerated and torn in pieces thus, for shadows and ceremonies ? I know there is a clashing betwixt prerogative and privilege ; but I must put them in mind of the misfortune that befel the flock of sheep and the bell-wether ; whereof the first fed in a common, the latter in an inclosure, and thinking to break into one another's pasture (as all creatures naturally desire change) and being to pass over a narrow bridge, which severed them, they met in the middle, and jostled one another so long, till both fell into the ditch. And now that I have begun, I will warn them by another fable of the Spanish mule ; who having, by accident, gone out of the

³ [An allusion perhaps to the anecdote of William, marquis of Winchester, who held various offices under Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, and on being asked how he had been able to keep his ground at court under such regal changes, replied, "*Ortus sum è salice, non ex quercu.*"]

great road, and carried her rider through a bye path upon the top of a huge steep rock; stopped upon a sudden, and being not able to turn and go backward, by reason of the narrowness of the path; nor forward, in regard of a huge rocky precipice; she gently put one foot behind the other, and recoiled in that manner, until she had found the great road again.

I desire my high council to consider, that the royal prerogative is like the sea, which, (as navigators observe) what it loseth at one time, or in one place, gets always in some other. I desire my dear king to consider, that the privilege of parliament, the laws and liberties of the subject, is the firmest support of his crown; that his great council is the truest glass wherein he may discern his people's love, and his own happiness: it were wisdom, that both did strike sail in so dangerous a storm, to avoid shipwreck. I am loth to say, what consultations, what plots and machinations are fomenting and forging abroad against me, by that time I have enfeebled and wasted myself, and lost the flower of my best children in these woeful broils. Methinks I spy the jesuit sitting in his cell, and laughing in his sleeve at me, and crying out, "The devil part the fray; for they do but execute my designs."

Oh! I feel a cold qualm come over my heart, that I faint; I can speak no longer: yet I will strain myself to breathe out this one invocation, which shall be my conclusion:

Sweet peace! most benign and amiable goddess, how comes it to pass that thou hast so abandoned earth, and, taking thy flight to heaven, as once Astræa did, dost reject the sighs and sacrifices of poor mortals? Was that flaming usher of God's vengeance, which appeared six-and-twenty years since in the heavens, the herald that fetched thee away? For ever since, poor Europe hath been harassed, and pitifully rent up and down with wars; and now I am become the last scene. Gentle peace! thou which goest always attended on by plenty and pleasure; thou which fillest the husbandman's barns, the grazier's folds, the tradesman's shop, the vintner's cellars, the lawyer's desk, the merchant's magazines, the prince's treasury; how comes it to pass that thou hast given up thy throne to Bellona, that all-destroying fury? Behold how my plundered yeoman, wants hinds and horses to plow up my fertile soil; the poor labourer, who useth to mingle the morning dew with his anheled sweat, shakes at his work for fear of pressing; the tradesman shuts up his shop, and keeps more holidays than willingly he would; the merchant walks to the Exchange only to learn news, not to negotiate. Sweet peace! thou which wast used to make princes' courts triumph with tilt and tournaments, and other gallantries, to make them receive lustre by foreign ambassadors; to make the arts and sciences flourish; to make cities and suburbs shine with goodly structures; to make the country ring with the huntsman's horn, and the shepherd's pipe: How comes it to pass that blood-thirsty discord now usurps thy place, and flings about her snakes in every corner? Behold my prince's court is now full of nothing but buff-coats, spanners, and musquet-rests; the country echoes with nothing but with the sound of drums and trumpets. Hark, how pitifully my lions roar, how dejectedly my roses and flower-de-luces hang down their heads, what doleful strains my harp gives.

O consider my case, most blissful queen! descend, descend again in thy ivory chariot; resume thy throne, crown thy temples with thy wonted laurel and olive, bar up Janus's gates, and make new halcyonian days to shine in this hemisphere; dispel those clouds which hover betwixt my king and his highest council, chase away all jealousies and umbrages of mistrust, that my great law-making court be forced to turn no more to polemical committees, and to a council of war (unless it be for some foreign conquest); but that they may come again to the old parliamentary road, to the path of their predecessors, to consult of means how to sweep away those cobwebs that hang in the courts of justice, and to make the laws run in their right channel; to retrench excessive fees, and find remedies, for the future; that the poor client be not so peeled by his lawyer, and made to suffer by such monstrous delays, that one may go from one tropick to another, and cross the equinoctial twenty times, before his suit be done; that they may think on a course to restrain gold and silver from travelling without licence, with other staple commodities, and to punish those that transport hides for calves-skins; to advance native commodities and manufac-

tures; to balance and improve trade, and settle it so, that it may stand upon its own bottom, and not by any accidental ways; as, of late years, a glut of trade was cast upon me by the wars betwixt France and the house of Austria, and others. That this trade of mine, my chiefest sinew, be not cast into the hands of aliens, who eat me out, in many places, in my own commodities; that it be prevented hereafter, that one be not permitted to engross and ingulph all; but that my trade and wealth may, by some wholesome policy, be diffused up and down my cities in a more equal distribution; that they may advise of a way to relieve the orphan, who suffers more for his minority in me, than any where else; that the poor insolvent subject be not so buried alive, and made to rot in prison, notwithstanding his apparent disability; whereas, were he abroad, he might be useful to the commonwealth some way or other, and come haply, afterwards, to an ability to pay; to regulate the business of drained lands, which, well managed, would tend very much both to enlarge and enrich my quarters; to secure the dominion of my seas, the fairest flower of my crown, which is now almost quite lost; to preserve my woods, whereof, if this course hold, there will hardly be found, in some places, enough to make a tooth-pick; to settle the revenues, and supply the wants of my crown: for the wants of the crown, and the grievances of the subject, have been always used to go hand in hand in my parliaments. And, now that my neighbour princes (especially France and Spain) have, of late years, enhanced the revenue royal, at least, to the third part more than it was; it were a disparagement to me, that my king should not bear up in equal proportion and point of greatness, this way; considering that he hath more of the royal stem to maintain, than any of his progenitors ever had. Lastly, That they may settle a way to regulate all exorbitant fancies of novelists, in the exercise of holy religion. Where there is no obedience, subordination, and restrictive laws, to curb the changeable humours and extravagancies of men, there can be no peace or piety. If the fire be not kept within the tunnel of the chimney, and that some be appointed to sweep down the soot (which may be done otherwise than by shooting up of musquets,) the whole house will be in danger of burning.

Oh me! I feel the pangs of death assail me, let some good body go toll the bell; and, as one of my kings, the night before he was slain in New Forest, for the expiation of his father's sacrilege, did dream, that a cold wind did pass through his bowels; so, methinks, I feel a bleak northern blast blowing upon me, which I fear will make an end of me. It is a miracle if I escape; it is only the high hand of Providence can preserve me. If I and my monarchy miscarry, I desire that my epitaph may be written (in regard I know him to have been, a long time, not only sensible, but a sharer with me, in point of suffering) by my dearly beloved child,

JAMES HOWELL.

To the discerning Reader.

HE, that with a well-weighed judgment observeth the passions of this discourse, must needs conclude, that the author, besides his own hard condition, hath a deep sense of the common calamities of this country in general, which makes him break out into such pathetic expressions. And because he might do it with more freedom, and less presumption, he makes England herself to breathe out his disordered passions. We know a mother hath a prerogative by nature to speak home unto her children; and sometimes in a chiding way, though with tears in her eyes, to give them advice. The same doth England in this discourse; but with all the indulgence and indifferency that may be to both parties. Therefore the author humbly hopes, that no exception, much less any offence, will be taken, at her complaints or counsel.

J. H.

Mock-Majesty; or, the Siege of Munster; being a true Story of those fine Things, wherewith King John Becock¹, at first a Botcher of Leyden by Profession, and his Companions the Anabaptists, pleased themselves, after they were become Masters of that City. You shall here likewise have the Issue of the whole Mock-show.²

Quidam, ut imperium subvertant, libertatem proferunt; si subverterint, ipsam aggredientur. C. TACITUS.

Malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.

Idem, Histor. Lib. i.

ELEUTHEROPOLI, ANNO 'ANABAΠTISTOMANT'ΑΣ, C. XIIIX.

Imprimatur, James Cranford.

London, printed for J. S. and L. C. 1644.

[Quarto; containing thirty-two pages.]

To the Worshipful Mr. Richard Lithgold and Mr. John Child, Bailiffs of the ancient Corporation of Kingston upon Thames: for their Endeavour for the public Good: for their Vigilancy in their Place and Office: especially, for the Assistance and Encouragement of their Minister, in preaching the Word, and suppressing novel Fancies:

This is dedicated,
Willingly, Deservedly.

To the Intelligent Reader, Baptized or Rantized.

THOU must excuse me for this pretty new stamped word. It is pity but it should signify something in English. Whether it do or no, it is not a week since I first met with it; and that in a way of scorn, and contempt, of the baptism of our church. He that goes about to naturalize it, and make it a denizen, is one that takes upon him also to question the truth of that relation, which we have in Sleidan's commentaries, concerning the tumultuous carriage of the Anabaptists in Germany, as himself speaks; making the author thereof, for differing opinions' sake in matter of religion, to make no conscience of violating that sacred rule, which directs and binds every noble historian: that he dare speak nothing false, nor yet conceal any thing that is true. Not a little troubled to see so injurious and

¹ [Or Boccolt, or Bokelse.]

² [For further information on the subject of this tract, consult Bayle, *art.* Anabaptists. Robertson's Hist. of Ch. V. iii. 99. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. iv. 452.]

false an imputation laid upon the truest history, that ever was written since the 'Acts of the Apostles;' I was the more incited to communicate again to the public view, and that in a language which we all can understand, that part thereof, which concerns those tumults, more especially: and I do look for better grounds, for the confuting thereof, than such weak surmises and exceptions, that he was a contrary-minded historian; or that it is not lawful to believe an history, from the mouth or pen of an enemy. More christian and rational charity, I am sure, hath been observed to direct the souls and actions, even of heathen men themselves. And I forbear not to make use of St. Paul's question therein: 'Is he therefore become your enemy, because he speaks the truth?' As for our author, he hath as faithfully, as ever did any, observed what the learnedest of the Jews requires in a good historian: to relate nothing, which he could not maintain from his particular and certain knowledge thereof, by personal employment in the action; or else had not received it from the hands of such, whose truth ought not to be called into question. What, in this respect, is objected against him by Matthæus Dresserus, upon the bare word, and assertion, of his friend, Christoph. Carlevilius; hath as much weight in it, as Mr. Blackwood's surmises. And of what spirit Dresserus was; learned men, who have perused his books, certainly cannot be ignorant. Only I am sorry to see any reformer join (or, at least, agree) with so great a stickler for the see of Rome; and that in a censure against a Protestant, of such known piety and integrity. It is hard to gainsay what the noon-day looks upon and witnesses: and now to deny what our fore-fathers, and all Christendom well-near, took notice of, with no less wonder than shame, were to endeavour to swagger truth out of the world. The great respect and entertainment, which Sleidan had here, when he was ambassador to the court of England in the general name of all the Protestants of Germany, shall be both a testimony of his prudence, faithfulness, and other abilities in public affairs; and also an assurance, that this τεμάχιον, or fragment, of that his most excellent history, shall find welcome with us in an English, though somewhat a coarser dress. How sacred and venerable he esteemed truth to be, and how religious a thing he accounted it to swerve in the least matter, from the nice observing of it; if any man be not Christian enough to have charity to believe the man himself herein, others then in this case shall more than abundantly witness it. Thuanus, Beza, &c. Papists, Calvinists, Lutherans, and men of what religion soever, that are not yet more blinded by faction, than led by reason, will give satisfaction in this behalf, even to such as are extremely scrupulous. And if all these will not work in Mr. Blackwood a belief of Sleidan's truth, in respect of this relation; then let his own name-sake, and country-man, and perhaps kinsman, Adam Blackwood, a very learned writer, tell the story; and what both his credit and judgment was, concerning the same. Now you must pardon him, if he do perchance

Aurículas teneras mordaci radere vero:

And here you have his own words, rendered as nearly as conveniency would permit: *Lindenius quidam* (falsely printed for *Leydensis sarcinator*, &c.) A certain botcher, says he, of Leyden in Holland, having by his sermons gotten to be king of the Anabaptists, stirred up a rebellion of the common sort of people, as formerly others had done, who for ten years space, destroyed and laid waste Germany, and occasioned the death of many thousands. But here I cannot sufficiently admire the sottishness of those men, who placed over themselves such a king, as preached nothing else to the people, but the destruction of kingdoms, the abrogation of magistrates, and that all men were created by that great and powerful God, to a like condition: who either from those wild conceits he had gathered out of the Talmud, or other Judaical forgeries, or else, from absurdities taken out of the Alcoran, did teach them, that the enemies of their religion, (or rather indeed of their rebellion and treason,) were to be dealt withal by banishment and imprisonment; by bonds, and stripes, and by death itself. The truth of the matter procures itself belief: and I could wish, that all were but lies, and merely feigned; and that the truth of the carriage of the whole business otherwise might confute what I say. At first, when this doctrine, newly raised from hell, was scattered and spread among the people; nothing could seem

more meek and simple, than these kind of men. They desired nothing, forsooth, but reformation of the old discipline, and liberty of conscience. But, I pray you, what liberty of conscience call you that, which breaking down all pales and boundaries, endeavours what it can to ruin kingdoms, and commonwealths; and to suppress all manners and laws? This conscience is a wolf, in a sheep's clothing. And as the sea-horse, according to Plutarch, kills the sire, that he may more easily couple with the dam; so these mad men, that they may with more freedom abuse the commonwealth (which is the mother of us all) to their own lusts; they strive to disenthroned, and put down all kings and magistrates, who are the common fathers of the people. And as the viper is not born, but by eating out a way to life; so neither is this new profession, but by the destruction of the commonwealth, our mother. For, (as Macrobius says of the Epicures sect) this whole faction, carried away from the truth with a full swing, cannot by any means subsist, but by the corruption of manners and laws, and the utter ruin of states. For where good laws are in force, how possibly can any scoundrel fellow, and dunghill cobbler, any talkative, ignorant, impudent coxcomb aspire, and aim at principality, and a kingdom, and tyranny itself? They, that were first indeed misled by this way, might be somewhat excused, as being, through their folly and simplicity, inveigled under a fair pretence, and shew of Evangelical truth. But now, if any one at this day, and in so great a light of the Gospel, suffer himself at noon-tide to be blinded and seduced, he shall not be conceived to offend out of folly and simplicity, but out of stubbornness, and incurable madness; and therefore must by no means think to deprecate that judgment, which he hath voluntarily, and with his own hands, plucked upon his own head." Thus far, out of that learned man, the contrary-minded Mr. Blackwood, (if I may borrow the expression,) in his book dedicated to the excellent prince Henry, and inscribed '*De Vinculo Religionis & Imperii.*' A writer, to say no more, (for it is testimony sufficient,) very highly esteemed of, for his singular learning; by that great and eminent lawyer, chancellor Egerton, lord Ellesmere.

Farewell.

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- And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come, and put your trust in my shadow; and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon.' Judg. ix. 15.

NOT far from Munster, one of the chief cities of Westphalia, is a church, dedicated to St. Maurice; wherein one Bernard Rotman, in the year 1532, preached the Gospel to a very numerous auditory; and, when the citizens thought of some course to bring him in amongst them, they were hindered by the papists, who gave him a small piece of money to go somewhere else and exercise his talent. He hereupon goes his way, and having touched at several places, casting about for his best profit and advantage, after some months absence, returns back to Munster. They, that were not well pleased therewith, did what they could to keep him out of the pulpit, but to no purpose; the people were already so much taken with him. Therefore presently some of the abler and wealthier sort got him in among them into the city; and, finding the church-doors shut up against him, they set him up a pulpit without doors in the porch; and, being now become confident of their strength, and presuming on their numbers, they make bold to demand the keys of the church from the priests; threatening otherwise themselves to break open the doors. Not long after, Rotman (by the counsel and consent of some who were chief of his party) sends letters into the landgrave of Hesse's country, being not far distant from thence; requesting, that some able and learned men might be sent to assist him in the plantation of the Gospel. They of Marpurg sent him two; who, with himself and three others, straightway enter into consultation, how with best speed they might rid all the papists out of the city; that by this means the Gospel might be preached with more freedom and liberty. The best way, they could think upon, was to sum up all the popish errors;

and so, digesting them into thirty heads, they delivered them to the magistrates; assuring them all to be repugnant to the word of God, offering to make it good out of the holy Scriptures, even with the hazard of their own lives. Hereupon, the magistrates cite the friars and priests to appear before them in public; exhibiting the same articles of their errors alleged against them. Now, whereas they had ever borne the people in hand, that their doctrine was according to purity, and grounded on the word of God; which notwithstanding those preachers denied, undertaking to maintain it with their utmost peril; the magistrates demanded of them, "Whether they could confute, by Scripture, what was objected against them?" This being in such manner proposed unto them, as that they might well perceive thereby how the magistrates stood affected; they answered in brief, "That they had nothing to urge for their own defence, but that, whereas hitherto they had made the people believe their doctrine to be sound and warrantable, all proceeded either from opinion, or ignorance." Wherefore the magistrates, upon conviction of their falsehood, and errors in doctrine, having nothing to answer for themselves, but the bare confession of their own lewdness, commanded that, for the time to come, they should cease preaching to the people; and yield up their rooms every where to these new teachers, who had detected and laid open their ignorance and impostures. Afterwards, by a joint agreement of the magistrates and people, they had each of them particular churches appointed to teach in, which the friars in general took very scurvily; they, especially of the cathedral, being most of them descended of good families. They, when they saw no other remedy, departed in anger, making their address to the bishop: the result of their consultations with whom was, 'To beset all the ways and passages, whereby provision might be brought into the city.' Which being done, the bishop, with the rest, went to Telget, a small town about three miles distant from the city, to take further counsel there. At length they dispatched a messenger with letters to the magistrates, warning them to cease from their intended courses, and to restore all things to their former state and condition; otherwise, that they should be declared as enemies. The bishop then was count Francis Waldeck, and, before him, Frederick, brother to the archbishop of Cologne; but he (either for his health's sake, or foreseeing the storm that was like to fall,) had, not long before, voluntarily quitted both office and place, contented to lead a private life rather in his own country, than to hazard his quietness among a factious and seditious people.

They of Munster, upon deliberation, detained the messenger; and, issuing out upon Christmas-eve, some nine-hundred of them came unexpectedly upon the town, which instantly they took, besetting every way, that none might make escape; but the bishop had departed thence the day before. Thus they brought the prisoners into the city, among whom were the chief of the clergy, and others of very noble descent. The magistrates demanded of them, "What they intended to do? And whether they purposed any more to hinder the preaching of the Gospel, for the time to come?" They freely answered, "They would do what in them lay to further it." By this means they fell to an agreement; a copy whereof the magistrates sent to the landgrave of Hesse, withal entreating him, that, for the Gospel's and commonwealth's sake, he would not be wanting to help on a business of so great moment.

Hereupon he dispatcheth some to them, by whose intercession a reconciliation was made; but all wrongs and injuries being forgotten, a firm peace was concluded on: that, in six churches, the Gospel should be taught: that whatsoever was unbeseeming, or superstitious, in matters of religion, should be abolished: that, in the cathedral, nothing should be altered; that the citizens should not think that it any way belonged to them. These articles of agreement were subscribed, and signed with the seals of the landgrave, the bishop and his officers, the nobility, gentry, and the people in general, February the fourteenth, 1533.

Things being settled in this manner, there came to Munster one John of Leyden, an Hollander, and a botcher by profession, and a stiff Anabaptist. He having cunningly insinuated himself into the acquaintance of the preachers there, began at first, in private discourse, to ask them, "Whether they thought it fit to baptize infants?" Which they

affirming ; he, wholly carried with the contrary opinion, fell to scoffing and contemning of them. Whereupon Bernard Rotman, (of whom there is former mention,) in a public assembly of the people, exhorted them all to pray to God, that they might enjoy the doctrine of Christ in purity, not polluted with the corruptions of fanatical and hot-brained men, especially the Anabaptists, who secretly crept in among them, and frequented their assemblies ; whose opinion, if it should once but get the upper hand, was like to prove destructive both to church and commonwealth. About the same time came thither also one Herman Stapreda, who, being appointed colleague or partner in the ministry with Rotman, began publicly to inveigh against the baptism of little ones.

This fellow had been sometime a hearer of one Henry Roll ; whom they of Utrecht had, not long before this, put to death for his preaching of anabaptism : and this was another degree and step, whereby to advance this new doctrine ; the matter being already brought to such a pass, that all the talk of the town was now concerning the Anabaptists. Yet what they did was all in private ; none being admitted into their assemblies, but such as were of their own sect ; their teachers likewise forbearing to maintain any thing in public ; venting their doctrines in the night-time, when others were asleep, then only performing their mysterious works of darkness. But matters could not be carried so close, but that the people must needs take notice thereof ; who took great exceptions at it, and cried out "shame ! that new doctrines should be sowed and scattered abroad by night, as if they feared the reproof and confutation of the day-light." Hereupon the magistrates made an ordinance, that the chief authors thereof should quit the city : which indeed they did ; but were no sooner gone forth, but they returned back by another way ; being now so bold as to give it out, that God had commanded them to continue there still, and to play their parts with a deal of bravery and confidence. This somewhat moved the magistrates, and indeed struck them with no small wonder. Therefore, to avoid greater uproars, and commotions in the city ; as well the ministers of the Anabaptists as of the Gospel are cited to appear in their town-hall, and a set number of learned men appointed besides. Here Rotman bewrays of what spirit and temper he was ; and having for so long together kept himself close, he now in a general concourse publishes his opinion ; and with a great deal of bitterness, he declares the baptism of infants to be a thing both ungodly and execrable. But Herman Busch, a very learned man, so ably maintained the contrary in presence of the magistrates ; that they, by a public decree, were straightway commanded to forsake the city. They, finding no remedy, pretended how unsafe it was for them to pass the bishop's country ; whereupon the magistrates gave them safe conduct, and provision for their journey. But having formerly resolved never to change their abode for any other, but to nestle here still ; after a while returned privately to their proselytes here, lurking closely in their houses for a time. The magistrates in the mean while, before such time as they began to peep out of their holes, shut up the doors of all their churches but one. For their fear was, lest the Anabaptists, whose numbers daily increased, having once more got the company of their teachers there, might wholly shut out the ministers of the Gospel.

Upon this, in November, the landgrave, at the request of the magistrates, sent two ministers more to preach among them, Theodorick Fabricius and John Melsinger. But Melsinger, apprehending the commotions in the city, and the danger which might ensue thereon, returned home again presently. The other zealously exhorted the citizens that they would heedfully beware of the doctrine of the Anabaptists : in which course likewise he held on courageously, and continued in it, till such time as the Anabaptists, getting the upper hand, made all fly before them out of the city ; as you shall hear anon. And, to make all sure, as he thought, the landgrave prescribed a set form of doctrine and administration of discipline, and that by consent of the magistrates and people : by whose permission also, Peter Wirtem had leave to begin again to preach. But after a few sermons, by Rotman's instigation, he was expelled by the Anabaptists ; who, being now become more insolent and daring, took upon them to challenge Fabricius and others to dispute with them. The magistrates gave way hereunto, ordering withal, that they should use

no arguments or authority, but such as they brought out of Scripture, or the writings of orthodox men; appointing some sufficient and learned men, who, as judges, hearing and examining what could be alleged on both sides, should decide the controversy; and what they determined should stand ratified, and acknowledged by all; for the speedier abolishing of contentions and quarrels, and the restoring and establishing of peace in the church. But Rotman and his fellows would not stand to these conditions. When therefore they would not agree to this ordering and decision of the matter in hand, they came to be slighted generally, and scorned by the common sort of people. To wash away which shame and contempt, they devised a more effectual and compendious course, and it was thus: one, who was sufficiently instructed to act his part, was suborned by the rest to counterfeit himself inspired on the sudden by the Holy Ghost, and to run to and fro up and down the city, calling out upon the people, as he went along, to repent, and be baptized again; that, otherwise, the heavy wrath of God would suddenly fall upon them all. What tumults happened among the people hereupon, is easy to imagine; every one that had been rebaptized crying the same amain, and that too in the same manner. Many therefore fearing the fierce anger of God, so much threatened by them, were persuaded; being otherwise men of an honest meaning, but herein betrayed by their own simplicity and weakness. Others also yielded to them; but to no other end, but to save what they had: for the Anabaptists handled them that stood out in a very rough manner; turning them quite out of all. This happened about the end of December; whereupon, their teachers now began to look out again; having concealed themselves, as I told you before, in their several lurking-holes. And so, gathering a great concourse of people in the market-place, they cried out amain to slay all such as had not been rebaptized; esteeming them in no better a condition than pagans and infidels. Next they seized upon the public magazine of arms, and the court-hall; besides the violence they offered to the houses of private men, and those of the best quality. There were some, who, to save themselves and theirs, had got them into a place of the city, which was naturally disposed for defence; and by this means they took many of them. This bickering with the Anabaptists, who had fortified themselves in the market-house, lasted so long; till at length, giving hostages on both sides, they came to a composition; wherein it was agreed upon, that every one should enjoy their own religion, depart to their own houses, and keep the peace for the time to come. Rotman in the mean while, and Bernard Cnipperdoling³, (the ringleaders of the faction,) although they seemed outwardly to advance the composition, yet, underhand sending letters to the neighbouring towns, they invited them of their own sect, that, leaving all they had, they should forthwith repair to Munster; telling them withal, that what they lost thereby they should speedily regain again with ten-fold usury. Moved by these large swelling promises, they came thither in great numbers, women as well as men; every one devouring great matters in their hopes, especially they of meaner condition. The citizens, especially they of the wealthier sort, perceiving the city to fill with strangers, withdrew themselves as conveniently as they could; leaving the Anabaptists and promiscuous multitude behind them. This was in February, a little before Shrovetide, in the year 1533.

The one side being, by this means, weakened; the Anabaptists fell to choosing a new magistracy, all of their own faction. They made likewise two new burgomasters, Cnipperdoling being one of them. And, not long after, they set upon St. Maurice's church; firing it, with all the houses near it. Then they fell to robbing and spoiling all the other churches, especially the cathedral. And after all this mischief, in the last place, running through every street of the city, they called out upon the people to 'repent.' Then changing their note, they warned all the wicked (as they termed them) straightway to quit the place, except they had a mind to run the hazard of their lives. Then taking arms, they presently forced all such as were not of their own sect, out of the city; making

³ [A creditable inhabitant of Munster, who operated sometimes as the hangman and sometimes as the vicar-general to the new king.]

no reckoning of either age or sex; insomuch that many women great with child miscarried in this heady and tumultuary flight. Next, they seized upon the goods of them they had driven out. And, although this happened but the day before the bishop besieged the city; yet, some in their flight thence, falling into the bishop's hands, were treated no better than enemies; and it cost some of them their lives; and, amongst them, one or two were ministers of the Gospel. Peter Wirtem (of whom I spoke before) being in some danger, was delivered by intercession of the landgrave. The other townsmen, warned with the fear hereof, (seeing what danger they that had left the city, had run themselves into, being well-meaning men,) were forced, in a manner, against their wills, to stay there still. About this time, John Matthews,⁴ a prophet (for that term they use) of high esteem amongst them, commanded that every one should bring into the public what gold, silver, or other moveables whatsoever they were possessed of, threatening death to such as should fail hereof; and a house was publicly appointed for the same purpose. The people, being terrified with the severity of this ordinance, were fain to obey: and to avoid all deceit herein, by keeping back any part of what they had; two maids, forsooth, and they prophetesses, were suborned; pretending to reveal whatsoever cozenage any one should commit therein. Neither brought they together only what was their own, but their goods also were brought in common, whom they had turned out of the city. In the next place, the same prophet commanded, that nobody should have, or keep by him, any other book, but the Bible; that all other books should be brought and burnt in public. This commandment, he said, he had received from GOD. Books, therefore, were brought together in great numbers, and consumed in the flame. A certain smith, by chance, at the same time, (called Hubert Truteling,) had cast forth some jesting speeches against them they called 'their prophets.' This coming to be known, they called together the multitude, and appointed others to be ready in arms: here they accuse and condemn the fellow. This moved the people exceedingly. The first that laid hands on him was the prophet I told you of; throwing him down, and then running a pike into him: yet the wound proved not mortal, although he ran at him with his full strength. Then he commanded him to be removed to another place, where he shot him with a musquet, which he snatched out of a young man's hand that stood by. But, when this neither could dispatch him, he said, "God had revealed it to him, that the time was not yet come that he must die; and that, moreover, God had revealed his grace unto him." However, he died within a few days after. Hereupon the prophet taking a long spear, and, running violently through the city, cried out, "That God the Father had commanded him to beat the enemy off from the city:" but, coming near the enemy's quarters, he was met by a common soldier, who presently ran him through. And, although his predictions fell short, and failed him now in a second business; yet his fellow prophets had so infatuated and bewitched the people, and set out the matter in such a dress, that they much lamented the loss of him; fearing withal, that some heavy judgment hung over their heads, having so worthy and eminent a man taken from amongst them. But John of Leyden being also a prophet, and of next esteem to him, bids them all be of good cheer, for that it had been long before revealed to him, that he should come to such an end; that he would take his widow home to himself, and make her his wife.

Two days before Easter they ran into the churches, and there fell a-ringing all the bells at once. Not long after, Cnipperdoling prophesies, that they, who were now in high place and dignity, should be brought low enough; and that others again should be preferred and raised from an humble and mean condition; and that he commands all the churches should be destroyed: maintaining, with a great deal of gravity, that this commandment proceeded from God himself. Wherefore, upon this asseveration, he was obeyed with a great deal the more cheerfulness and diligence. About the same time, John of Leyden delivers a sword to Cnipperdoling, and orders him to be the common headsman; for that it pleased God to have it so, that he, who had lately borne the highest

⁴ [Or, Matthias, a baker of Haerlem.]

office, having been burgomaster; should bear now the meanest, and be no better than a hangman; he being so far from refusing it, that he seemed to entertain his new place with a great deal of joy and thankfulness.

The bishop of Munster had, for some months, maintained the war alone, upon his own charges; but now Herman, the archbishop of Cologne, and John, duke of Cleves, sent him money, ammunition, some troops of horse, and companies of foot. The archbishop also came to the siege, to sit in council with them; and, not long after, they made some assaults upon the city in several places; but, seeing no hopes of storming it, they raised seven forts about it, thereby to keep all manner of provision from coming to them; intending that some companies of horse and foot should lie there all the winter. The bishop of Munster, in the mean time, demanding aids for the continuance of the siege, of all the princes and cities lying upon, or near the Rhine, as being his neighbours; and whom the hazard and danger might, in some sort, concern, as well as himself. Hereupon, a meeting was appointed at Coblentz, December 13, 1534.

After an assault made upon the city to no purpose, John of Leyden composes himself to a sound sleep; and there, forsooth, he dreams for three days. Being wakened, he vouchsafes no man a word, but makes signs for paper; and therein he writes down the names of twelve men, and, amongst them, some of the best gentry that were left: these were now to govern the commonwealth in chief, and to have the ruling of all in his Israel. Now when, by means of this reverend jury, he had made way to become king himself, he proposes to the teachers some certain tenets of his own devising, which he requires to have confuted by them by testimonies out of Scripture; which, if they could not do, he would then commend them to the multitude to be approved of and established. The chief of them was this, 'That a man is not bound to one wife; and that a man may have in marriage as many wives as he pleased.' But, when the teachers seemed to oppugn this his opinion, he calls them all into the court, and that in presence of his twelve men: here in a general assembly he plucks off his cloke, and, flinging it upon the ground, together with his New Testament, he swears, and bears witness by these tokens, that his doctrine, that he had caused to be published, was revealed unto him from heaven; and, in terrible words, threatens them with the heavy displeasure of God, in case they consented not. At length they agreed: and the worthy teachers, for three days together, preached of nothing but matrimony. So he, on the sudden, got him three wives, whereof one was the great prophet's, John Matthews, whom we spoke of before. There were others, likewise, that followed his example; so that at length it came to be a matter of the greatest credit, to have many wives. But some of the citizens were mightily displeased hereat; and, giving notice one to another through the city, they called together all such as loved the Gospel, into the market-place, where they apprehended the prophet and Cnipperdoling, and all the rest of the teachers: which was no sooner known, but the common people broke in straight with arms to their rescue, killing out of hand about fifty of the citizens, with several torments; some they bound to trees, and others to stakes, and so shot them, whilst the chief prophet cried aloud, "That they that made the first shot at them did God very pleasing service:" the rest they put to other manner of deaths, but all savouring of exact cruelty.

Towards the end of June, there arose another new prophet, a goldsmith: he, calling the whole multitude together into the market-place, acquaints them all, that it was the will and command of their heavenly Father, that John of Leyden should be made king of the whole world; and that, setting forth with mighty forces, he should promiscuously slay all the kings and princes upon earth, only he should spare the common people; that is, such as had loved justice and truth; and should, at length, sit on the throne of his father David, till such time as the Father should again require the kingdom at his hands: that, in the mean while, the ungodly being every where suppressed, and utterly destroyed, the righteous generation only should reign in this life. This was no sooner proclaimed in public, but John of Leyden straightway fell down upon his knees, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, "Men and brethren, (quoth he) I have had, these many days since, all this revealed

unto me, and was, myself, very unwilling to have it made known; but now, to confirm it, the heavenly Father hath made use of another minister." Thus he became king! The first thing he did was, to abrogate the authority of his twelve men he had chosen; and, as the fashion of kings is, he makes choice of his peerage and nobility to attend him. He commands, likewise, two crowns to be made him, besides a scabbard, chain, and sceptre, and other ornaments of royal majesty; and all of the purest and choicest gold. Then he appoints set days, on which he would hear all kinds of suits and complaints that should be brought before him. As often as he came abroad, he was attended by his officers and chosen nobility; next unto him followed a couple of youths, both on horseback; he on the right-hand carried the crown and Bible, the other bore a naked sword; his chief wife went in the same pomp and state; for I told you he had many at the same time. In the market-place he had a throne raised for him, all covered with cloth of gold. All actions and complaints, which were brought before him, were, for the most part, concerning wives and divorces; and these were wonderous often, insomuch that many, that had lived to a good age one with another, came now to be parted for being man and wife. It happened, as the people stood in the market-place, thick and close together in the crowd, to hear; that Cnipperdoling getting upon their backs and heads, and creeping along on his hands and knees amongst them, and breathing in their faces, would say to every one as he passed, "The Father hath sanctified thee; receive the Holy Ghost." On another day, dancing in the king's presence, (for so we must now call John of Leyden) "Thus was I wont (says he) in former times, to dance with my whore; but now the Father hath commanded me to perform the same in sight of the king." Being troublesome, not knowing when to make an end, the king went his ways displeased. Then gets he into the chair of state, and plays the king too, till the other returning in the interim quite turned him out of his seat, and so into prison for three days.

During the siege they wrote a book, and published it, calling it, 'The Restitution.' Among other matters in this book they maintain, that the kingdom of Christ shall be such here on earth, before the final day of judgment, that the godly and elect shall reign, the wicked every where being quite destroyed and consumed. They say also, that it is lawful for the people to depose their magistrates. Also, although they had no express command from the Apostles, for the usurping such jurisdiction, yet they, who were now ministers of the church, ought to assume to themselves the power of the sword, and by force to constitute a new form of a commonwealth. Moreover, that none, except he be a true Christian indeed, ought to be endured in the church. And more yet, that none can possibly be saved, that brings not in all he hath into the publick; reserving nothing for his private possession. Luther and the pope of Rome they term to be 'false prophets;' but Luther to be far worse than the other. Marriage also they esteemed to be polluted and impure, where the parties were not enlightened with true faith; accounting it no better than fornication, or flat adultery. These fond opinions of theirs have specially been confuted by Melanchthon, Justus, Menius, and Urban King; and that learnedly and at large, in their several writings on this subject.

After some weeks, the new prophet, that I told you of, blows a trumpet through every street of the city, and commands all the people to appear armed before the cathedral church-doors, for that they intended now to drive away the enemy from before the city: and, being come thither, they found good cheer ready prepared and dressed. Whereupon they sat down, as they were bid, some four-thousand of them; and, after them, some thousands more feasted, who had been in the mean while upon the watch. The king and queen, with their followers, were the chief waiters at this feast. Having eaten their meat, and almost made an end of their good cheer, the king comes and gives every one of them bread, with these words: "Take ye, eat ye, declare ye the death of the Lord." Then the queen, taking the cup, gave it about, saying, "Drink ye, and declare ye the death of the Lord." After this, the prophet beforementioned gets up into a pulpit, and thence he asks the people, whether they would obey the word of God, or not? Then they all affirmed, they would. It is the command, said he then, of our Father, that some

teachers of the word, about twenty-eight, should be sent abroad; who, going forth to the four corners of the world, should preach the same doctrine which is taught in this city. Upon this, he names such as should go, and appoints them which way they should steer their course. To Osnabrug were sent six; as many to Warendorf; to Lusatia eight; and as many more to Cosfield. After this, the king and queen supped with the rest of their officers, and them that were designed to be sent abroad. In the midst of supper the king rises, pretending he had forgotten some weighty business given him in charge by the Father. By chance they had a soldier in their hands lately taken; to him the king goes, and accuses him of treason, as it were another Judas, and himself cuts off his head; then he comes again to supper, and here he relates his bloody deed, passing it over with a jest. After supper, they that were appointed were sent away about shutting-in of night. Besides provision for their journeys, every one had a piece of gold given him, which they were commanded to leave in those places that would not admit of their doctrine; as a testimony of their ensuing destruction, and everlasting perdition, for their refusal of peace and so wholesome doctrine.

When they were come to the several places whither they were directed, they first raised a great cry everywhere about the town, warning all men in general to repent, threatening destruction to them otherwise in a short time. This plain trick effecting nothing; they took their clokes, and spread them on the ground before the magistrates, casting thereon the money which had been delivered to them; then, assuring them they were sent by God the Father, they freely offered them peace; which if they would entertain, they must bring together and communicate all their possessions. If they refused this proffer of theirs, that then the piece of money should remain, as a token to witness against their heinous unthankfulness and unbelief; for that now the time was come, foretold by all the prophets, wherein God would have justice to be observed over the whole face of the earth: and, when their king should, by the diligent execution of his office, have brought matters to that pass, that justice might reign everywhere, that then Christ would again deliver up the kingdom to his Father. Upon this their wild preaching they were apprehended, and at first dealt with in a friendly manner: but, this doing no good upon them, they were afterwards questioned upon the rack concerning their faith and course of life, as also concerning the strength of the city. But their answers were, That they only were the men, whose doctrine was true; which likewise they would make good with the very hazard of their lives: for that, since the Apostles' age hitherto, the word of God was never taught aright, nor any justice to be found among men: that there had been but four prophets in all since Christ; whereof two were just ones, David and John of Leyden; and the other two unjust ones, the pope and Luther; but, of the two, Luther the worst. Being questioned, Why they forced innocent men out of the city, and from their estates, (contrary to their agreement, and promise passed unto them,) taking into their possession their wives, children, and all they had? and by what places of the Scripture they could defend this justice, forsooth, of theirs? To this they replied, That the time was now come, wherein Christ had promised that 'the meek should possess the earth:' that so of old God gave to the Israelites all the goods of the Egyptians. Afterwards, being examined concerning the forces and store of corn they had in the city, and withal about their wives; they made several answers, but, to the last, That most of them had above five. Moreover, that they daily expected fresh forces from Friesland and Holland; that as soon as they came, their king would issue forth with all his army to conquer the whole world, and slay those kings who had not administered judgment and justice. After their trial, (when as yet they would not acknowledge any other magistrate, saving their own king, but persisted stubborn in their own wilful humour,) they were all of them beheaded, but one who by chance made his escape.

But now the city was so straitly besieged, that there was no passage out left any where; therefore the citizens, fearing a famine, and apprehending the danger they were in, entered into a consultation of laying hands upon the king, and delivering him up bound to the bishop. But the king, having notice given him thereof, chose out twelve from

among all the multitude, who, he imagined, would prove most faithful to him. To these he committed the chief care and charge of the city, assigning them every one their particular place to defend. Besides these, he appointed himself a guard to suppress all kinds of commotions and seditions, that might arise among them. Having done this, calling the whole multitude before him, he promises them they should be freed from the siege, and all kinds of want which might ensue thereupon, before Easter next. But, for his twelve commanders, to them he promises far greater matters: they, forsooth, should be marquisses, and dukes, and princes, and I know not what; assigning them every one their provinces by name, what signories and castles they should be made lords of; resolving only to spare the landgrave, for that he hoped, (as he told them) that he in time should come to be one of themselves.

We told you before, that there was a meeting ordered of the princes and cities of the Rhenish provinces at Coblentz in December. John Frederick, the prince elector of Saxony, came of his own accord to this assembly. After deliberation, speedy aids were assigned to the bishop; three-hundred horse, and three-thousand foot, for three months. These forces and the managing of the whole war were committed to Wirich, count Oberstein, as general. Here also they agreed, that other states of the empire should likewise be solicited for aids; and, because the emperor was himself in Spain, that Ferdinand, therefore, the king of the Romans, should be requested, that a public dyet, upon this occasion, might be appointed against April following. Then they sent letters, earnestly advising the besieged to yield themselves up, and to desist from an enterprise, than which the sun itself never beheld any more detestable, and to be abhorred; withal, threatening them, unless they did obey, and submit themselves to their lawful magistrates, that the bishop who now besieged them, and whose rights they detained, should not want the assistance of the whole empire, for his just relief, and redress of his losses. This was about the end of December.

They returned an answer towards the middle of January, 1535; and that in many words, but nothing to the purpose: yet so, that they still justified and maintained what they did. As for what they were charged withal, about setting up a king, they made no answer at all to that. But in their private letters to the landgrave, they endeavour to excuse it; adding, moreover, many things else concerning the utter destruction of all the ungodly; and of the deliverance and kingdom of the godly in this life. Withal they sent to him the book I told you before they published, intitled, 'The Restitution;' counselling him to repent, and not, as the other ungodly princes, to make war against them, who were innocent men, and the very people of God. The landgrave having perused, as well their book as their letters, and himself noting down with his own hand what he conceived amiss therein, he orders his own divines to make answer thereunto. And, because themselves had signified unto him in their letters, (although but in few words, and that too, somewhat obscurely,) that their king was not so much set up by themselves, as appointed and placed over by God himself; he demands of them, "Why they urged not those places of Scripture, upon the authority of which they imagined it lawful for them so to do; withal, What fore-running signs and prodigies they had to prove and make it good by? For that God by all his prophets, long before-hand, foretold of the coming of Christ; and that with that evidence and plainness, that not only the tribe or stock of which he should be descended was manifestly expressed, but also the very time and place where he should be born." They had desired likewise in the same letters, that their cause might have a fair hearing: whereunto the landgrave answered, "That there was now no place left for that, seeing that they had assumed to themselves the power of the sword, and had been the authors of so much mischief and calamity; that every body began now plainly to perceive, what was their main drift and aim; the suppressing of all laws, the overthrow and utter ruin of commonwealths. And that as their attempt, for the main of it, was altogether ungodly and execrable; so this their request, to have a fair hearing of their cause, was wholly feigned and counterfeit. That, for his part, he had formerly sent unto them faithful ministers of the Gospel, by whom, without all question, they had been rightly instructed. But whereas

they now, rejecting the wholesome doctrine of such teachers, had fallen from their obedience to the magistrate; had with violent hands seized upon the goods and possessions of their neighbours; had taken to themselves variety and choice of wives; had elected and set up a new king among them; had denied that Christ had taken on him human nature, from the Virgin Mary; had maintained and asserted the freedom of man's will; had forcibly constrained the people to a communication of their goods in publick; had denied pardon and absolution to lapsed sinners; that in all these they had foully violated the laws, as well human as divine."

They having received this answer from the landgrave, made their reply; and withal sent him a book, composed and written in the High Dutch, concerning the mysteries of Scripture. And in their letter they set a fair and specious gloss upon their own cause, together with a defence and justification of their opinions. But in their book we spoke of, they made a division of the course and succession of all times, of the whole world, into three parts or ages: that the *first* world, from Adam to Noah, perished indeed by the deluge of waters: that the *second*, which is that wherein we now live, shall be destroyed by fire: but their *third*, and new world, which they maintain shall be hereafter, is that, wherein righteousness and justice shall bear the sway; but before this last shall begin to dawn, and shed its light in the eyes of men, it must necessarily be, that this old one, that now is, be first purged by fire; which shall not be neither, before Antichrist is revealed, and his power utterly suppressed and trodden down under foot. That then it shall come to pass, that the throne of David, which was cast down, shall be reared up again and established; and Christ shall again receive his kingdom here upon earth; and so shall all the sayings of the prophets be accomplished. That this present world is like the age, wherein Esau had the power and sway in his hands; for that now righteousness and equity are put to silence, and the godly ones only afflicted. But as from the Babylonish captivity, so from the great miseries and calamities of this present age, there shall at length appear a day of ransom and restitution, a day of freedom and liberty, for the righteous; wherein the wicked shall abundantly receive the reward of all they have done maliciously against the saints of God, as is foretold and threatened in the 'Revelation.' Now this restitution is to happen immediately before this blessed age of the world, which is yet to come; so that, all the ungodly and wicked ones being suppressed all the world over, the seat and dwelling-place of justice shall be adorned and beautified. The landgrave, having perused this book of theirs, employs some of his own ministers to write and publish an answer against it.

There was a meeting of some cities of the empire at Esling, who among themselves made a decree and agreement, that those who formerly met at Coblentz had no power or right to impose any burthens upon them; for that the consent and authority of the emperor, and all the states of the empire, were to be required therein. Whereupon they wholly reject that order, promising mutual aid and assistance among themselves; in case any one of them should be called in question, or endangered hereby. Withal they make remonstrance, that whatsoever should be ordered and decreed by the public convention of the princes and states of the empire, in a lawful manner, in behalf of the commonwealth; that therein they would most readily express their duty.

Now in February, there happening a great penury and scarcity of corn, insomuch that many perished by reason of hunger and want; one of the queens, pitying the sad condition of the people, in her discourse to her companions, expressed her mind so far, that she could not once think it, that it was the good will and pleasure of God, that poor people should daily be destroyed in this manner, for lack of food. The king, who had his storehouses sufficiently replenished, (not only for necessity and use, but even for riot,) having notice given him hereof, brings her forth into the market-place, together with his other queens, and commanding her to kneel down, straightway he strikes off her head; disgracing her dead body, as if she had been some common strumpet. The rest of them applaud the action, giving thanks to their heavenly Father; upon which the king fell a-dancing, encouraging the people also, who had nothing left them, but bread and salt, to dance likewise, and to be merry.

Easter being now come, and no sign of deliverance yet appearing, the king (who had made them many glorious promises,) to devise something, whereby to excuse himself to the people, for six days together, counterfeits himself sick. After this he comes abroad into the market-place, and there he tells them, how he had been riding upon a blind ass, and that the Father had laid upon him the heavy burthen of all their sins; that now therefore they were become clean, washed and purified from all their offences. And that this was that deliverance, which he had promised them, and that herewith they ought all to remain contented.

Among other things, which about this time Luther published in the High Dutch, "Alas! (saith he) what, or how shall I complain, and bewail the sad condition of these wretched and forlorn men? Most certain it is, that evil spirits in abundance have taken up here their habitation and residence. Howsoever, we ought deservedly to praise the infinite mercy and goodness of God herein. For although, by reason of the contempt of the Gospel, and the reproach of God's name, and the effusion of godly men's blood, Germany hath deserved to suffer the fierce wrath and displeasure of God; yet, for all that, he did restrain the rage and furious attempts of Satan, and suffered him not to go on with full swing and career; but, in mercy, gave us gentle warning and admonition. And especially, by this tragedy or play of Munster, which had but little skill, or cunning in it, he fairly invited and called us to the amendment of our lives. For without all doubt, except God had held him in with a strong bridle; he being so subtle a spirit, and so much his crafts-master, had certainly acted his part, in a far more dangerous manner. But now, seeing the goodness of God had curbed him in, and abated his power, he rages not, and plays his pranks, according to his own will and desire, but only so far as the Divine permission had given him leave. For this evil spirit, all whose endeavour is to subvert the Christian faith, would not likely make use of such means as to persuade the marriage of many wives at once; thereby to effect and bring about what he aimed at; because the heinousness and foulness of the thing itself, being confessed on all hands, he knew full well how all men, not yet bereft of their right reason, would abominate it, and cry it down with shame. The civil polity, indeed, and government, may, in some sort, be troubled and shaken hereby; but Christ's kingdom must be assaulted by other kind of battery than this. He that will undertake to inveigle, and draw men into snares, must by no means affect empire and command; much less act the tyrant. This being detested alike by all men, and all eyes being broad open to observe and interpret, whereto such counsels tend: they must go to work by more hidden means, as it were by-way paths, if they intend their designs shall obtain the wished-for issue, and take effect. A sordid and uncouth attire; a behaviour of the countenance, to composedness and austerity; a hanging of the head, with dejected looks; frequent fastings, and an utter refusal of the very touch of money; abstinence from flesh-meats and marriage; a denial of obedience to magistrates, and a general disrespect to all kind of temporal or civil dominion, with an outward profession, however, of extraordinary humility in themselves. By these means indeed, and by such close policy as this, even wise men have been over-reached; and, by such dark and mysterious courses, some have made a way and entrance to great sway and power. But, as here, by extreme impudence, to arrogate and usurp the power of a king, and, according to the unruliness of unbounded lust, to take away wives; that this was the trick of some shallow and untaught devil, or else, if he had all his cunning and sleights about him, that he was so fettered and chained by an over-mastering power, that he could not make use of his tricks at his own pleasure. Which, no doubt, God does to no other end, than that we should entertain a more reverential respect of the Divine Providence, and be the sooner excited to repentance, and amendment of our ways, before God give him liberty for the full exercise of his practices; who certainly then will set upon us, with redoubled forces. For if this same poor and contemptible scribe-devil can of himself raise such tumults and uproars; what shall we do, when the great devil himself, with all his knowledge and arts about him, shall come with full sail against us, and give us a broadside; being both a cunning lawyer, and a crafty divine? Wherefore, no such great fear, or thought, ought to be en-

tertained concerning this so untrimmed and untutored a devil. Besides, I am fully persuaded, that this pageant and mock-show is not so well approved of by all in the city; but that it occasions great grief, and sad thoughts of heart, to most there; who no doubt, with tears and sighs, daily petition for, and expect a deliverance from God's hands: as formerly happened in that tumultuary insurrection of the rusticks, and ill-advised people, lately among us. And I could wish from my heart, that there were no spirit in the whole world more cunning and crafty than is this Munster devil. For, so long as God doth not quite take away his word and Gospel from among us, there can certainly be but few, and those not very wise, who will suffer themselves to be drawn away, by so sottish and unsober a master. Notwithstanding, I must confess, that, when the wrath and anger of God is kindled against any people, there is no error so unreasonable or absurd, which the devil cannot easily persuade them unto; as we plainly see, it happened in the doctrine of Mahomet. For, though the whole composition and frame thereof be but a continued piece of extreme folly and sensuality; yet upon the removal, or rather putting out of the divine light of God's word among them, it assumed to itself that strength and vigour, and spread itself to that large extent and power, which, at this day, Christendom beholds and witnesses, with no less wonderment than shame. And indeed, except God had, by his goodness and providence, repressed the attempts and insolencies of Munster, Germany had now been in no better a condition. For although the devil, by God's permission, can sometimes blow a small spark into a general flame, and wild fire: however there is no more compendious way of extinguishing it, than by the word of God. For, seeing all the armour of our enemy is incorporeal and spiritual; it is not troops of horses, or other warlike preparations, that can quell and overcome him. Now, as for those books written, and published by them of Munster, wherein in lively colours, they paint, and set forth to view, their own folly and madness: in the first place, their doctrines contain in them extreme fopperies and absurdities; and that in matters of faith. For, speaking of Christ, they say, 'he is not sprung of the seed of the Virgin Mary,' to use their own words; although they confess him to come of the seed of David. Here they unfold not the matter sufficiently, as it requires. And certainly the devil herein conceals some monstrous mystery, for his own ends; intimating unto us, and that too not obscurely, that the seed or flesh of Mary cannot deliver and save us. But he loses his labour. For the Scripture tells us, that 'Christ was born of the Virgin Mary,' which word, in all languages, is understood of the child; which, being conceived and fashioned of the flesh of the mother, is brought forth into the world. Again, whereas they condemn former baptism, as profane and unholy; therein also they shew their little skill. For they conceive and think of it, not as a thing of God's appointment, but only as the work of man. Wherefore, if whatsoever the wicked confer, or receive, ought thus to be slighted and rejected; I wonder indeed, why they also refuse not, and fling away, gold and silver, and other treasures, plundered from the ungodly; and devise not, and coin for themselves, some new invented materials: for baptism is the work and creature of God, as well as all these. When an ungodly man swears, he does wrong to the name of God; but if, the name of God be not a true name to him, he offends not. He that robs or steals, or commits rapine, breaks the law of God; but, if the law be not a true law to him, he trespasses not. So also, if the former baptism be nothing, neither do they sin any thing, that are baptized therewith. Why, therefore, do they detest this baptism, as an ungodly thing, when, according to their own confession, it is nothing? If the marriages of former times are, as they say, to be accounted for fornication and adultery, seeing they were contracted, as they will have it, by those that wanted faith; do not they, I pray you, confess themselves to be the children of harlots? Now, if they be illegitimate, and bastards; I would fain know, by what right, they come to inherit, and enjoy the privilege of those places they live in? Truly, it would be but reason, seeing they are such, that they should be made incapable of inheriting; and that, in this their new way of marriage, they should find themselves, also, some new means and possessions, which, at least, may have a fairer and honester title. For it is not seemly, methinks, that such good and godly men, forsooth, should

maintain themselves upon such whorish and unlawfully gotten goods ; or else be forced, poor souls ! by plain violence and robbery, to pillage and plunder from others, as for that ridiculous kingdom of theirs, which they dream of ; there are so many, and so manifest impieties in this one business alone, that I need not make any more words of it : and indeed, perhaps, what I have already said concerning it may be thought unnecessary, and too much ; especially, seeing the whole subject thereof hath abundantly enough been discussed, and laid open, by the labours of other men."

At the dyet, which, at the request of the princes of the empire, Ferdinand king of the Romans held by his deputies at Worms in April ; the cities, which hitherto had contributed no monies to the war, in the first place, made their protestation, that they appeared not here, out of any consideration of the decree passed at Coblentz ; but out of obedience to the emperor, and king Ferdinand. Whereupon there happened a great debate between them and the princes about the contribution. At length supplies were appointed for five months, and twenty-thousand crowns ordered to be paid in monthly. Likewise it was decreed, that upon storming or taking in of the city, the innocent people should be spared ; and that honest men, who were either kept in by the siege, or had formerly quitted the place, should have their goods restored them. Upon the publishing of this decree, the bishop of Munster delivers over his army to the command of Oberstein. But, these public sums being negligently collected, and indeed, not before it was too late ; the general was not able to perform any extraordinary service. Besides, the commanders, in a general mutiny of the soldiers, for want of pay, were many times brought in hazard of their lives.

But when things were brought to that wretched and lamentable pass, within the city, that very many died daily of the famine ; and many also stole away, and escaped from thence ; but so starved and spent with hunger, that they were pitied by their very enemies, into whose hands they fell : the commanders persuaded, and promised the townsmen, that if they would deliver up their king, and some few more besides, they should be excused from all particular, as well damage and danger. The citizens, although they were wondrous willing so to do, yet deterred by the cruelty and watchfulness of their king, they durst not attempt any thing : for he, for his part, was so resolute and obstinate, that so long as any thing was left, whereupon himself and some few others might be kept alive, he never intended to yield up the town. The commanders therefore, in the army, send to them the second time, and forewarn them, that they send out no more ; no not so much as women, or children. This was the first of June.

Next day, they of the town return an answer ; complaining, that they could not be admitted to a lawful hearing ; adding withal, how hardly and grievously they were dealt with, and that without any deserving on their parts at all : that, if any body would take upon him to demonstrate their error, they would be ready in all dutiful manner to acknowledge it. Then they expound a place in Daniel, Dan. vii. 7, concerning the fourth beast, which was far the fiercest of all the rest. But their letters ended with this close ; " That, by the help and assistance of God, they would continue in the confession of that truth, which hitherto they had maintained." Now all this was penned according as the king had appointed and directed it.

Things in the city being brought to this extremity, and, as it were, to the last cast, there were two men, who had made an escape thence, who falling into the soldiers' hands, one of them, passing his own word for his faithfulness, was suffered to go to the bishop ; and both of them set down a way how to gain the city. Oberstein and the bishop, having heard what these fugitives could say, entered into counsel thereupon ; and, June the twenty-second, demanding a treaty with the townsmen, they exhort and persuade them to yield themselves, and save alive the multitude, which by this time was ready to perish with famine. They (their king being present) made answer by Rotman ; but so, as that they meant not to forego their former resolution.

Two days after, about eleven o'clock at night, Oberstein, without any noise, draws up some of his forces close to the city ; and by means of one of the fugitives, some soldiers

chosen of purpose, creeping along the trench, at length got into their works, killing the *corps du guard*: others followed close at their heels, and finding a small gate open, some five-hundred of them, with some officers and colours, got into the city. But the townsmen gathering into a body stopped the passage, that the rest could not break in; and yet with much ado it was that they kept them out. So making good the gate again, they straightway assaulted them that first made the breach and entry, and slew many of them. Thus, for an hour or two, there continued an eager skirmish on both sides. But they that were shut in, finding by chance another gate, with no strong guard at it, forced it open, and so made an entrance for their fellows, who presently broke in like a sea. Howsoever, at first the townsmen made head against them, fortifying themselves in the market-place: but at length despairing, having lost many of their men at the first encounter, they all cried out for quarter, which was readily granted them. At this very bout the king and Cnipperdoling were taken; Rotman, forsaking all hopes of life, and running desperately into the thickest of the enemies, was slain; utterly refusing to trust himself alive into their hands. The city thus taken, the bishop seized upon half the booty, and the ammunition belonging to it. And so dismissing the army, he only reserved two companies, as a guard for his own person.

There was this year, in July, another dyet also of the empire held at Worms, wherein king Ferdinand, by his deputies, made a motion, that, now the city was taken, the Anabaptists, through the whole empire, should every where be destroyed and made away: also, that the princes would move the pope of Rome for a general council. They made reply, that order had been taken by former edicts, what was thought fit to be done with the Anabaptists: and as for a general council, that the emperor himself had divers times solicited the pope therein; and that therefore, for their parts, they could say no more to it. At the same meeting, the bishop of Munster demanded reparation of damages, and the costs he had been at during the war; complaining withal, that the monies agreed upon, had not as yet been paid in to him.

When nothing could certainly be determined of, (there being but few of the princes and states there present,) another dyet was appointed there, to begin the next November following, where then should be a full hearing, both concerning the account and expences of the war; and also it should be determined, what form of government should be established in the city for the time to come. When the appointed day was come, king Ferdinand's ambassador first relates, and makes known the causes of this present assembly, and moves, among other things, that they would conclude upon an agreement, that the city now lately regained might continue, and enjoy its former religion. The bishop's agent lays open and declares, how great charges and expences he had been at for the whole time of the war; how great a debt he had contracted thereby; how having regained the city, to prevent more stir and danger, he was constrained to raise two fortresses within it, and to put garrisons in them; of all which he desired that a speedy consideration might be had. Hereto answer was made, that the bishop had taken into his hands, as well the greater part of the booty, and all the ammunition, as the citizens' goods; all which belonged to the common right of the empire; that it was fitting, an even estimate being made, that all this should be considered in the bill, and account of his expences; and what else was desired should have a reasonable and fair consideration had of it. Next it was determined, that the bishoprick of Munster should be at the disposing of the empire, according to the ancient custom: that all the nobility, gentry, and citizens, except such as were Anabaptists, should be suffered to return, and freely to enjoy their own: that the bishop should order matters of religion, according to the decrees of the empire: that at the spring next ensuing, the agents of the several states and princes should meet at Munster, and there, taking examination of the citizens' behaviour, should acquit the innocent; and level all such forts and works, as the Anabaptists had raised: that the bishop likewise should raze those fortresses he had built, and should with all convenient speed deliver out of custody, and punish according to their demerits, the king, Cnipperdoling, and Crechting, who were his prisoners.

As for the decree about the exercise of religion, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave, the princes of Wittenberg and Anhalt, openly declared, and protested, against any assent thereto. Some cities likewise did the same: neither would they agree to the laying level of the old works about the city: as for demolishing those lately raised, they made no great matter of that. The king and his two fellow-prisoners were led up and down the town in sight of the princes; and that more for sport, and pastime, than for any thing else. Upon this occasion, and opportunity, the ministers that came along with the landgrave, entered into discourse with the king, and disputed with him, concerning some of his opinions; as about the kingdom of Christ, and the civil magistrate; concerning justification, and baptism; of the supper of the Lord, the incarnation of Christ, and of marriage: and by the testimonies of holy Scriptures they did so much good upon him, that though they could not wholly alter him, (he, with some reluctancy, still defending his own;) yet they so weakened him, and turned him, that at length he in a manner generally yielded unto them; which some thought, he did more out of a hope to save his life, than that he was thoroughly convinced by their arguments. For the second time they came to visit him, he made them promise, that so he might receive his pardon, he would bring the business so about, that all the Anabaptists who were in Holland, Brabant, England, and Friesland, in great numbers, should be hushed and silenced, and in all respects yield obedience to the magistrate. Then they disputed with his companions, both face to face, and by writing, concerning mortification, the baptism of infants, the communion of goods, and of the kingdom of Christ.

When they were brought to Telget, the king being demanded by the bishop, "By what authority he had arrogated and assumed to himself such power and licence over his city and people?" the king demanded likewise of him again, "How he came by any such command, or right of possession?" The bishop replying, "That he had it conferred upon him, by the consent of the prince and people." "Why, and I (answered the king) was called thereto by God himself." The eighteenth of January, they were brought back again to Munster, and every one committed a-part to several custody. The same day also came the bishop thither, together with the archbishop of Cologne, and the ambassadors of the duke of Cleves. The two days following were wholly spent in wholesome and godly admonitions used unto them, to reduce them from their idle conceits. And the king indeed acknowledged his offences, and sought to Christ, by prayers, for the forgiveness of his sins: but the other two would by no means confess any fault, but continued with a great deal of obstinacy maintaining their errors.

The next day the king was brought forth unto an high place, raised from the ground, and there tied to a stake. Here two executioners tore his flesh with red-hot pincers. For the three first plucks he was silent, and made no great expression of what torment he felt; but afterwards incessantly, he besought God for mercy and pardon. Having been tortured and torn in this manner, for a whole hour and more, he was at length run through the breast with a sword, and so died.

His two companions were put to the same torment and execution. Their dead bodies were trussed up in iron hoops, and hung out for the public view, from the highest tower in all the city; the king indeed in the middle; but so, as that he hung the full height of a man above the other two.⁵ And thus Cnipperdoling found his own prophecy made good again; and that too in regard of the second part of it.

Καὶ λίγν κείνός γε εἰκότι κείται ὀλέθρῳ

Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

Οδ. α.

⁵ [The few of this sect who escaped the general slaughter, settled in the Low-countries, where they still exist, under the name of Memnonites; and are remarkable for their singularly pacific behaviour and aversion to arms. Vide Robertson's Life of Charles V.]

The grand Designs of the Papists, in the Reign of our late Sovereign Charles the First; and now carried on against his present Majesty, his Government, and the Protestant Religion.¹

Imprimatur. Guil. Jane, Nov: 2, 1678.

London; Printed by Henry Hills, anno 1678.

[Quarto; containing forty pages.]

To the Reader.

HE must needs be a man of very slender observation and acquaintance in the world, who is surprized and startled at the news of plots and conspiracies against princes, contrived and managed by the restless emissaries of the church of Rome. 'There is no new thing under the sun,' says the Wise-man: and, as to the present case, we may defy the greatest villain of the whole order of Jesuits to form any design, however black and execrable, barbarous and inhuman, which shall be any other than the unavoidable result of their avowed principles, which we may gather from their writings; and the repetition of their known practices, which stand upon record in the histories of former ages. This truth has been convincingly demonstrated by our Protestant writers in both the parts of it; insomuch, that the Romish factors, instead of denying the charge, have begun to save us all further trouble, by giving fresh proof of it themselves; and, by a late traitorous design against his majesty's person and government, have endeavoured to confirm our assertions, by a sad and direful experience; as thinking, perhaps, that new massacres are the most effectual course to stop the cry of the old, and that the readiest way to silence their adversaries, is, to make them instances of the truth of the accusation.

It is not the design of these papers, to give an account of the discovery of the late plot; but only to present the reader with the narrative of another against his majesty's royal father (of blessed memory), so exactly resembling this, which now lies under examination, that it can hardly be called another; being nothing else but the same thing acted over again, only with the necessary alteration of the circumstances of time, place, and persons.

I will not here undertake to make out the parallel, which is so obvious to be discerned, in almost all the circumstances of the story. The only use I shall at present make of it, is briefly this; viz. From hence to understand, who were the chief promoters of the late troubles, and the most pernicious enemies to that royal martyr. The Sectaries, indeed, were the most visible and notorious, but they were neither the only, nor the principal actors in the conspiracy: the Jesuits can never sit out, when such great transactions, as rebellions and regicide, are going forward: and, however the Papist and Fanatick are of contrary factions, interests, and inclinations, yet it is natural enough, that they may both conspire, though with a different intent, to promote and carry on the very same design.

¹ [The original papers contained in this tract were, when the study of the archbishop of Canterbury was ransacked, found among his writings, and then published and imprinted by authority in 1678 (as above), when the popish machinations began again to be noised about.]

We have here a full discovery made to us where our danger lies; nor are the Roman practices ever the less mischievous, though usually managed in a way more secret and undiscerned. What is now secretly practised, in colleges and corners, shall, whenever opportunity serves them, be openly acted in the face of the sun. What has been once done, may be done again. And let us not flatter ourselves, that we can have any security from that sort of men, who can readily break through all obligations of gratitude or religion, for propagating their cause; though by a massacre, or a powder-plot; by the murder of a king, or the subversion of a kingdom. The Lord, in his mercy, awaken us to see our danger; and, in his good time, make us a way to escape it; and grant, that we may all, 'in this our day, know the things that belong unto our peace, before they be hid from our eyes.'

WHO, and what the author of this discovery was; who the chief active instruments in the plot; when, and where they assembled; in what vigorous manner they daily prosecuted it; how effectually they proceeded in it; how difficult it is to dissolve, or counter-work it, without special diligence; the relation itself will best discover; whose verity, if any question, these reasons will enforce belief.

First, That the discoverer was a chief actor in this plot, sent hither from Rome by cardinal Barbarino, to assist Con, the pope's legate, in the pursuit of it, and privy to all the particulars therein discovered.

Secondly, That the horror, and reality of the conspiracy, so troubled his conscience, as it engaged him to disclose it; yea, to renounce that bloody church and religion which contrived it; though bred up in, preferred by it, and promised greater advancements for his diligence in this design.

Thirdly, That he discovered it under an oath of secrecy, and offered to confirm every particular by solemn oath.

Fourthly, That he discovers the persons principally employed in this plot, the places and times of their secret conventions, their manner and diligence in the pursuit of it, with all other circumstances, so punctually; as leaves no place for doubt.

Fifthly, The principal conspirators, nominated by him, are notoriously known to be fit instruments for such a wicked design.

Sixthly, Many particulars therein have immediate relation to the king and archbishop, to whom he imparted this discovery, and durst not reveal any thing for truth, which they could disprove on their own knowledge.

Seventhly, Sir William Boswel, and the archbishop, (if not the king himself,) were fully satisfied that it was real, and most important.

Eighthly, Some particulars are ratified by the archbishop's testimony, in the memorials of his own life, written with his own hand some years before; and others so apparent, that most intelligent men in court, or city, were acquainted with them whilst they were acting, though ignorant of the plot.

The first overture and larger relation of the plot itself were both writ in Latin, as they are here printed; and faithfully translated, word for word, as near as the dialect will permit. All which premised; the letters and plot here follow in order.

Sir William Boswel's² first Letter to the Archbishop concerning the Plot.

May it please your Grace;

THE offers (whereof your grace will find a copy here inclosed) towards a further and more particular discovery, were first made unto me at the second-hand, and in speech,

² [At this time ambassador-leiger at the Hague.]

by a friend of good quality and worth in this place. But soon after, as soon as they could be put into order, were avowed by the principal party, and delivered me in writing by both together; upon promise and oath (which I was required to give, and gave accordingly,) not to reveal the same to any other man living but your grace; and, by your grace's hand, unto his majesty.

In like manner they have tied themselves not to declare these things unto any other but myself, until they should know how his majesty and your grace would dispose thereof: the principal giving me withal to know, that he puts himself, and this secret, into your grace's power; as well, because it concerns your grace so nearly (after his majesty) as, that he knows your wisdom to guide the same aright: and is assured of your grace's fidelity to his majesty's person, to our state, and to our church.

First, Your grace is humbly and earnestly prayed to signify his majesty's pleasure, with all possible speed; together with your grace's disposition herein, and purpose to carry all with silence from all, but his majesty, until due time.

Secondly, When your grace shall think fit to shew these things unto his majesty, to do it immediately, not trusting to letters, or permitting any other person to be by, or in hearing; and to entreat and counsel his majesty (as in a case of conscience) to keep the same wholly and solely in his own bosom, from the knowledge of all other creatures living but your grace; until the business shall be clear, and sufficiently in his majesty's, and your grace's hands, to effect.

Thirdly, Not to enquire, or demand, the names of the parties from whom these overtures do come, or any further discoveries and advertisements in pursuit of them which shall come hereafter, until due satisfaction shall be given in every part of them; nor to bewray unto any person, but his majesty, in any measure or kind, that any thing of this nature, or of any great importance, is come from me.

For, as I may believe these overtures are verifiable in the way they will be laid, and that the parties will not shrink; so I make account, that if never so little a glimpse or shadow of these informations shall appear by his majesty's, or your grace's speech, or carriage, unto others; the means, whereby, the business may be brought best unto trial, will be utterly disappointed: and the parties who have in conscience towards God, and devotion to his majesty, affection to your grace, and compassion of our country, disclosed these things, will run a present and extreme hazard of their persons and lives. So easily it will be conjectured (upon the least occasion given upon his majesty's, or your grace's parts) who is the discoverer; by what means, and how he knows so much of these things, and where he is: these are the points, which, together with the offers, they have pressed me especially to represent most seriously unto your grace.

For my own particular, having most humbly craved pardon of any error or omissions, that have befallen me in the managing of this business, I do beseech your grace to let me know:

First, Whether, and in what order I shall proceed hereafter with the parties?

Secondly, What points of these offers I shall chiefly and first put them to enlarge and clear?

Thirdly, What other points and inquiries I shall propose unto them? And in what manner?

Fourthly, How far further I shall suffer myself to hear and to know these things?

Fifthly, Whether I shall not rather take the parties' answers, and discoveries, sealed up by themselves, and having likewise put my own seal upon them, (without questioning or seeing what they contain,) so to transmit them to his majesty or your grace?

Sixthly, Whether I may not insinuate upon some fair occasion, that there will be a due regard held of them, and their service, by his majesty and your grace: when all particulars undertaken in these general offers, and necessary for perfecting the discovery and work intended, shall be effectually delivered to his majesty or your grace?

Upon these heads, and such others, as his majesty, or your grace, shall think proper in the business, I must, with all humility, beseech your grace to furnish me with instructions,

and warrant for my proceedings, under his majesty's hand, with your grace's attestation; as by his majesty's goodness, and royal disposition, is usual in like cases.

May it please your grace to entertain a cypher with me upon this occasion. I have sent the counterpart of one here inclosed; in the vacant spaces whereof, your grace may insert such names more, with numbers to them, as you think requisite.

If these overtures happily sort with his majesty's and your grace's mind, and shall accordingly prove effectual in their operation, I shall think myself a most happy man, to have had my oblation in so pious a work for my most gracious sovereign and master. More particularly, in that your grace, under his majesty, shall be, *opifex rerum, & mundi melioris origo*. Which I shall incessantly beg in my prayers at His hands, who is the Giver of all good things; and will never forsake, or fail them, who do not first fail, and fall from him; the God of mercy and peace! With which I remain evermore,

Your Grace's most dutiful and obliged servant,

WILLIAM BOSWEL.

I have not dared to trust this business, without a cypher, but by a sure hand; for which I have sent this bearer, my secretary, express; but he knoweth nothing of the contents hereof.

Hague, in Holland, Sept. 9, 1640. *Sti. loci*.

Sir William Boswel's Indorsement:

'For your Grace.'

The Archbishop's Indorsement with his own hand:

'Rec. Sept. 10, 1640. Sir William Boswel about the Plot against the King;' &c.

Andreas ab Habernfeld's Letter to the Archbishop, concerning the PLOT revealed to him.

Illustrissime ac reverendissime Domine,

CONCUTIUNTUR omnes sensus mei, quoties præsens negotium mecum revolvo; nec intellectus sufficit, quænam aura tam horrenda attulerit, ut per me apricum videant: præter spem enim bonus iste vir mihi innotuit; qui, cum me discurrentem de turbis istis Scoticis audisset, ignorare me inquit nervum rei, superficialia esse ista quæ vulgò sparguntur. Ab istâ horâ, indiès mihi fiebat familiarior; qui, dexteritate meâ agnitâ, pleno pectore cordis sui onera in sinum meum effudit; deposuisse se gravamen conscientiae, quo premebatur, ratus. Hinc factiones Jesuitarum, quibus totus terrenus intentatur orbis, mihi enarravit; depastasque, ipsorum per virus, Bohemiam & Germaniam ut adspicerem, ostendit, sauciam utramque partem vulnere irreparabili; eandem pestem per Angliæ Scotiæque repere regna; cujus materiam scripto adjacenti revelatam me edocuit. Quibus auditis, viscera mea convellebantur; tremebant horrore artus, tot animarum millibus infestam paratam esse voraginem; verbis consci-

Most illustrious and most reverend Lord,

ALL my senses are shaken together, as often as I revolve the present business; neither doth my understanding suffice to conceive what wind hath brought such horrid things, that they should see the sun-shine by me: for, besides expectation, this good man became known unto me; who, when he had heard me discoursing of these Scottish stirs, said, that I knew not the nerve of the business; that those things, which are commonly scattered abroad, are commonly superficial. From that hour he became more familiar to me; who, acknowledging my dexterity herein, with a full breast poured forth the burdens of his heart into my bosom; supposing that he had discharged a burden of conscience, wherewith he was pressed. Hence he related to me the factions of the Jesuits, with which the whole earthly world was assaulted; and shewed, that I might behold how, through their poison, Bohemia and Germany were devoured, and both of them maimed with an irrepa-

entiam moventibus, animum hominis accendi: vix horam unam monita coxerat, abdita omnia aperuit; liberumque dedit, agerem, ut iis, quorum interest, innotescerent. Non tardandum cum rebus censui; eâ ipsâ horâ, dominum Bosuelium, residentem-regium Hagæ-Comitum, adii; juramento silentii mihi obstricto rem communicavi; ponderaret ista ad trutinam, monui, neque deferret ei, quin ageret ut periclitantibus succurratur propere. Is, ut virum honestum condecet, officii memor, propiusque introspecto negotio, monita recusare non quievit. Quinimò egit è vestigio, ut expressus expediretur, retulitque iterum, quàm acceptissimum regi tuæque reverentiæ fuisse oblatum; de quo ex corde gavisus sumus, judicavimusque actutum favorable sese interposuisse in hoc negotio Numen, quo servaremini.

Ut verò enarratarum confirmetur veritas, studio primaria nonnulla conjurationis capita sunt præterita, ut notitia eorum ab circumventâ conjurationis societate extorqueatur.

Promovebitur res citò tutòque in actum, si cautè procedetur Bruxellis. Meo consilio, observandum esse eam diem quâ fasciculi literarum expediuntur, qui sub titulo, 'Al Monsignor Strario, archidiacono di Cambray,' unâ copertâ ligati, præfecto tabelliorum traduntur. Ab ipso talis fasciculus tacitè poterit repeti; inutilis tamen erit, quia omnes inclusæ characteristicè scriptæ sunt. Alter quoque fasciculus hebdomadatim Româ veniens, qui, sub inscriptione, 'Al illustrissimo signor Conte Rossetti, pro tempore legato;' adportatur, non negligendus: cui similiter caractere eodem conscriptæ inclu-

table wound: that the same plague did creep through the realms of England and Scotland; the matter whereof, revealed in the adjacent writing, he discovered to me. Which things having heard, my bowels were contracted together, my loins trembled with horror; that a pernicious gulf should be prepared for so many thousand of souls: which words moving the conscience, I inflamed the mind of the man. He had scarce one hour concocted my admonitions, but he disclosed all the secrets; and gave free liberty, that I should treat with those whom it concerned, that they might be informed thereof. I thought no delay was to be made about the things. The same hour, I went to Mr. Boswell, the king's leiger at the Hague; who being tied with an oath of secrecy to me, I communicated the business to him; I admonished him to weigh these things by the balance; neither to defer, but act, that those who were in danger might be speedily succoured. He, as becomes an honest man, mindful of his duty, and having more nearly looked into the business, refused not to obey the monitions. Moreover, he forthwith caused that an express should be dispatched, and sent word back again, what a most acceptable oblation this had been to the king and your grace; for which we rejoiced from the heart, and we judged, that a safe and favourable deity had interposed itself in this business, whereby you might be preserved.

Now, that the verity of the things related might be confirmed, some principal heads of the conspiracy were purposely pretermitted, that the knowledge of them might be extorted from the circumvented society of the conspirators.

Now the things will be speedily and safely promoted into act, if they be warily proceeded in at Brussels. By my advice, that day should be observed, wherein the packet of letters are dispatched, which, under the title of, 'To Monsieus Strario, archdeacon of Cambray,' tied with one cover, are delivered to the post-master. Such a packet may be secretly brought back from him, yet it will be unprofitable, because all the inclosed letters are written characteristically. Likewise, another packet coming weekly from Rome, which is brought under this inscription: 'To the most illustrious

duntur literæ ; ut intelligantur, Reda consulendus erit. Supranominata dies expeditionis expectabitur. Ædibus Redæ adcumulata congregatio circumvenietur ; quo succedente, tuæ reverentiæ erit negotium disponere. Detecto tandem, per Dei gratiam, intestino hoste, omnis amaritudo animorum, quæ ab utraq[ue] parte causata est, aboleatur, oblivioni tradatur, deleatur, & consopiat, utrique parti insidiari hostis. Ita rex, amicusque regis, & regnum utrumque discrimini vicinum, servabitur, eripietur imminenti periculo.

Hæc penès etiam reverentia tua injunctum sibi habeat, si aliàs consultum sibi optimè volet, ' Ne pursuivantibus suis nimium fidat ; ' vivunt enim eorum nonnulli sub stipendio ' partis pontificiæ.' Quot scopuli, quot Scyllæ, quotque infensæ obsultant tuæ reverentiæ Charybdes ; quàm periculoso mari agitur vita tuæ reverentiæ cymbula naufragio proxima, ipse judicet ; pellenda ad portam prora properè.

Hæc omnia tuæ reverentiæ in aurem ; scio enim juramento silentii obligatam : idèd aperto nomine præsentibus reverentiæ tuæ innotescere volui, mansurus,

*Observantissimus & officiosissimus,
ANDREAS AB HABERNFELD.
Sept. 14, S. N. 1640.*

Andreas ab Habernfeld, doctor in physick (as some affirm) to the queen of Bohemia; his Indorsement thereon:

Illustrissimo ac reverendissimo dom. domino Gulielmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, primate & metropolitano totius regni Angliæ, dom. meo.

The Archbishop's Indorsement with his own hand:

' Rece. October 14, 1640, Andreas ab Habernfeld's letters sent by sir William Boswel, ' about the discovery of the treason. I conceive by the English-Latin herein, that he ' must needs be an Englishman, with a concealed and changed name. And yet, it ' may be this kind of Latin may relate to the Italian; or else he lived some good ' time in England. The declaration of this treason I have, by his majesty's special ' command, sent to sir William Boswel, that he may there see what proof can be ' made of any particulars.'

' lord, count Rosetti, legate for the time;' these are not to be neglected. To whom likewise letters writ in the same character are included; that they may be understood, Read is to be consulted with. The fore-named day of dispatch shall be expected; in Read's house an accumulated congregation may be circumvented; which succeeding, it will be your grace's part to order the business. The intestine enemy being at length detected, by God's grace, all bitterness of mind, which is caused on either side, may be abolished, delivered to oblivion, deleted, and quieted, and the enemy be invaded on both parts. Thus the king, and the king's friend, and both kingdoms, near to danger, shall be preserved, and delivered from imminent danger.

Your grace likewise may have this injunction by you, if you desire to have the best advice given you by others, ' That you ' trust not over-much to your pursuivants; ' for some of them live under the stipend ' of the popish party.' How many rocks, how many Scyllas, how many displeased Charybdes appear before your grace; in what a dangerous sea the cock-boat of your grace's life, next to shipwreck, is tossed, yourself may judge; the fore-deck of the ship is speedily to be driven to the harbour.

All these things (I whisper) into your grace's ear; for I know it bound with an oath of secrecy. Therefore, by open name, I would by these presents become known to your grace.

Your Grace's most observant, and most officious,

ANDREW HABERNFELD.
Hague, 14 Sept. S. N. 1640.

The general Overture and Discovery of the Plot, sent with Sir William Boswel's first Letter.

Regiæ Majestati & Dom. Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi insinuandum per literas.

The King's Majesty, and Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, are to be secretly informed by letters.

1. *REGIAM majestatem, & dom. archiepiscopum, utrumque in magno discrimine vitæ constitutum.*

1. **T**HAT the king's majesty, and the lord archbishop, are both of them in great danger of their lives.

2. *Totam rempublicam hoc nomine periclitari, nisi propere occurratur malo.*

2. That the whole commonwealth is, by this means, endangered; unless the mischief be speedily prevented.

3. *Turbas istas Scoticas in eum finem esse concitatas, ut sub isto prætextu rex & dominus archiepiscopus perimerentur.*

3. That these Scottish troubles are raised to the end; that under this pretext the king and archbishop might be destroyed.

4. *Dari medium, quo utrique hæc in parte bene consuli, & tumultus iste citò componi possit.*

4. That there is a means to be prescribed, whereby both of them, in this case, may be preserved, and this tumult speedily composed.

5. *Compositis etiam turbis istis Scoticis, nihilo minus periclitari regem; esse plurima media quibus regi & domino archiepiscopo machinatur exitium.*

5. That, although these Scottish tumults be speedily composed, yet that the king is endangered; and that there are many ways, by which destruction is plotted to the king and lord archbishop.

6. *Conspirasse certam societatem, quæ regi & dom. archiepiscopo molitur necem, totiusque regni convulsionem.*

6. That a certain society hath conspired, which attempts the death of the king, and lord archbishop; and convulsion of the whole realm.

7. *Eandem societatem singulis septimanis, explorationis octidue suum quemque quod nundinatus est, ad præsidem societatis deponere, & in unum fasciculum conferre: qui hebdomadatim ad directorem negotii expeditur.*

7. That the same society every week deposits, with the president of the society, what intelligence every of them hath purchased in eight-days search; and then confer all into one packet, which is weekly sent to the director of the business.

8. *Nominari quidem posse omnes per capita dictæ conspiracy conjuratos: at quia alio medio innotescent, differre in posterum placuit.*

8. That all the confederates in the said conspiracy may verily be named by the poll: but, because they may be made known by other means, it is thought meet to defer it till hereafter.

9. *Medium esse in promptu, quo uno momento detegi poterit scelus: conspiratores præcipui circumveniri, membraque primaria conjurationis in ipso actu apprehendi.*

9. That there is a ready means, whereby the villainy may be discovered in one moment, the chief conspirators circumvented, and the primary members of the conjuration apprehended in the very act.

10. *Astantes regi plurimos qui pro fidelissimis & intimis censeantur, quibus etiam secretiora fiduntur, proditores regis esse, peregrinâ pensione corruptos, qui secreta quæque majoris, vel exigui momenti, ad exteram potestatem deferunt.*

10. That very many about the king, who are accounted most faithful and intimate, to whom likewise the more secret things are entrusted, are traitors to the king; corrupted with a foreign pension; who communicate all secrets of greater or lesser moment to a foreign power.

11. *Hæc & alia secretissima, quæ scitu ad*
VOL. VIII.

11. These, and other most secret things,
O O

securitatem regis erunt necessaria: quòd si hæc accepta dom. archiepiscopo fuerint, revelari poterunt.

12. *Interim, si regia majestas sua & dominus archiepiscopus benè sibi consultum volunt, hæc, superficialitèr quidem tantùm ipsis communicata, sub profundo silentio & secretissimè servabunt; ne quidem iis quos sibi fidelissimos judicant, communicaturi, antequàm de nomine acceperint, quibus fidendum sit: ab nullo enim latere aliàs tuti sunt.*

13. *Sint etiam certi, quicquid hic proponitur, nulla figmenta, nec fabulas, aut inania somnia esse; sed in rei veritate ita constituta, quæ omnibus momenti demonstrari poterunt: qui enim se immiscent huic negotio, viri honesti sunt: quibus nullus quæstus in animo: sed ipse Christianæ charitatis fervor ista facere non sinit: ab utroque tamen, suâ majestate, tum domino archiepiscopo, gratitudinis exemplar tale quale expectabitur.*

Hæc omnia antecedentia sub bonâ fide & juramenti sacramento, dom. residenti regis Magnæ Britanniæ Hagæ-Comitum, communicata esse, ne ulli mortalium, præter regem & dom. archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, immediatè ista fideret, vel communicaret.

Præsentes, &c.

Hagæ Com. 6 Sept. 1640, St. loci.

Subscripta, &c.

which shall be necessary to be known for the security of the king, may be revealed; if these things shall be acceptable to the lord archbishop.

12. In the mean time, if his royal majesty and the lord archbishop desire to consult well to themselves, they shall keep these things, only superficially communicated unto them, most secretly under deep silence; not communicating them so much as to those whom they judge most faithful to them, before they shall receive by name, in whom they may confide; for, else, they are safe on no side.

13. Likewise, they may be assured, that whatsoever things are here proposed, are no figments, nor fables, nor vain dreams, but such real verities which may be demonstrated in every small tittle. For those, who thrust themselves into this business, are such men, who mind no gain; but the very zeal of Christian charity suffers them not to conceal these things; yet both from his majesty, and the lord archbishop, some small exemplar of gratitude will be expected.

All these premisses have been communicated under good faith, and the sacrament of an oath, to Mr. Leger, ambassador of the king of Great-Britain, at the Hague; that he should not immediately trust or communicate these things to any mortal, besides the king and the lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Present, &c.

Hague, 6 Sept. 1640, in the stile of the place.

Subscribed, &c.

Detectio, &c. offerenda serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Britannicæ, & dom. Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, &c. 6 Sept. 1640.

The Archbishop's own Indorsement.

'Rece. Sept. 10, 1640. The plot against the king.'

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the King, concerning the Plot; with the King's Directions, written with his own hand.

May it please your Majesty;³

As great as the secret is, which comes herewith, yet I choose rather to send it in this silent covert way, and I hope safe, than to come thither, and bring it myself⁴. First; because I am no way able to make haste enough with it. Secondly; because, should I come at this time, and antedate the meeting of the twenty-fourth of September, there would be more jealousy of the business, and more enquiry after it; especially, if I, being

³ I beseech your majesty read these letters, as they are indorsed by figures, 1, 2, 3, &c.

⁴ Ye had reason so to do.

once there, should return again before that day, as I must, if this be followed, as is most fit.

The danger, it seems, is imminent, and laid by God knows whom ; but to be executed by them, which are very near about you. (For the great honour which I have to be in danger with you, or for you, I pass not ; so your sacred person and the state may be safe.) Now, may it please your majesty, this information is either true, or there is some mistake in it⁵. If it be true, the persons which make the discovery will deserve thanks and reward. If there should be any mistake in it, your majesty can lose nothing but a little silence.

The business, if it be, is extreme foul. The discovery (thus by God's Providence offered) seems fair. I do hereby humbly beg it, upon my knees, of your majesty, that you would conceal this business from every creature, and his name that sends this to me. And I send his letters to me to your majesty, that you may see his sense, both of the business, and the secrecy. And such instructions, as you think fit to give him, I beseech you let them be in your own hand, for his warrant, without imparting them to any. And if your majesty leave it to his discretion, to follow it there, in the best way he can ; that in your own hand will be instruction and warrant enough for him. And if you please to return it herewith presently to me, I will send an express away with it presently⁶.

In the mean time, I have, by this express, returned him this answer, That I think he shall do well, to hold on the treaty with these men, with all care and secrecy ; and drive on to the discovery, so soon as the business is ripe for it ; that he may assure himself and them, they shall not want reward, if they do the service : that, for my part, he shall be sure of secrecy ; and that I am most confident, that your majesty will not impart it to any : that he have a special eye to the eighth and ninth propositions⁷.

Sir, for God's sake, and your own safety, secrecy in this business. And I beseech you, send me back his letter, and all that comes with it, speedily and secretly ; and trust not your own pockets with them. I shall not eat nor sleep in quiet, till I receive them. And, so soon as I have them again, and your majesty's warrant to proceed, no diligence shall be wanting in me to help on the discovery⁸.

This is the greatest business that ever was put to me ; and if I have herein proposed, or done any thing amiss, I most humbly crave your majesty's pardon. But I am willing to hope I have not herein erred in judgment ; and in fidelity I never will⁹.

These letters came to me, on Thursday the tenth of September, at night ; and I sent these away, according to the date hereof ; being extremely wearied with writing this letter, copying out these other, which come with this, and dispatching my letters back to him, that sent these, all in my own hand. Once again, secrecy for God's sake, and your own. To his most blessed protection, I commend your majesty, and all your affairs : and am
Your Majesty's most humble, faithful Servant,

York, 13.¹⁰ Lambeth, Sept. 11, 1640.

W. Cant.

P. S. As I had ended these, whether with the labour, or indignation, or both, I fell into an extreme faint sweat. I pray God keep me from a fever ; of which, three are down in my family at Croydon.

These letters came late to me, the express being beaten back by the wind.

The Archbishop's Indorsement, with his own hand :

Received from the king, Sept. 16, 1640 ; for your sacred majesty, yours apostyled, the
' king's answer to the plot against him ;' &c.

⁵ It is an unanswerable dilemma.

⁶ I concur totally with you in opinion ; assuring you, that nobody doth, or shall know of this business : and, to shew my care to conceal it, I received this but this afternoon, and now I make this dispatch, before I sleep. Herewith, I send his warrant, as you advise ; which, indeed, I judge to be the better way.

⁷ I like your answer extreme well, and do promise not to deceive your confidence, nor make you break your word.

⁸ I have sent all back : I think these apostyles will be warrant enough for you to proceed, especially when I expressly command you to do so.

⁹ In this, I am as far from condemning your judgment, as suspecting your fidelity, C. R.

¹⁰ The king's hand and date.

Sir William Boswel's second Letter to the Archbishop.

May it please your Grace,

THIS evening late I have received your grace's dispatch, with the inclosed from his majesty, by my secretary Oveart, and shall give due account, with all speed, of the same, according to his majesty's and your grace's commands; praying heartily that my endeavours, which shall be most faithful, may also prove effectual to his majesty's and your grace's content; with which I do most humbly take my leave, being always

Your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,

Hague, Sept. 24, 1640. *Stylo Angliæ.*

WILLIAM BOSWELL.

The Archbishop's Indorsement:

'Received, Sept. 30, 1640. Sir William Boswel's acknowledgment, that he hath received the king's directions, and my letters.'

Sir William Boswel's third Letter to the Archbishop, sent with the larger Discovery of the Plot.

May it please your Grace,

UPON receipt of his majesty's commands, with your grace's letters of the 9th and 18th of September last, I dealt with the party to make good his offers formerly put in my hand, and transmitted to your grace. This he hopes to have done by the inclosed, so far as will be needful for his majesty's satisfaction; yet, if any more particular explanation or discovery shall be required by his majesty, or your grace, he hath promised to add thereunto whatsoever he can remember and knows of truth. And, for better assurance and verification of his integrity, he professeth himself, if required, to make oath of what he hath already declared, or shall hereafter declare in the business.

His name he conjures me still to conceal; though he thinks his majesty and your grace, by the character he gives of himself, will easily imagine who he is; having been known so generally through court and city, as he was, for three or four years, and the quality and employment he acknowledgeth (by his declaration inclosed) himself to have held.

Hereupon, he doth also redouble his most humble and earnest suit unto his majesty, and your grace, to be most secret and circumspect in the business; that he may not be suspected to have discovered, or had a hand in the same.

I shall here humbly beseech your grace, to let me know what I may further do for his majesty's service, or for your grace's particular behoof; that I may accordingly endeavour to approve myself, as I am,

Your Grace's most dutiful and obliged servant,

Hague, October 15, 1640.

WILLIAM BOSWELL;

The Archbishop's Indorsement:

'Received, October 14, 1640. Sir William Boswel, in prosecution of the great business. If any thing come to him in cyphers, to send it to him.'

The large particular Discovery of the Plot and Treason against the King, Kingdom, and Protestant Religion; and to raise the Scottish Wars.

Illustrissime ac reverendissime Domine,

*ACCEPTA suæ regie majestati, simulac
reverentiæ tuæ, fuisse offerta nostra, lubentes
& ex animo percepimus. Adesse vobis be-*

Most illustrious and reverend Lord,

WE have willingly and cordially perceived that our offers have been acceptable both to his royal majesty, and likewise to your

nignitatem Numinis, hoc unicum nobis index est, quo stimulus datur, ut tantò alacriùs liberaliùsque illa quibus vitæ discrimen utriusque, statûsque regni Angliæ, tum Scotiæ, eximie majestatis sede deturbatio intendatur, effundamus, detegamus. Ne autem ambagibus superfluis dilatetur oratio, nonnulla, quæ tantùm ad rem necessaria, præmittemus.

Sciant primò, bonum istum virum per quem sequentia deteguntur, in pulvere isto pontificio esse natum & educatum, qui in dignitatibus ecclesiasticis ætates consumpsit: tandem præsentis negotiû expeditioni par inventus, consilio & mandato domini Cardinalis Barbarini, ad auxilium domino Cuneo adjunctus est: penès quem in officio ita diligens ac sedulus inventus, ut spes magnæ promotionis ipsi data fuerit: ipse verò, boni Spiritûs ductus instinctu, utut dulcia promissa contempsit; agnitisque religionis pontificiæ vanitatibus (quarum aliàs defensor fuerat severissimus) malitia etiam sub vexillo papali militantium notata, gravari conscientiam suam senserat; quod onus ut deponeret, ad orthodoxam religionem animum convertit: mox ut conscientiam suam exoneraret, machinatum in tot innocentes animas scelus, revelandum censuit, levamen se percepturum, si in sinum amici talia effundat. Quo facto ab eodem amico seriò commonitus, veræ conversionis charitatisque exemplar ostenderet; liberaret ab imminente discrimine innocentes tot animas; in cujus monita lubens consenserat, calamoque sequentia excipiendum dederat, ex quibus articuli non ita pridem tuæ reverentiæ oblatis, luculentè explicari & demonstrari poterunt.

1. *Ante omnia, ut cardo rei recipiatur, sciendum est, omnes istas, quibus tota Christianitas hodiè concutitur, factiones, exoriri ab*

grace. This is the only index to us, that the blessing of God is present with you; whereby a spur is given, that we should so much the more cheerfully and freely utter and detect those things, whereby the hazard of both your lives, the subversion of the realm and state, both of England and Scotland, the tumbling down of his excellent majesty from his throne, is intended. Now, lest the discourse should be enlarged with superfluous circumstances, we will only premise some things which are merely necessary to the business.

They may, first of all, know, that this good man, by whom the ensuing things are detected, was born and bred in the popish religion, who spent many years in ecclesiastical dignities. At length, being found fit for the expedition of the present design, by the counsel and mandate of the lord cardinal Barbarino, he was adjoined to the assistance of Mr. Cuneus (Cun), by whom he was found so diligent and sedulous in his office, that hope of great promotion was given to him. Yet he, led by the instinct of the good Spirit, hath, howsoever it be, contemned sweet promises, and, having known the vanities of the pontifical religion (of which he had some time been a most severe defender); having, likewise, noted the malice of those who fight under the popish banner, felt his conscience to be burdened; which burden, that he might ease himself of, he converted his mind to the orthodox religion. Soon after, that he might exonerate his conscience, he thought fit, that a desperate treason, machinated against so many souls, was to be revealed; and that he should receive ease, if he vented such things into the bosom of a friend: which done, he was seriously admonished by the said friend, that he should shew an example of his conversion and charity, and free so many innocent souls from imminent danger. To whose monitions he willingly consented; and delivered the following things to be put in writing; out of which articles, not long since tendered to your grace, may be clearly explicated and demonstrated.

1. First of all, that the hinge of the business may be rightly discerned, it is to be known, that all those factions with which all

Jesuiticâ istâ Chamed sobole, cujus quatuor per orbem luxuriant ordines.

Primi ordinis sunt Ecclesiastici, quorum religionis promotoria est curare.

Secundi ordinis sunt Politici, quorum officium est, statum regnorum, rerumque publicarum, quoquomodo intentare, turbare, reformare.

Tertii ordinis sunt Seculares, quorum proprium est, regibus, principibusque, ad officia sese obtrudere, insinuare, immiscere se rebus forensibus, emptionibus, venditionibusque, & quæ civilia sunt occupari.

Quarti ordinis Exploratores sunt, sortis inferioris homines, qui servitiis magnatum, principum, baronum, nobilium, civium, sese submitunt, animis dominorum imposituri.

2. Tot ordinum societatem regnum Anglicanum alit: vix enim tota Hispania, Gallia, & Italia, tantam multitudinem Jesuitarum, quantam unicum Londinum, exhibere posset; ubi plus 50 Scoti Jesuitæ reperiuntur. Ibi sedem iniquitatis dicta societas sibi elegit, conspiravitque in regem, regique fidelissimos; imprimis verò dominum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, etiam in regnum utrumque.

3. Certo certius enim est, determinasse societatem nominatam, reformatione universali regnum Angliæ tum Scotiæ adficere; determinatio ergo finis infert necessariò determinationem mediorum ad finem.

4. Ad promovendum ergo susceptum scelus, titulo, 'Congregationis Fidei propagandæ,' dicta societas sese insignivit: quæ caput collegii pontificem Romanum, substitutum, & executorem, Cardinalem Barbarinum, agnoscit.

5. Patronus societatis primarius, Londini, est legatus pontificius, qui curam negotii gerit: in cujus sinum, fæx illa proditorum omnia explorata hebdomadatim deponit: impetrata autem est residentia legationis istius Londini pontificis Romani nomine, quo me-

Christendom is, at this day, shaken; do arise from the Jesuitical offspring of Cham, of which four orders abound throughout the world.

Of the first order are Ecclesiasticks, whose office it is to take care of things promoting religion.

Of the second order are Politicians, whose office it is, by any means, to shake, trouble, reform the state of kingdoms and republics.

Of the third order are Seculars, whose property it is to obtrude themselves into offices with kings and princes; to insinuate and immix themselves in court-businesses, bargains, and sales, and to be busied in civil affairs.

Of the fourth order are Intelligencers, or spies; men of inferior condition, who submit themselves to the services of great men, princes, barons, noblemen, citizens, to deceive, or corrupt the minds of their masters.

2. A society of so many orders the kingdom of England nourisheth: for scarce all Spain, France, and Italy can yield so great a multitude of Jesuits, as London alone; where are found more than fifty Scottish Jesuits. There the said society hath elected to itself a seat of iniquity, and hath conspired against the king, and the most faithful to the king; especially the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise against both kingdoms.

3. For it is more certain than certainty itself, that the forenamed society hath determined to affect a universal reformation of the kingdom of England and Scotland. Therefore, the determination of the end necessarily infers a determination of means to the end.

4. Therefore, to promote the undertaken villainy, the said society dubbed itself with the title of, 'The Congregation of propagating the Faith;' which acknowledgeth the pope of Rome the head of the college, and cardinal Barbarino his substitute and executor.

5. The chief patron of the society at London is the pope's legate, who takes care of the business; into whose bosom, these dregs of traitors weekly deposit all their intelligences. Now the residence of this legation was obtained at London, in the

diante, Cardinali Barbarino, agere in regem regnumque tantò tutiùs faciliùsque liceret; nullus enim aliàs tam liberè ambire regem posset, quàm ille qui pontificià auctoritate palliatus sit.

6. *Fungebatur tum temporis officio legati pontificii dominus Cuneus conjuratæ societatis instrumentum universale, & serius negotii promotor; cujus secreta ut & aliorum exploratorum omniùm, præsens vir bonus, communicator horum, excipiebat, expediebatque quod res postulabat.*

Adoriebatur Cuneus primaria regni capita, nihilque intentatum sivit, quomodo singula corrumpere & ad partem pontificiam inclinaret; variis incitamentis plurimos alliciebat, etiam regem ipsum donationibus picturarum, antiquitatum, idolorum, aliarumque vanitatum Româ allatarum, deludendum quærebat, quæ tamen apud regem nihil proficerent.

Familiaritate initâ cum rege, rogatur sæpiùs Hantocurti, etiam Londini, Palatini causam ageret; interponeretque auctoritatem suam, intercessione legato Coloniensi persuaderet, ut Palatinus in conditiones, proximis comitiis de pace acturis, insereretur, quod quidem pollicitus est; contrarium verò præstitit: scripsit quidem, rogatum sed de talibus ab rege fuisse, non consulere tamen, ut consentiatur, ne ab Hispanis fortassè dicatur, pontificem Romanum principi hæretico patrociniatum fuisse.

Subolfecit interim Cuneus, ab domino archiepiscopo regi fidelissimo, totum animum regium esse pendulum: omnem se moturum lapidem, nervosque adplicaturum statuerat, ut ad partem suam lucrari possit: paratum se habere medium certò confisus; mandatum enim habebat, pileum cardinalem, nomine pontificis Romani, domino archiepiscopo offerret, lactaretque pollicitis etiam sublimioribus, ut animum sincerum corrumpere: commoda tamen occasio nunquam dabatur, quâ domino archiepiscopo sese insinuare posset (quæ-

name of the Roman pontiff; by whose mediation it might be lawful for cardinal Barbarino, to work so much the more easily and safely upon the king and kingdom. For none else could so freely circumvent the king, as he who should be palliated with the pope's authority.

6. Master Cuneus did at that time enjoy the office of the pope's legate; a universal instrument of the conjured society, and a serious promoter of the business; whose secrets, as likewise those of all the other intelligencers, the present good man, the communicator of all these things, did receive and expedite whither the business required.

Cuneus set upon the chief men of the kingdom, and left nothing unattempted, by what means he might corrupt them all, and incline them to the pontifical party. He enticed many with various incitements; yea, he sought to delude the king himself with gifts of pictures, antiquities, idols, and of other vanities brought from Rome; which yet would prevail nothing with the king.

Having entered familiarity with the king, he is often requested at Hampton-court, likewise at London, to undertake the cause of the Palatine; and that he would interpose his authority, and by his intercession persuade the legate of Cologne, that the Palatine, in the next dyet to treat of peace, might be inserted into the conditions: which verily he promised, but performed the contrary. He wrote indeed, that he had been so desired by the king concerning such things; yet he advised not that they should be consented to, lest peradventure it might be said by the Spaniard, that the pope of Rome had patronized an heretical prince.

In the mean time, Cuneus smelling from the archbishop, most trusty to the king, that the king's mind was wholly pendulous, or doubtful; resolved, that he would move every stone, and apply his forces, that he might gain him to his party; certainly confiding, that he had a means prepared. For he had a command to offer a cardinal's cap to the lord archbishop, in the name of the pope of Rome; and that he should allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sincere mind. Yet a fitting occasion was never given, whereby he might

rebat enim scorpionum ovum) per comitem & comitissam Arundelianam, etiam per secretarium Windebankum, liber accessus impetrari debebat. Quorum omnium intercessionibus neglectis, societatem vel familiaritatem Cunei peste pejùs fugiebat; persuadebatur etiam ab aliis non infimis, ipsi benè notis; nec tamen commovebatur.

7. Quærebatur & alius qui ad facinus detestandum accessum impediabat, secretaries Cook; erat is osor Jesuitarum infensissimus, quibus aditum ad regem interceptiebat, excipiebat plurimos pro meritis, in illorum factiones sedulò inquirebat; quo nomine incitamentum omne, vim magneticam ad partem pontificiam spirans, erat apud ipsum inefficax, nihil enim tam carum erat, quod ipsum ad prævum inclinasset: hinc, conjurationis patronis exosus factus, periclitabatur de officio ut exueretur, laborabatur per triennium, quod ultimò impetratum.

Mansit nihilominus ab parte regis nodus solutu difficilis; dominus archiepiscopus enim, constantia sua, sicuti durissimum sese interposuit saxum.

Laborasse se incassum, ab parte domini archiepiscopi Cuneus cum intellexisset; efferbuit malitia ipsius, totiusque societatis; mox insidiæ parari cæperunt, quibus dominus archiepiscopus una cum rege caperetur.

In regem quoque, cujus gratia totum istud disponitur negotium, à quo quia nihil quod promovendæ religioni papisticæ inserviret speratur; imprimis verò, cum animum suum aperuerit, se ejus opinionis esse, quemvis in religione sua, dummodò vir probus & pius sit, salvari posse, sententia lata est.

8. Ad perpetrandum susceptum facinus, executio criminalis Westmonasterii, per scripta nonnulla Puritanorum causata, primi incendii ansam dedit; quæ res ab Papistis apud Puritanos in tantum exacerbabatur, exaggerabaturque, ut, si inulta maneret, religioni ipsis duceretur;

insinuate himself into the lord archbishop; (for the scorpion sought an egg;) free access was to be impetrated by the earl and countess of Arundel, likewise by secretary Windebank. The intercession of all which being neglected; he did fly the company or familiarity of Cuneus worse than the plague. He was likewise persuaded by others, of no mean rank, well known to him; neither yet was he moved.

7. Another also was assayed, who hindered access to the detestable wickedness, secretary Cook: he was a most bitter hater of the Jesuits, from whom he intercepted access to the king; he entertained many of them, according to their deserts, he diligently inquired into their factions; by which means, every incitement, breathing a magnetic, attractive, power to the popish party, was ineffectual with him: for nothing was so dear unto him that might incline him to wickedness. Hereupon, being made odious to the patrons of the conspiracy, he was endangered to be discharged from his office: it was laboured for three years' space, and at last obtained.

Yet notwithstanding, there remained on the king's part a knot hard to be untied; for the lord archbishop, by his constancy, interposed himself as a most hard rock.

When Cuneus had understood, from the lord archbishop's part, that he had laboured in vain; his malice, and the whole society's, waxed boiling hot. Soon after ambushes began to be prepared, wherewith the lord archbishop, together with the king, should be taken.

Likewise a sentence is passed against the king, for whose sake all this business is disposed; because nothing is hoped from him, which might seem to promote the popish religion; but especially, when he had opened his mind, that he was of this opinion, that every one might be saved in his own religion, so as he be an honest and pious man.

8. To perpetuate the treason undertaken, the criminal execution at Westminster, caused by some writings of Puritans, gave occasion of the first fire; which thing was so much exasperated and exaggerated by the Papists to the Puritans, that if it remained unrevenged, it would be thought a

cujus incendii, subsequens tandem liber precum, flammam auxit.

9. *In isto fervore expeditus fuit ad Scotos ab parte pontificia comes quidam Scotus Masfield, ni fallor nomine, cum quo duo alii comites Scoti, papistæ, correspondebant. Is commovere debebat plebem, injuriamque refricare ut animos accenderet, ad arma precipitaret, quibus noxius libertatis Scoticæ perimeretur turbator.*

10. *Ibi unâ operâ parati in regem casses, eo enim directum esse præsens negotium ut Anglorum complurimi sese adglutinent Scotis; rex armis maneret inferior, qui ab Papistis auxilia petere cogeretur, quæ tamen non impetraret, nisi in conditiones descenderet, quibus libertatem universalem exercitii religionis pontificiæ permetteret; ita enim res Papistarum ad nutum succederent. Quo consensu si difficiliorem sese exhibuerit, remedium erit in promptu: adolescente enim cum primum regio filio, quia à teneris, ut parti pontificiæ adsuescat, educatur, de rege actum est: nux quippe Indica acutissimo veneno referta in societate servatur, (quam Cuneus tum temporis gloriabundus mihi ostentabat,) quo regi, exemplo patris, parabatur pharacum.*

11. *In istâ commotione Scoticâ marquissa à Hamilton sæpius regis nomine ad Scotos ablegatur, ut regiam auctoritatem interponeret, quâ æstus animorum mitigaretur, sine fructu tamen, reque infectâ toties reversus. Ipsius concionator tum temporis nos adiit, qui cum Cuneo secretè nonnulla communicavit; interrogatus à me, joco, Num etiam Judæi cum Samaritanis convenirent? Ad quæ Cuneus respondit, Utinam omnes ministri tales ut ipse essent: conjiciatur hinc quidcunque.*

12. *Rebus sic stantibus, ab Cardinali Richelieu, dominus Thomas Camerarius, sacel-*
VOL. VIII.

blemish to their religion: the flames of which fire the subsequent book of prayers increases.

9. In this heat, a certain Scottish earl, called Maxfield (if I mistake not), was expedited to the Scots, by the popish party; with whom two other Scottish earls, papists, held correspondence: he ought to stir up the people to commotion, and rub over the injury a-fresh, that he might inflame their minds, precipitate them to arms, by which the hurtful disturber of the Scottish liberty might be slain.

10. There, by one labour, snares are prepared for the king: for this purpose the present business was so ordered, that very many of the English should adhere to the Scots; that the king should remain inferior in arms, who, thereupon, should be compelled to crave assistance from the Papists; which yet he should not obtain, unless he would descend into conditions, by which he should permit universal liberty of the exercise of the popish religion: for so the affairs of the Papists would succeed according to their desire. To which consent, if he should shew himself more difficult, there should be a present remedy at hand. For the king's son growing now very fast to his youthful age (who is educated from his tender age, that he might accustom himself to the popish party), the king is to be dispatched: for an Indian nut, stuffed with most sharp poison, is kept in the society (which Cuneus at that time shewed often to me in a boasting manner) wherein a poison was prepared for the king, after the example of his father.

11. In this Scottish commotion, the marquiss of Hamilton was often dispatched to the Scots in the name of the king, to interpose the royal authority; whereby the heat of minds might be mitigated; returned notwithstanding as often without fruit, and without ending the business. His chaplain at that time repaired to us, who communicated some things secretly with Cuneus. Being demanded of me in jest, Whether the Jews agreed with the Samaritans? Cuneus thereunto answered, "Would to God all ministers were such as he:" what you will may be hence conjectured.

12. Things standing thus, there arrived at London, from cardinal Richelieu, Mr.

lanus & eleemosynarius ipsius, natione Scotus, Londinum adpulit; qui collegio societatis conjuratæ adsidere debebat, remque seriò agere, nihil intentatum relinquere, quo primus exasperaretur fervor. Quo officio honorarium episcopatus erat ipsi pollicitum. Conhabitabat & societate per quatuor menses, nec priùs discedendum licebat, donec, rebus ex voto cedentibus, cum bonis novis redux fieri possit.

13. Cavalliero Tobias Mathei, sacerdos Jesuita, ordinis Politicorum, è capitibus primariis homo vigilantissimus, cui nunquam tam charum cubile, quo caput reclinet; ad sellam tantum, horâ unâ, atque alterâ, somno corpus reficit; nec diei nec nocti machinamenti parcit, vir summè noxius & ipsa regis regnique Angliæ pestis; homo impudentissimus, qui per omnia convivia, epulasque vocatus, volitat; nunquam quietus, semper in actione, motuque perpetuo, singulis conversationibus superiorum immiscuit; urget familiarè colloquia, ut animos hominum expiscaretur: quicquid indè ad partes conjuratorum commodi vel incommodi concernere advertit, legato pontificio communicat; secretiora ipse ad pontificem vel Cardinalem Barbarinum perscribit. In summâ, cuivis societati sese adglutinat, nullum verbum effari post, quod ipse non arripiat & ad partes suas accomodat. Quicquid intereà temporis expiscatus, in catalogum redigit, & quâvis æstate ad consistorium generale Jesuitarum Politicorum quod in provinciâ Vallensi secretò concurrit, hospes acceptus defert. Ibi tacitè consilia cuduntur quæ ad convulsionem statûs ecclesiastici, tum politici, regni utriusque sunt aptissima.

14. Capitaneus Reda, Scotus, habitans in plateâ Longaker, prope tabernam Angeli, jesuita secularis, qui ob detestandum officium præstitum (quo ministrum quendam ecclesiæ, incitamenti dulcibus ad religionem Papisticam, totâ cum familiâ ipsius perverterat, filiâ ipsius in uxorem ductâ) pro repensâ obtinuit redditus vel vectigal butyraceum, quod rustici sibi præstare tenentur, adquisitum

Thomas Chamberlain, his chaplain and almoner, a Scot by nation; who ought to assist the college of the confederate society, and seriously to set forward the business, to leave nothing unattempted, whereby the first heat might be exasperated. For which service he was promised the reward of a bishoprick. He cohabited with the society four months space; neither was it lawful for him first to depart, until, things succeeding according to his wish, he might be able to return back again with good news.

13. Sir Toby Matthew, a jesuited priest, of the order of Politicians, a most vigilant man of the chief heads, to whom a bed was never so dear, that he would rest his head thereon; refreshing his body with sleep in a chair, for an hour or two, neither day nor night spared his machinations; a man principally noxious, and himself the plague of the king and kingdom of England: a most impudent man, who flies to all banquets, and feasts, called, or not called; never quiet, always in action and perpetual motion, thrusting himself into all conversations of superiors: he urgeth conferences familiarly, that he may fish out the minds of men; whatever he observeth thence, which may bring any commodity or discommodity to the part of the conspirators, he communicates to the pope's legate: the more secret things he himself writes to the pope, or to cardinal Barbarino. In sum, he adjoins himself to any man's company: no word can be spoken, that he will not lay hold on, and accommodate to his party. In the mean time, whatever he hath fished out, he reduceth into a catalogue; and every summer carrieth it to the general consistory of the Jesuits-politicks, which secretly meets together in the province of Wales, where he is an acceptable guest. The counsels are secretly hammered, which are most meet for the convulsion of the ecclesiastic and politic estate of both kingdoms.

14. Captain Read, a Scot, dwelling in Longacre-street, near the Angel-tavern, a secular jesuit, who for his detestable office performed (whereby he had perverted a certain minister of the church, with secret incitements to the popish religion, with all his family, taking his daughter to wife); for a recompence, obtained a rent or impost upon butter, which the country-people are bound

ipsi ab rege, per nonnullos societatis præcipuos; cui stimulus nunquam deficit, quo in officio constans detineatur. In ipsius ædibus rei totius peragitur negotium, ubi societas quæ in regem, & dominum archiepiscopum, regnumque utrumque conjuravit, plerumque diebus singulis concurrit; die verò expeditionis tabellarii, quæ ordinariè est dies Veneris, tantò frequentiores, tum enim omnes exploratores conveniunt, quæ quisque eà hebdomadâ expiscatus est, in commune conferunt; qui, ut extra suspicionem sint, secreta sua per Tobiam Matthei vel ipsum Redam, ad legatum pontificium amandant: ipse fasciculum compactum, quem ab exploratoribus nundinatus est, Romam transmittit.

Apud eundem Redam deponuntur literæ Româ illatæ, sub titulis & nominibus fictis, quæ per ipsum singulis ad quos spectant traduntur; illorum enim omnium & singulorum nomina ipsi sunt cognita.

Eadem ipsâ occasione adferuntur etiam literæ, sub copertâ patris Philippi (ipso tamen rerum nescio) à quo conjuratis distribuuntur.

Habetur in illis ipsis ædibus sacellum publicum, quo jesuita ordinarius consecrat, ibidemque habitat. In dicto sacello missæ celebrantur quotidie à Jesuitis; baptismoque liberis domesticis & nonnullorum conjuratorum inservitur.

Qui in nominatis ædibus concurrunt, rhedis vel equis, frequenter habitu politico, magnæ comitatu, palliuntur ne innotescant; Jesuitæ tamen sunt, & membra societatis conjurata.

15. *Huic cætui contribuitur ab omnibus papistis Angliæ, ne quidquam ad promovendum susceptum negotium deficiat; in quem fiscum unica vidua, proprietaria olim ædium quas modò secretarius Windebank inhabitat, ante triennium defuncta, 400,000 librarum Anglicarum contulit: sic & alii etiam citra vires faciunt, modò ad optatum finem promoveatur negotium.*

to render to him; procured for him from the king, by some chief men of the society, who never want a spur, whereby he may be constantly detained in his office. In his house the business of the whole plot is concluded, where the society which hath conspired against the king, the lord archbishop, and both kingdoms, meet together, for the most part every day; but on the day of the carriers, or posts' dispatch, which is ordinarily Friday, they meet in greater numbers; for then all the intelligencers assemble, and confer in common, what things every of them hath fished out that week; who, that they may be without suspicion, send their secrets by Toby Matthew, or Read himself, to the pope's legate: he transmits the compacted packet, which he hath purchased from the intelligencers, to Rome.

With the same Read, the letters brought from Rome are deposited, under feigned titles and names, which by him are delivered to all to whom they appertain: for all and every of their names are known to him.

Upon the very same occasion, letters also are brought hither under the covert of father Philip (he notwithstanding being ignorant of things) from whom they are distributed to the conspirators.

There is in that very house a public chapel, wherein an ordinary jesuit consecrates, and dwells there. In the said chapel, masses are daily celebrated by the Jesuits; and it serves for the baptizing of the children of the house, and of some of the conspirators.

Those, who assemble in the fore-named house, come frequently in coaches, or on horseback in lay-men's habit, and with a great train, wherewith they are disguised, that they may not be known; yet they are jesuits, and conjured members of the society.

15. All the papists of England contribute to this assembly, lest any thing should be wanting to promote the undertaken design; upon whose treasury one widow, owner of the houses wherein secretary Windebank now dwelleth, dead above three years since, bestowed four-hundred-thousand English pounds: so likewise others contributed above their abilities, so as the business may be promoted unto its desired end.

16. *Præter nominatas ædes, etiam per alia loca secretiora fiunt conventicula, de quibus ne inter se quidem fidunt, metu ne dispertiantur. Convocantur primò ad certa diversoria singuli (alter alterius inscius) hinc per exploratores ad locum, ubi convenire debent, singuli deducuntur, ignari aliàs ubi conventuri sint, nè fortè insperatò obruantur.*

17. *Comitissa d' Arundel, strenua pontificiæ religionis propugnatrix, ad reformationem universalem omnes nervos intendit: quicquid ad aulam regis, secretè vel apertè, verbis vel factis geritur, legato pontificio insinuat, cum quo ad minimum ter de die, modò in ædibus Arundelianis, jam ad aulam, vel Tarthalæ, cum ipso congregitur. Ex ungue talia vix exsugit.*

Ipsè comes, vocatus jam à triennio, hoc anno ire debebat Romam, acturus ibi dubio procul de seriis negotiis concernentibus.

Donis dictionibusque suis, Jesuitæ missis invigilant.

Grinviçi, impensis comitis, schola fæminea sustentatur, quæ aliàs monasterium monialium est; adultæ enim inibi juvenulæ hinc inde per extera transmarina monasteria emittuntur.

18. *Dominus Porter, cubicularius regius, pontificiæ religioni addictissimus, regis infensus hostis. Is ipsius secretissima quæque legato pontificio aperit; quamvis rarissimè cum ipso conveniat, uxor tantò sæpiùs, quæ ab marito informata, legato secreta confidit. In omnibus suis actionibus Tobie Matthæi nihil cedit; effari non potest qualiter negotio invigilet.*

Filii ipsius in religione pontificiâ occultè informantur, apertè reformatam profitentur, Major natu officium patris suscepturus, sub rege futuro; alteri, si negotium benè successerit, pileus cardinalis paratus est.

Ante triennium, ablegari debebat dictus dominus Porter à rege Morocum; prohibitus fuit ab societate, ne moram pateretur negotium.

16. Besides the foresaid houses, there are also conventicles kept in other more secret places; of which verily they confide not even among themselves, for fear lest they should be discovered. First, every of them are called to certain inns, one not knowing of the other: hence they are severally led by spies to the place where they ought to meet, (otherwise ignorant where they ought to assemble,) lest peradventure they should be surprized at unawares.

17. The countess of Arundel, a strenuous she-champion of the popish religion, bends all her nerves to the universal reformation: whatsoever she hears at the king's court, that is done secretly or openly, in words or deeds, she presently imparts to the pope's legate, with whom she meets thrice a day; sometimes in Arundel-house, now at the court, or at Tart-hall. He scarce sucks such things by the claw.

The earl himself, called now about three years since, this year ought to go to Rome; without doubt, to consult there of serious things concerning the design.

With gifts and speeches, the Jesuits watch diligently to their masses.

At Greenwich, at the earl's costs, a feminine school is maintained, which otherwise is a monastery of nuns; for the young girls therein are sent forth hither and thither into foreign monasteries beyond the seas.

18. Mr. Porter, of the king's bed-chamber, most addicted to the popish religion, is a bitter enemy of the king. He reveals all his greatest secrets to the pope; although he very rarely meets with him, yet his wife meets him so much the oftener; who, being informed by her husband, conveys secrets to the legate. In all his actions he is nothing inferior to Toby Matthew: it cannot be uttered how diligently he watcheth on the business.

His sons are secretly instructed in the popish religion; openly they profess the reformed. The eldest is now to receive his father's office, under the king which shall be: a cardinal's hat is provided for the other, if the design shall succeed well.

About three years past, the said Mr. Porter was to be sent away by the king to Morocco; but he was prohibited by the society, lest the business should suffer delay thereby.

Patronus est Jesuitarum, quibus, ad exercitium religionis, sacella domi forisque subministrat.

19. *Secretarius Windebank, papista acerrimus, regi omnium infidelissimus, qui non solum secretissima etiam quæque regia prodit & revelat, sed etiam consilia, quibus optime negotio consuleretur, communicat. Ipse, ad minimum ter in hebdomadâ, per nocturna conventicula cum legato conversatur, injungitque quæ scitu digna cogitat: cujus causâ, ædes vicinas legati domo conduxit, quem sæpius per portam horti adit; hæc enim vicinitate facilitatur congressus.*

Dictus secretarius ad partem societatis conjuratæ muneribus emptus est, quibus sustentatur, ut magis serio officium peragat.

Filium suum expressè Romam misit, qui Romano pontifici sese insinuare debebit.

20. *Cavalliero Digby, cavalliero Winter, dominus Mountagu junior, qui Romæ fuit; mi-lord Sterling, cognatus comitis d'Arundel, eques; comitissa de Newport, ducissa Buckingham, & plerique alii qui in conspiracy hanc jurarunt, omnes in opere sunt vigilantissimi. Horum alii, aulicorum, alii politicorum officiorum spes inescantur: alii ad sexdecim pileos cardinalium vacantes attendunt, qui idè ab aliquot annis otiosi detinentur, ut spem vanam expectantibus imponant.*

21. *Præses nominatæ societatis erat mi-lord Gage, sacerdos jesuita, ante triennium defunctus. Habebat is palatium lascivis picturis exornatum, quæ profanitatem in ædibus mentiebantur; palliabatur verò illis monasterium, quo quadraginta moniales sustentabantur, tanto palatio occultatæ; situm est in plated Reginæ, quam statua reginæ aurea decorat. Istam plateam totam Jesuitæ seculares emerunt, redegeruntque in quadratum; ubi tacitè collegium jesuiticum extruitur, ea spe, ut quàm primùm, reformatione universali inceptâ, apertè elaborari possit.*

Legatus pontificius triplici caractere sive cifrâ utitur: uno, quo cum omnibus nunciis communicat: altero cum solo Car-

He is a patron of the Jesuits; for whom, for the exercise of religion, he provides chapels both at home and abroad.

19. Secretary Windebank, a most fierce papist, is the most unfaithful to the king of all men; who not only betrays and reveals even the king's greatest secrets, but likewise communicates counsels, by which the design may be best advanced. He, at least thrice every week, converseth with the legate in nocturnal conventicles, and reveals those things which he thinks fit to be known; for which end he hired a house near to the legate's house, whom he often resorts to through the garden-door, for by this vicinity the meeting is facilitated.

The said secretary is bribed with gifts to the party of that conjured society, by whom he is sustained, that he may the more seriously execute his office.

He sent his son expressly to Rome, who ought to insinuate himself into the Roman pontiff.

20. Sir Digby, sir Winter, Mr. Mountague the younger, who hath been at Rome; my lord Sterling, a cousin of the earl of Arundel's, a knight; the countess of Newport, the duchess of Buckingham, and many others, who have sworn unto this conspiracy, are all most vigilant in the design. Some of these are enticed with the hope of court, others of political offices; others attend to the sixteen cardinals caps that are vacant, which are detained idle, for some years, that they may impose a vain hope on those who expect them.

21. The president of the aforesaid society was my lord Gage, a jesuit-priest, dead above three years since. He had a palace adorned with lascivious pictures, which counterfeited profaneness in his house: but with them was palliated a monastery, wherein forty nuns were maintained, hid in so great a palace. It is situated in Queen-street, which the statue of a golden queen adorns. The secular Jesuits have bought all this street, and have reduced it into a quadrangle; where a jesuitical college is tacitly built; with this hope, that it might be openly finished, as soon as the universal reformation was begun.

The pope's legate useth a threefold character, or cypher; one wherewith he communicates with all the nuncios; another

dinale Barbarino: tertio, quo secretiora nonnulla communicanda occultat.

Quaecunque per hebdomadam ab societate aliis exploratoribus excepit, illa uno fasciculo consarcinat, sub inscriptione, 'Al Monsignor Stravio, Archidiacono di Cambray,' dedicat: ab quo tandem promoventur Romæ.

His ita constitutis, si singula ad trutinam ponantur, satisfiet in specie omnibus articulis propositis.

QUIBUS,

1.

CONJURATIO in regem & dominum archiepiscopum detegitur; media, quibus exitum utrique minatur, demonstrantur.

2. *Pericula regno utrique imminencia recensentur.*

3. *Exortus incendii illius Scotici & progressus enarratur.*

4. *Media, quibus turbæ istæ Scoticæ sedari possint, suggeruntur: postquam enim resciverint Scoti, à quibus & in quem finem animi ipsorum accendantur, consulent sibi properè: neque utriusque partis vires succumbere sinent; ne medius sese interponat qui utramque quærit.*

5. *Quo ense regis petatur jugulum, etiam turbis istis sopitis, Cunei confessio, oculataque demonstratio, docet.*

6. *Locus congregationis in ædibus capitanei Redæ nominatur.*

7. *Dies expeditionis octiduae per Redam & legatum injungitur.*

8. *Quomodo nomina conjuratorum innotescere possent.*

9. *Ubi tota ista congregatio possit circumveniri.*

10. *Infideles nonnulli ab parte regis præcipuorum de nomine notificantur; plures, quorum nomina non occurrunt, habitationes tamen notæ sunt; de nomine facile ab Redâ extorqueri poterunt.*

Si cautè in his procedatur, nervus totius negotii in apicem prodibit: ita, sagittâ

with cardinal Barbarino only; a third, wherewith he covers some greater secrets to be communicated.

Whatsoever things he either receiveth from the society, or other spies, those he packs up together in the bundle, dedicated under this inscription: 'To Monsieur Stravio, archdeacon of Cambray.' From whom, at last, they are promoted to Rome.

These things being thus ordered; if every thing be laid to the balance, it will satisfy in special, all the articles propounded.

WHEREIN,

1.

THE conspiracy against the king, and lord archbishop, is detected; and the means, whereby ruin is threatened to both, demonstrated.

2. The imminent dangers to both kingdoms are rehearsed.

3. The rise and progress of that Scottish fire is related.

4. Means, whereby these Scottish troubles may be appeased, are suggested. For, after the Scots shall know by whom, and to what end their minds are incensed, they will speedily look to themselves; neither will they suffer the forces of both parts to be subdued, lest a middle party interpose, which seeks the ruin of both.

5. With what sword the king's throat is assaulted, even when these stirs shall be ended, Cuneus's confession, and a visible demonstration, sheweth.

6. The place of the assembly in the house of capt. Read is nominated.

7. The day of the eight days dispatch by Read, and the legate, is prescribed.

8. How the names of the conspirators may be known.

9. Where this whole congregation may be circumvented.

10. Some of the principal unfaithful ones of the king's party are notified by name; many of whose names occur not, yet their habitations are known: their names may be easily extorted from Read.

If these things be warily proceeded in, the strength of the whole business will be

prævisd, effugietur periculo; quod ut succedat prosperè, Creator Omnipotens faxit!

brought to light: so, the arrow being foreseen, the danger shall be avoided; which, that it may prosperously succeed, the Omnipotent Creator grant!¹¹

The Archbishop's Indorsement with his own hand:

'Received, October 14, 1640. The Narration of the great Treason, concerning which he promised to Sir William Boswel to discover, against the King and State.'

¹¹ [The author of 'the History of the damnable Popish Plot,' Lond. 1680, 8vo. attempts to account for the abandonment of this design, by supposing that 'the disturbances in Scotland, and afterwards in Ireland and England, coming on apace, (branches of the same treason, being all assisted and fomented, if not, as most of them, originally contrived by these popish incendiaries, though disguised in other factions,) 'tis probable they might divert or forbear that part of poisoning the king and bishop, to attend the event of the other more general plot of ruining these nations, which they saw then so hopefully advanced, that they might conclude without hazarding themselves in the odium: there were enough other ill-spirits which they had conjured up, ready to do that execrable work for them, in another way.']

An authentic Relation of the many Hardships and Sufferings of a Dutch Sailor, who was put on Shore on the uninhabited Isle of Ascension, by Order of the Commodore of a Squadron of Dutch Ships. With a remarkable Account of his Converse with Apparitions, and evil Spirits, during his Residence on the Island. And a particular Diary of his Transactions from the Fifth of May, to the Fourteenth of October; on which Day he perished in a miserable Condition. Taken from the Original Journal found in his Tent by some Sailors, who landed from on Board the Compton, Captain Morson Commander, in January 1725-6.

[Octavo; containing twenty-eight pages.]

To the Reader.

As the following Journal carries all possible marks of truth and sincerity in it; so we have thought fit to publish it exactly as it was wrote, by the miserable wretch who is the subject of it; without adding any borrowed descriptions of places, coasts, &c. which is too frequently done in pieces of this nature, in order to increase their bulk.

The detestable crime, for which the Dutch commodore thought fit to abandon and leave this sailor on a desert island, is pretty plainly pointed out, in the journal. The miseries and hardships he lingered under, for more than five months, were so unusually terrible; that the bare reading his account of them must make the hardest heart melt with compassion. Tormented with excessive thirst; in want of almost every thing necessary to defend him from the inclemency of the weather; left to the severe upbraidings and reflections of a guilty conscience; harassed by the blasphemous conversations of evil spirits, haunted by apparitions, even tumbled up and down in his tent by demons; and, at the

same time, not one person upon the island from whom to seek consolation or advice. These are such calamities, as no mortal could ever long support himself under. But at the same time the fatal catastrophe of this man recommends to us the preserving that 'wall of brass' (as the poet calls it), which will be a comfort to us under all misfortunes, viz. a conscience free from guilt.

— *Hic murus aheneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.*

Saturday, May 5.

BY order of the commodore and captains of the Dutch fleet, I was set on shore on the island of Ascension, which gave me a great deal of dissatisfaction; but I hope Almighty God will be my protection. They put on shore with me a cask of water, two buckets, and an old frying-pan, &c. I made my tent on the beach near a rock, wherein I put some of my clothes.

May the 6th, I went upon the hills to see if I could discover any thing on the other side of the island that was more commodious for my living, and to see if there were any thing green; but to my great sorrow found nothing at all worth mentioning. I sincerely wished that some accident would befall me, to finish these my miserable days. In the evening I walked to my tent, but could not very well find the way. I walked very melancholy along the strand, praying to God Almighty to put a period to my days, or help me out of this desolate island. I went back again to my tent, and secured it the best I could, with stones and a tarpaulin, from the weather. About four or five o'clock, I killed three birds called boobies; I skinned and salted them, and put them into the sun to dry; being the first thing I killed upon the island. The same night I caught two more, which I served as before.

The 7th, in the morning, I went to my water-cask, it being half a league from my tent. I first put a peg in, but lost much water by that; so got him upon his head, and took the head out with a great deal of trouble. I made a white flag, which I put upon my piece, having nothing else; and set it upon a hill near the sea. I had no powder nor shot, which rendered my gun useless. That night I put more stones about my tent.

The 8th, in the morning, I took down my flag again, and set it upon a hill, on the other side of the island. In the way I found a turtle, and killed him with the but-end of my musquet; and so went back again to my tent, and sat me down very weary.

I trust in God Almighty, that he will deliver me some time or other by some ship that may touch here. This night I moved my tent on the other side of the rock; being afraid that it would fall on my head, and by that means endanger my life. I would by no means be accessory to my own death, still hoping that God will preserve me to see better days. On the whole island I cannot find a better place than where I now am, and that I must be contented in my condition. I thank God I am now in good health. In the evening I killed some more boobies, which I served as the former; and in the morning did the same.

The 9th, in the morning, I went to look for the turtle which I killed yesterday. I carried my hatchet, and cut him on the back, for he was so big that I could not turn him. I cut off some of the flesh from the fore-fin, and brought it to my tent, and put it in salt, and dried it in the sun. I began again to make a bulwark of stones round my tent, and secured it from the weather with my tarpaulin.

The 10th, in the morning, I took four or five onions, a few pease, and calavances, and went to the south side of the island, to see if I could find a proper place to set them. I looked carefully on the strand, to see if I could discover the tracks of any beasts, or water, or any thing else that might be serviceable; but found nothing but a little purslain, on the other side of the island, which I eat for refreshment; being very dry, and could find no water, and but a little of it in my cask; walking back, eat what I had before reserved. When I was half way back, found some more greens, but knew not whether they were good to eat.

The 11th, in the morning, went into the country again, and found some roots, the skin somewhat resembling potatoes; but could not think they were good to eat. I made a diligent search for a greater discovery, but found nothing else. I sat me down very disconsolate, almost dead with thirst, and afterwards went to my tent. On the other side of the island there is a sandy bay, by the biggest hill. This evening boiled a little rice, being the first time. I was somewhat out of order.

The 12th, in the morning, boiled a little more rice, of which I eat some. After I had prayed, I went again to the country to see if I could discover any ships, but to my great sorrow saw none; so went back again to my tent, and then walked along the beach, and found nothing but some shells of fish. I kept constantly walking about the island, that being all my hopes; then went to my tent, and read till I was weary, and afterwards mended my clothes. This afternoon put the onions, pease, and calavances in the ground just by my tent, to see if they would produce any more; for, as it was, I could not afford water to boil them.

The 13th, in the morning, went to see if I could find any sea-fowls' eggs; but found none. At my walking back, I found a small turtle just by my tent: I took some of its eggs, and flesh, and boiled with my rice for my dinner; and buried the rest in the sand, that it might not infect me; its eggs I buried in the sand likewise. Afterwards I found some nests of fowls' eggs, of which I boiled in the evening, and it was very good diet. I melted some of the turtle's fat to make oil, and in the night burnt of it; having nothing for a lamp, but a saucer.

The 14th, in the morning, after I had prayed, I took my usual walk, but found nothing new; so I returned again to my tent, and sat down, and mended my banyan-coat, and writ my journal.

The 15th, before I took my walk, I eat some boiled rice, and afterwards proceeded: but got nothing but my usual game, *viz.* boobies. I read till I was weary, and then betook myself to my repose.

The 16th, I looked out, as the day past: caught no boobies.

The 17th, I was very much dejected that I had found no sustenance; and a booby, that I kept alive seven or eight days, now died.

The 18th, after my usual custom of praying, I caught two boobies.

The 19th, nothing worthy of note. The 20th, caught one booby. The 21st, nothing at all.

The 22d, after breakfast, went to the other side of the island, to see if I could discover any thing; but went back as I came. At four in the afternoon took my line, and fished on the rock for three or four hours, but to no purpose. I then took a melancholy walk to my flag; but, much to my concern, could descry nothing. At my return to my tent, much to my surprise, I found it all of a smoke. After a serious consideration, I thought that I had left my tinder-box a-fire on my quilt; but the smoke smothered me so much, that I could not enter before I had brought a bucket of water, and quenched it. I return God Almighty my hearty thanks, that all my things were not burnt! I have lost nothing by it but a banyan, shirt, a corner of my quilt, and my bible singed. I entreat God Almighty to give me the patience of holy Job, to bear with my sufferings.

The 23d, all this day was re-making what was burnt yesterday.

The 24th, I walked to my flag, and returned again, with catching but one booby; afterwards mended my clothes, and broiled a booby on the embers.

The 25th, after my breakfast, went to my usual employment, and caught several sea-fowls sitting on their eggs. Then returned home with my spoil, and dried them. After my dinner went upon a search for more fowls, of which I caught many, and did not forget to look out for ships; but returned without any discovery. Boiled some of my eggs, and was disappointed by finding young ones in many of them.

The 26th, I looked out as before, but no fowls. The 27th, nothing worthy of note.

The 28th, I went to the west-side of the island, along the strand, and mounted the pre-

cipice of a high hill, which was so steep, that I have reason to thank my God that I did not break my neck down.

The 29th, nothing remarkable. The 30th, as before. The 31st, was forced to feed on the provision which I had before salted.

From the 1st of June to the 4th, it would be needless to write how often my eyes are cast on the sea, to look for shipping; and every little atom in the sky I took for a sail; then look till my eyes dazzle, and immediately the object disappears. When I was put on shore, the captain told me it was the time of year for shipping to pass this way; which makes me look out the more diligently.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th, I never neglected taking my usual walks; but to no purpose.

The 8th, my water was so much reduced, that I had but two quarts left, and that so thick as obliged me to strain it through a handkerchief. I then, too late, began to dig; and after I had dug seven feet deep, found no moisture: the place where I began was in the middle of the island. I then came back again to my tent, and began a new well just by my tent, but to no purpose; having digged a fathom deep. It is impossible to express my concern; first in not seeing any ships to convey me off the island, and then in finding no sustenance on it.

The 9th, found nothing; passed away the day in meditations on a future state.

The 10th, with the very last of my water boiled some rice: having but very little hopes of any thing but perishing, I commended my soul to Almighty God, entreating him that he will have mercy on it: but, not caring to give over all hopes while I could yet walk, I went to the other side of the island to see for some water. Having heard talk, that there was a well of water on it, I walked up and down the hills, thinking not to leave any place secret from me. After four hours tedious walking, began to grow very thirsty, and the heat of the sun, withal, made my life a greater burden than I was able to bear; but was resolved to proceed as long as I could stand. Walking among the rocks, God of his great bounty led me to a hollow place where some water run out of a hollow place in the rock: it is impossible to express my great joy and satisfaction in finding of it, and thought I should have drank till I burst. I sat me down for some time by it, then drank again, and walked home to my tent; having no vessel to carry any along with me.

The 11th, in the morning, after I had returned God Almighty my hearty thanks, I took my tea-kettle with some rice in it, and some wood along with me to the place where the water was, and there boiled and eat it.

The 12th, I boiled some rice to break my fast, and afterwards with much trouble carried two buckets of water to my tent. I often think I am possessed with things, that I really want; but, when I come to search, find it only a shadow. My shoes being worn out, the rocks cut my feet to pieces; and I am often afraid of tumbling, and by that means endanger the breaking my buckets, which I cannot be without.

The 13th, I went to look out for wood, and found none but a little weeds somewhat like birch: brought it to my tent, and boiled some rice with it for my dinner. Afterwards went and looked out for shipping, but to no purpose: it makes me very melancholy to think that I have no hopes of getting off of this unhappy island.

The 14th, took my tea-kettle with some rice, and went into the country where the water was. Afterwards returned again to my tent, and mended my clothes, and passed away the rest of the day in reading.

The 15th, all the day employed in getting of sea-fowls' eggs and birch.

The 16th, to no purpose looked out for ships; and in the night was surprized by a noise round my tent, of cursing, and swearing, and the most blasphemous conversations that I ever heard. My concern was so great, that I thought I should have died with the fright. I did nothing but offer up my prayers to the Almighty to protect me in this miserable circumstance: but my fright rendered me in a very bad condition of praying; I trembling to that degree, that I could not compose my thoughts; and any body would have believed that the devil had moved his quarters, and was coming to keep hell on

Ascension. I was certain that there was no human creature on the island, but myself; having not seen the foot-steps of any man but my own; and so much libidinous talk was impossible to be expressed by any body but devils: and to my greater surprise was certain, that I was very well acquainted with one of the voices, it bearing an affinity of an intimate acquaintance of mine; and I really thought that I was sometimes touched by an invisible spirit. I made my application to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for forgiveness of my sins; and that they would protect me from these evil spirits. It was three o'clock in the morning before they ceased tormenting me; and then, being very weary, I fell to sleep. In the morning I awoke about seven o'clock, and returned God Almighty my hearty and sincere thanks for his last night's protection of me; but still heard some shrieks near my tent, but could see nothing. I took my prayer-book, and read the prayers proper for a man in my condition, and at the same time heard a voice, crying, 'Bouger.' I cannot afford paper enough to set down every particular of this unhappy day.

The 17th, I fetched home two buckets of water, and dreaded night's coming on, and interceded with God Almighty, that I might not be troubled again with those evil spirits: and I hope God Almighty heard my prayers, for I was not perplexed with them this night. Before I came upon this miserable island, I was of the Protestant religion, and used to laugh at the Romans, when they talked to me of apparitions; but to my great sorrow now find smarting reasons to the contrary, and shall henceforth embrace their opinions. This day an apparition appeared to me in the similitude of a man, whom I perfectly knew: he conversed with me like a human creature, and touched me so sensibly of the sins of my past life (of which I have a sincere and hearty repentance,) and was such a terrible shock to me, that I wished it would kill me.

The 18th, after my devotions, went to look out, and carried my hatchet with me. On the strand, the other side of the island, I found a tree, which I believe Providence had cast a-shore for me. I cut it in two pieces, the whole being too big for me to carry. I put one half on my shoulders, and when I was half way home, set it down and rested myself on it. During which time, the apparition appeared to me again: his name I am afraid to utter, fearing the event. He haunts me so often, that I begin to grow accustomed to him. After I had rested myself, I carried it home, and then went back and fetched the other half.

The 19th, in the morning, went to my colours, to see if I could discover any ships. Last night nor this day I have not seen any thing; and I trust in God I shall be no more troubled with them.

The 20th, this night, contrary to my expectation, was so prodigiously perplexed with spirits, and tumbled up and down in my tent to that degree, that in the morning my flesh was like a mummy; and the person, that I was formerly acquainted with, spoke to me several times this night: but I cannot think he would do me any harm, for when he was in this world, we were as great as two own brothers. He was a soldier at Batavia. It is impossible for a man to survive so many misfortunes, I not being able to keep a light; but the saucer that contains it is jumbled about and broke: and if God of his infinite goodness does not help me, I must inevitably perish. I hope this my punishment in this world may suffice for my most heinous crime of making use of my fellow creature to satisfy my lust, whom the Almighty Creator had ordained another sex for. I only desire to live to make an atonement for my sins, which I believe my comrade is damned for. I spent all the day in meditations, and prayers, and eat nothing. My strength decays, and my life is become a great burden to me.

The 21st, in the morning, I lifted up my hands to Heaven, and offered up my prayers, and went to my flag; and in the way looked for provisions to assuage my raging hunger, but found none; so was forced to be satisfied with salted fowls.

The 22d, my water being expended, took my bucket and went for more; but the way was so troublesome and the rocks so sharp to my bare feet, that it took me best part

of the day to bring it home. And in the afternoon I went to the proper place for fowls' eggs, of which I found some: they were speckled like some of our Holland's birds' eggs.

The 23d, looked out for ships, and passed away the rest of the day in prayers.

The 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th, I never neglected looking out for ships, and victuals; then read and prayed, and humbled myself before God, and desired that he would have mercy on me, and deliver me off of this miserable island: and afterwards came and took my bedding, and some other necessaries, and went to the middle of the island, where I fixed a new habitation in a concave place of a rock; it being much nearer the water than the other place. The other day, got two-days' water out of this same place, but now there is not a drop here. I fetched a few eggs, and boiled them in my tea-kettle; then went to the south-side of the island, where there is a large hill of sand, and a hill of rocks where I found some more purslain, and some eggs; which I gathered up, and put in my sack. I fried both together, and eat them with a good appetite. Upon the strand I found a brush, and returned; fearing I should be benighted, and so not be able to find my new abode in the rocks. Before I got there, I was almost famished with thirst, and my skin blistered with the violent heat of the sun.

The 29th, I went upon the hills; and to no purpose looked out for ships; and afterwards, walking on the strand, I discovered a piece of wood sticking in the strand, which I at first took for a tree, but when I came to it, I found it was a cross. I embraced it in my arms, and prayed to God Almighty to deliver me! I believe there was a man buried there from some ship. I returned with much trouble to my cave in the rock; and, coming down a hill, my feet were so sore with the rocks, that I thought I should have broke my neck. When I got home, I reposed myself a little; and walked out again, and found a piece of broken glass-bottle. Afterwards, found a deep pit in the sand, which I descended into, thinking there might be water in it. I raked the sand about a foot deeper than it was before, and found some brackish water, so that my trouble was all in vain. Afterwards, as I was rambling up and down, I found some scattered wood, which I made up in a bundle; and, bringing it home to my cave, heard a noise as if there had been copper-smiths at work. Afterwards, I went again to the strand, where I got some greens, and eggs, which I eat with bread, and drank the water I had left in my cave.

The 30th, here has been so much dry weather, to my sorrow, that both at the cave, and the other place, where there used to be water enough, there is now not one drop; and I am as much in want of it, as I have been since my coming to this miserable island.

July the 1st, the water was dried up in every place where I used before to get it, so that I was near dead with thirst.

The 2d, I offered up my prayers to God to deliver me, and that he would preserve me, as he had aforetime done Moses, and the children of Israel, by causing water to flow out of a rock. But, that none of my own endeavours might be wanting, I went to make a diligent search, and in the way saw a matter of fifty goats upon a hill, and afterwards about twenty or thirty more. I pursued them with the utmost of my ability, but they were far too swift for me; and I looked carefully where they were for water, believing that there might be some there; and I found a deep pit, being five or six fathom to the bottom, which I descended, but it was quite dry. I suppose in the rains there is water here, by the goats coming to it now.

The 3d, I prayed earnestly, and afterwards went to look for water. It is a great wonder to me how the goats do to live in the dry seasons, seeing that water is so scarce now. I should have been famished before this time, had it not been for a reserve of about a gallon of water which I had before put up, thinking not to expend it till the last necessity; but now was forced to drink of it, to assuage my extreme thirst. I afterwards went to the strand, but discovered nothing of service to me. Then walked to the country a different way from any I had been yet; and upon a hill saw, I am sure, at least three or four hundred goats great and small, which I ran after; but they were too nimble

for me. It is surprizing to me, seeing that there are so many goats upon the island, that I should discover none before; but I believe they skulk in the rocks, and when the water is dried up, they come abroad for more. I found two gallons of water in a place of a rock.

The 4th, I moved my things from the cave, and went to another part of the island to settle my abode; being sure that there was no water on this side of the island. I prayed to God, and then searched for water, but to no purpose.

The 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, I delayed no time to look for water, unless when I prayed.

The 9th, as I walked upon the strand, I heard again a very dismal noise of cursing and swearing in my own language. During the time of this noise, I never in all my life saw so many fowls together; they looking like a cloud, and intercepting between me and the sky, deprived me of some of its light.

The 10th, I went upon a very steep hill to look for shipping, but saw none. Upon the hill, I found a piece of wood, which I brought down along with me to prop up my new habitation; and coming down again, found another piece, which I brought down likewise.

The 11th, I carried all the wood from my tent into the country, and likewise some of my clothes.

The 12th, nothing remarkable. The 13th, 14th, and 15th, looked for water, but found none. The 16th, found some fowls' eggs, which I brought home and eat: used my water very sparingly. The 17th, nothing. The 18th, as before. The 19th, nothing remarkable. The 20th, nothing worthy of note. The 21st, having no hopes of any thing but perishing, I committed my soul to God, praying that he will have mercy on it! Have now very little hopes of shipping. I boiled some rice and eggs.

The 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st, my heart is so full, that my pen cannot utter it. I now and then find a little water which the goats have left me: I always scoop it up, to the last drop, and use it very sparingly.

August the 1st, 2d, and 3d, I walked out with my bucket in my hand, and found a very little water, which I brought home.

The 4th, I found some water in a hollow place of a rock, and rolled my cask there, and scooped it all out as clean as I could: this rejoiced me very much. I then walked along the strand, and found a piece of a broken oar. Afterwards found three or four short thick pieces of wood like billets, and a little farther saw somewhat like a house; and having before heard that the Portuguese formerly inhabited this island, made me go to it, to see what it was; but found it only a white hollow rock, and in the concavity there were some nails, and broken glass bottles. This was of very little use to me; so took up my bundle of wood and marched home.

The 5th, nothing remarkable.

The 6th, went to my tent on the beach, and saw three or four of the pease and calivances which I before set in the ground were come up, which was at first a great satisfaction to me; but when I looked nearer, found that the vermin had eat all the rest, which soon palled my former joy. I return God Almighty my hearty thanks that he has thus long preserved me.

The 7th, these three months there has not been above half an hour's rain upon the island, and I cannot find a drop of water more upon the whole island than what is now in my cask; and if God Almighty of his great goodness does not send rain to replenish my small stock, I must inevitably perish.

The 8th, 9th, and 10th, searched carefully, but found no water. Have employed myself in praying, and interceding with God, to have mercy on my soul.

The 11th, went to my tent on the strand, and again heard such a terrible noise, as though there had been an hundred copper-smiths at work. I was resolved to go upon the hill to see if I could discover any thing; and saw a cloud of birds, which I believe made the noise that just now surprized me. It was a great satisfaction to me, only to think I was so deceived.

The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, went about every part of the island to look for water; but to my great concern found none: and I gauged my cask that I had, and found there was not above six gallons remaining; which made me boil nothing, and drink very sparingly.

The 18th and 19th, could find no water, and was out late on my search; so that the sun set when I was on the contrary side of the island from my cave, and could not find my way home; so was forced to sleep between two rocks: and there was such a quantity of rats there, that I thought they would have eat me. I wished twenty times that I was on the sand on the beach.

The 20th, not a drop of water to be found. I prayed to God that he would send rain, and I took my spade, and dug a well two fathom deep, but to no purpose. I then looked up to the heavens all round me, to see if I could see if the sky overcast, that might give me some hopes of rain; but all, to my sorrow, was very clear.

The 21st, went rambling about the island with my scoop with me, to look for water; but could not find the least drop, and my water almost gone at home; and was so prodigious dry, that I was forced to make water in my scoop, and drink it, thinking it was better than salt water; being so extreme thirsty, that my lips were glewed together.

22d, after my prayers, went again to look for water, and on the strand I found a turtle, which I killed, and drank near a gallon of his blood. I took some of its eggs and fat, and fried them. Its blood, and my own water, did not contribute much to abating of my thirst: for all I had drank near a gallon of the turtle's blood, was forced again to drink my own water.

The 23d, no hopes of finding any water, and I took some of the blood of the turtle, which I killed yesterday, after it had settled all night, and my own water together, and boiled with some tea in it. It was somewhat better than raw blood. At four in the afternoon, all the fresh water that I had left in the world I put in my tea-kettle, to bring it down to my tent: shall be forced to live there now, to be near the turtles, having nothing else to subsist on. But was taken so violently with the flux, drinking the turtle's blood, that I could not walk three steps. I cannot say but I was glad of it; hoping that it will put an end to my misery and days at once. With a great deal of trouble I got to my tent by dark.

The 24th, I was still much troubled with the flux; but was forced to bottle some tea, of the former ingredients.

The 25th, I was so dry and sick together, that I drank my very last water; being but a pint. Afterwards I went to look for fowls' eggs, to see if they would quench my extreme thirst.

The 26th and 27th, I thought of little else but death, and prayed earnestly for an admittance to heaven. The fowls' eggs had no effect, so was forced again to boil tea of my urine and settled blood; there being plenty of turtles on the island.

The 28th, at three in the morning, went out to catch a turtle, and found one, which I killed with my hatchet, and filled a bucket with his blood: he had likewise a great deal of water in his bladder, which I drank all out, and was much better than his blood; but it soon rose in my stomach, and I cast it up again. I cut off some of its flesh, and carried it to my tent. Afterwards, being very dry, I boiled some tea; but, my stomach being weak, it required somewhat more nourishing; and this was very bitter, and I soon brought it up again. I boiled some more, and let it stand.

The 29th, I could not sleep all night, being so dry; and my head grows dizzy, that I thought I should have run mad. I went again and searched in all the pits, but found them dry; the deepest of them I dug seven feet deeper, but at last found no moisture.

The 30th, I prayed very earnestly most part of the day, and then laid down in my tent, and wished that it would rain, or that I should die before I rose. In the afternoon got out of my tent, but was so weak that I could not walk. I was forced to take some of the eggs of the turtle, that I killed two days past, (not finding one now,) and eat of them. The flesh stunk, but the eggs did not; my head was swelled, and so dizzy, that I

knew not what I did. But I was in such agony with thirst, that it is impossible for any body to express it. I could not see any turtles, so caught five boobies, and drank the blood of them.

August 1st, I was walking, or (more properly speaking) crawling on the sand; for I could not walk three steps together. I saw a living turtle. I was not able to carry my bucket, but cut off his head with my razor, and lay all along and sucked his blood as it run out; and afterwards got my hand into him, and got out the bladder, which I carried home with me, and put the water out into my kettle. Afterwards I took my hatchet, and went to cut him up, to get its eggs; and in cutting the shell broke the helve of it. This was still an addition to my misfortunes; but I got out some of its eggs, and carried them home, and fried them, and afterwards drank some boiled piss mixed with tea; which, though it was so very nauseous, revived me much. I made a virtue of necessity, and in my deplorable condition thought it good.

September 1st, I killed another turtle, but never was any poor creature so mangled; having broke my hatchet, and raking among his entrails, broke the gall, which made the blood so bitter, that after I had boiled it, I could hardly drink it; but was forced to get it down. I thought of nothing but the other world, and soon brought up again what I had before drank; and was so extreme dry, that I drank a quart of salt water, but could not contain it. I was so very ill after it, that I expected immediate death, and prepared myself in the best manner I could for it; and I hope the Lord will have mercy on my soul! After it was dark, I saw a turtle crawling towards my tent, which I killed, and drank about two quarts of his blood: all the rest that I could catch I reserved, and then endeavoured to go to sleep.

The 3d, all the day was employed in fixing a helve to my hatchet. I was somewhat better than yesterday, and lived upon the turtle that I killed last night.

The 4th, drank the last of the blood, which was well settled, and a little sour. The 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, I lived upon turtles' blood and eggs: but my strength decays so, that it will be impossible I should live long. I resign myself wholly to Providence; being hardly able to kill a turtle. The 9th, 10th, and 11th, I am so much decayed, that I am a perfect skeleton; and cannot write the particulars, my hand shakes so. The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, lived as before. I am in a declining condition. The 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th. October the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, all as before.

The 7th, my wood is all gone; so that I am forced to eat raw flesh and salted fowls. I cannot live long; and I hope the Lord will have mercy on my soul! The 8th, drank my own urine, and eat raw flesh.

The 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, all as before.

A true Narrative of the Occasions and Causes of the late Lord General Cromwell's Anger and Indignation against Lieutenant-Colonel George Joyce¹ (sometimes Cornet Joyce, who secured the King at Holmby); and his Proceedings against him to cashier him from the Army, and imprison and destroy him in his Estate.

[Folio; containing four pages.]

A LITTLE after the king was brought into the custody or quarters of the army, notice was taken, that Cromwell lifted up his hands in the parliament, and called God, angels, and men to witness, "that he knew nothing of Joyce's going for the king."

Thereupon, Joyce asked the said general Cromwell, "What made him to speak such words?" And, whether he intended to do as the king had done before him, *viz.* swear and lye? and bid him mark, what would be the end of such things: cautioning him to take heed and beware of such actions. But he slighted those warnings; and soon after flattered the said Joyce again with tears of seeming repentance.

The next occasion of difference, between the said Joyce and Cromwell, was concerning the marquis of Argyle's carriage in Scotland; at which time, speaking plainly to him, according unto his own exhortations; putting him in mind of former neglects of his. He immediately fell into a violent fit of passion against the said Joyce; and laying his hand upon his sword, uttered many threats against him, in the presence of captain John Vernon, and one more.

Not long after this, the said Joyce, with some other officers, went with a petition to St. Albans, to general Fairfax, for justice against capital offenders; and from thence was sent to Pomfret leaguer, with a letter and message from our general and army, to know whether that brigade under Cromwell would join with us. And, while he was waiting for an answer, Cromwell took an occasion to fall out with him, and in a railing manner called him "rascal," many times; and with great threats said, that he would make him write a vindication of him, against a book, intitled, 'The Grand Design discovered.' Wherein were many things declared concerning Cromwell's carriage towards Joyce, before he went to Holmby for the king; which afterwards he called God to witness, he knew nothing of. And, had it not been for colonel Dean and others, who (through the mercy of God) prevented him, he had in all probability done him mischief at the same time.

Not long after this, the parliament was to be purged; which the said Joyce protesting against, was by the said Cromwell threatened to be destroyed. But it came to such a height at last, that the parliament must be dissolved forthwith; against which, the said Joyce protested, and gave his reasons for it, *viz.* First, he feared he designed to be king by it. Secondly, that, if he dissolved the parliament, there would be no legal way to raise money for the army; which would be a means to take off the affections of all the parliament's friends: desiring therefore, it might not be dissolved, until they had by our means introduced a more righteous and equal government, which, in our declarations and remonstrances, they had held forth. Then was a certain select company of men to be sent for out of several counties: the said Joyce protested against that likewise, still telling him,

¹ [Anth. Wood's account of cornet Joyce is not very favourable. Ath. Oxon. ii. 82.]

that he intended by them to make himself king. At which, he was extremely angry with him, and in a great rage.

After this, about the year 1650, one Mr. Henry Philpott, being chief ranger of Finckley-park in Hampshire, by a patent from the late king; the said park, for the delinquency of the said Philpott, was sequestered: by which means, it came into the hands of the lord Delawar, who never accounted to the commonwealth, for one penny of the profits. Whereupon, one Mr. Villers Philpott, kinsman to the former, desired him, that inasmuch as his cousin was beyond seas, that he would get the said park into his possession; and he would engage, that his kinsman, upon his coming over, should do this commonwealth very signal services, and such as few, besides himself, were able to perform. To the latter he very readily hearkened, and thereupon procured Mr. Henry Philpott to come over; which he accordingly did, and gave so good an account of affairs abroad, that it came not short of his kinsman's word, nor his expectation. But for the former he was altogether unwilling, and offered him divers reasons against it, although his kinsman, upon his coming over, had made him several proffers, of assigning all his interest in the said park unto him; which he as often refused. Notwithstanding which, he was continually importuned by both; but, nothing prevailing, they desired him to offer it to some friend of his, and alleged this, that it were indifferent to them, whoever had it, so it were out of the hands of him that then enjoyed it. But he being as much to seek in this, as unwilling in the former; they earnestly entreated him, in regard of his more than ordinary knowledge (as they would persuade him he had) of the lord-general Cromwell, that he would prevail with him, or one of his sons, to take it into their hands: which, after some time and persuasion, he brought to this issue; that, upon the assignment of Mr. Philpott, and the resignation of the lord Delawar, Mr. Richard Cromwell desired to take it; all which being accordingly done, he was possessed of it, and hath ever since enjoyed it. But, farther, there was this agreement between Mr. Richard Cromwell, Mr. Philpott, and himself, that if ever the said park were exposed to sale, that he should have the sole right of purchasing it, before either of them two. In order to which, he bought up all the arrears of Portsmouth, Hampton, and the better part of the Isle of Wight, at seven shillings and sixpence *per* pound; deeming himself obliged in conscience to allow the soldiers, who had equally ventured their lives with himself, a more proportionable rate than the common prices of one shilling, or one shilling and sixpence *per* pound.

After this, the parliament made an act for the sale of the king's lands; of which, the park aforesaid being parcel, it was amongst others surveyed, and exposed to sale. He having notice of it, by the consent of the lord Richard, went to the committee, and, informing them of the matter at large, they ordered, that a stop should be put to sale of the said park, for the present, and that, whenever it was to be sold, himself should have the pre-emption; giving this for the reason of their order, that he had deserved better than so small a courtesy; by which means, the lord Richard enjoyed the said park between four or five years longer; his debentures, all that while, lying dead upon his hands.

By this time (the greatest part, if not all the king's lands being sold,) comes in one captain Urland, and pretends a discovery of the said park: whereupon, the committee forgetting, or, at least, taking no notice of the former passages, order a new survey; which being returned, and the park upon sale, he went to him, then called lord Richard (Cromwell, his father, having interrupted this parliament), and desired to know of him, whether he would let the park go so, or whether he had forgot our former agreement? His answer was, No, he had not forgot it; but for the park, he would not meddle with it; and therefore bade him do in it what he would. Whereupon he pressed it to him, how convenient it lay for his estate, and therefore, if he pleased, he would purchase it; and he should have the whole, or half, at the same rate it cost him. To which he said, he wanted money. He replied, "Let not that trouble you, I will purchase the whole, and trust you for one half, till you are able to pay me; but, before we proceed farther, I will acquaint your father." Which being accordingly done; and he having shewn him a particular of other lands, that were likewise upon sale, and offered him his choice; he took me in his arms,

and told me, that himself, his son, and family were more beholden to me, than all the world besides; and therefore bade me go on and prosper.

Upon this, he went the next morning about it; and, there being a full committee, he was just upon the point of contracting for the said park; when on a sudden in came the lord Richard, (his father then overtopping all in power,) with three lawyers with him; and required them to proceed no further in it, in regard it was his own inheritance, and no park, as was supposed. Whereupon he informed the committee of the whole discourse, that passed between the general, his son, and himself the night before; upon which, he fell upon him in foul words, saying, "Sirrah, sirrah, hold your tongue, or I shall make you repent the time you were born;" which the committee perceiving, they desired us to withdraw; and since that time never durst meddle with the park any farther. Hereupon, the anger of the father and son waxed hot against the said lieutenant-colonel Joyce.

Upon this, and also upon the said lieutenant-colonel's bearing testimony in the public meetings of the officers against the army's apostasy at that time, who were then concurring to make the said lord-general lord-protector, endeavours were used to ruin him; and to that purpose his lieutenant (who had before given information against the lieutenant-colonel, but could make nothing of it, as the commissioners, who had been appointed to examine the matters alleged, had signified to the general,) was sent for from Portland, by general Cromwell, and by him encouraged to prosecute his lieutenant-colonel again; and, contrary to the course and custom of the army, privately appointed about nine officers, such as he could then trust in such an affair; viz. colonel Whaly, colonel G., colonel Gravener, lieutenant-colonel White, and lieutenant-colonel Worsley, &c. to take the lieutenant's information against him; and they (having no power thereunto) took his deposition against the lieutenant-colonel, who falsely swore; that he should hear the lieutenant-colonel say (in a discourse in Portland, about the death of Lockyer), that he was sorry, that Lockyer had not pistoled Cromwell; and thereupon sent him to prison without bail, and order was given, that he should be kept close prisoner. So he was carried away with musqueteers to the Meuse, and put into a close chamber within the common Dutch prison, where the lice creeped up very thick, and where he was forced to continue above ten days. After great importunity, he obtained a remove to another chamber in the Meuse, where he fell sick with the filthy smells, and other inconveniencies, and continued ten weeks; but was often sent to by Oliver Cromwell, to lay down his commission, which he absolutely refused to do; declaring to all, how unworthily he was dealt with, and that what was sworn against him was false, and that it would at last appear to the view of the whole world; and, when they should understand what was the design, they would marvel. And, when he could not be persuaded out of his commission, articles were drawn against him; and by the false and double swearing, and prosecution of his lieutenant, (so encouraged as aforesaid, and the officers privately instructed by their general,) he was outed and cashiered; though the lieutenant-colonel was, in his own conscience, clear of any crime or offence, punishable by any law, or deserving such usage.

After this, the said lieutenant moved the general, then called 'Protector,' for his promised preferment, and his charges, in prosecution; but he answered him in these words: "You have not dealt, like a Christian, with your lieutenant-colonel Joyce. To which the lieutenant replied, that he had done nothing, but what he had commanded him, and persuaded him into, upon hopes of preferment." Whereupon, the general thrust him out of his chamber, and bade him go like a knave as he was.

This was the case; but the effects of it were more considerable, as to the ruin of his estate: for, before he was in prison, he had made large contracts, and paid many pounds in part; by which means, he was indebted greatly to private persons, who (as soon as they heard he was in prison) came so thick upon him, that to satisfy them, he was forced to sell at such under-rates, or else relinquish his bargain; that he lost above three-thousand pounds in money, and five-hundred pounds *per annum*, in lands: and he pays interest at present for twelve-hundred pounds, and he owes the commonwealth sixteen-hun-

dred and odd pounds, in money and bills, for the estate he now lives in; which being part of that which was the lord Craven's, no man can deal in it; there being so many clamours about it.

And now, that he hath declared to your honours both his case and sufferings, he knows not what he should add more, unless it be to beseech your honours, so to take them into serious consideration, that, being vindicated to the world, he may once again appear to be an honest man, a true servant of his country; or else suffer according to his deserts, if he shall be found the contrary.

*Day-Fatality*¹: Or, Some Observation of Days Lucky and Unlucky; concluding with some Remarks upon the Fourteenth of October, the auspicious Birth-Day of his Royal Highness James Duke of York.

*Atavis qui Regibus editus,
Augustissimo CAROLO proximus.*

NUM. XXVII. 8, 9.

In hoc Die tuo. 'In this thy Day.' LUC. XIX. 42.

Printed in 1679.

[Folio; containing eight pages.]

THAT there be good and evil days and times, not only the sacred Scriptures, but profane authors mention: see 1 Sam. xxv. 8. Esther viii. 17. and ix. 19, 22. Eccclus. xiv. 14.

The fourteenth day of the first month was a memorable and blessed day amongst the children of Israel: see Exod. xii. 18, 40, 41, 42, 51, and xiii. 4. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16. Four-hundred and thirty years being expired of their dwelling in Egypt; even in the self-same day departed they thence.

A thing somewhat parallel to this we read in the Roman histories: that, that very day four years that the civil wars were begun by Pompey the father, Cæsar made an end of them with his sons; Cneus Pompeius being then slain, and it being also the last battle Cæsar was ever in. (Heylin in the Kingdom of Corduba.) The calendar to Ovid's Fastorum says, *Aprilis erat mensis Græcis auspiciatissimus*, 'a most auspicious month to the Græcians.'

¹ [This whimsical piece has been reprinted by Aubrey, in his still more whimsical 'Miscellanies,' with additions at the end by himself. The name of the author occurs at the conclusion.]

As to evil days and times ; see Amos, v. 13. and vi. 3. Eccles. ix. 12. Psalm xxxvii. 19. Obad. 12. Jer. xlv. 21. And Job hints it, in cursing his birth-day ; chap. iii. ver. 1. to 11. See Weaver, p. 458. the old rhymes deriding the Scots.

Ery in a morneuing,
In an evil tyming,
Went they from Dunbarre.

Horace, lib. ii. Ode 13, cursing the tree that had like to have fallen upon him, says, *Ille nefasto te posuit die* ; intimating, that it was planted in an unlucky day.

The Romans counted February the thirteenth an unlucky day, and therefore then never attempted any business of importance ; for on that day they were overthrown at Allia by the Gauls ; and the Fabii, attacking the city of the Veii, were all slain save one. (Heylin speaking of St. Peter's patrimony.) And see the calendar annexed to Ovid's *Fastorum*, as to the last circumstance.

The Jews counted August the tenth an unfortunate day ; for on that the temple was destroyed by Titus, the son of Vespasian ; on which day also the first temple was consumed with fire by Nebuchadnezzar. [Heylin.] The Treasury of the Times says, the eighth of Loyon (August) the very same day six-hundred seventy-nine years one after another.

And not only among the Romans and Jews, but also among Christians, a like custom of observing such days is used ; especially Childermas or Innocents day. Comines tells us, that Lewis the Eleventh used not to debate any matter ; but accounted it a sign of great misfortune towards him, if any man communed with him of his affairs ; and would be very angry with those about him, if they troubled him in any matter whatsoever upon this day.

But I will descend to more particular instances of lucky and unlucky days.

Upon the sixth of April, Alexander the Great was born : upon the same day he conquered Darius, won a great victory at sea, and died the same day.

Neither was this day less fortunate to his father Philip ; for on the same he took Potidea : Parmenio, his general, gave a great overthrow to the Illyrians ; and his horse was victor at the Olympick Games. Therefore his prophets foretold to him, *Filium cujus natalis*, &c. That a son, whose birth-day was accompanied with three victories, should prove invincible. *Pezelius in Mellificio Historico*.

Upon the thirtieth of September, Pompey the Great was born : upon that day he triumphed for his Asian conquest ; and on that day died.

The nineteenth of August was the day of Augustus's adoption. On the same day he began his consulship : he conquered the triumviri ; and on the same day he died. Hitherto out of the Memoirs of King Charles the First's Heroes.

If Solomon count the day of one's death better than the day of one's birth, there can be no objection why that also may not be numbered amongst one's remarkable and happy days. And therefore I will insert here, that the eleventh of February was the noted day of Elizabeth, wife to Henry the Seventh, who was born and died that day. Weaver, p. 476. Brook, in Henry the Seventh's Marriage. Stowe, in *Anno* 1466. 1503.

As also that the twenty-third of November was the observable day of Francis duke of Luxemburgh, who was born on that day, and died upon the same, 1549 ; as says the French author of the ' Journal History ;' who adds, upon particular remark, and observable curiosity :

Ipsa dies vitam contulit, ipsa necem.
' The same day life did give,
And made him cease to live.'

Sir Kenelm Digby, that renowned knight, great linguist, and magazine of arts, was born and died on the eleventh of June ; and also fought fortunately at Scanderoon the

same day. Hear his epitaph, composed by Mr. Farrar, and recited in the aforesaid Memoirs:

Under this stone the matchless Digby lies,
Digby the great, the valiant, and the wise:
This age's wonder, for his noble parts;
Skill'd in six tongues, and learn'd in all the arts.
Born on the day he dy'd, th' eleventh of June,
On which he bravely fought at Scanderoon:
'Tis rare, that one and self-same day should be
His day of birth, of death, of victory.

I had a maternal uncle, that died the third of March last, 1678, which was the anniversary of his birth: and, which is a truth exceeding strange, many years ago he foretold the day of his death to be that of his birth; and he also averred the same but about a week before his departure. This third of March is the day of St. Eutropius, (of which hereafter;) and, as to my uncle, it was significative; it turned well to him, according to that of Rev. xiv. 13. 'Blessed are the dead,' &c. and that of Ovid, *Metam. lib. iii.*

—————*Dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.*

————— 'None happy call
Before their death and final funeral.'

The sixth of January was five times auspicious to Charles duke of Anjou. *Ibid.* in the Life of the Earl of Sunderland.

The twenty-fourth of February was happy to Charles the Fifth four times. *Ibid.* Heylin, speaking of the temple of Jerusalem, hints three of these four: his birth; his taking of Francis king of France prisoner; his receiving the imperial crown at Bononia. And so doth also the 'Journal History' before-mentioned.

Of the family of the Trevors six successive principal branches have been born the sixth of July. Same Memoirs.

Sir Humphrey Davenport was born the seventh of July; and, on that day's anniversary, his father and mother died, within a quarter of an hour one of another. Same Memoirs.

I have seen an old Romish MS. prayer-book (and shewed the same to that general scholar and great astrologer, E. Ashmole, esq.) at the beginning whereof was a calendar, wherein were inserted the unlucky days of each month, set out in verse. I will recite them just as they are, sometimes infringing the rule of grammar, sometimes of prosodia; a matter, of which the old monkish rhymers were no ways scrupulous. It was as ancient as Henry the Sixth's, or Edward the Fourth's time:

January.
Prima dies mensis, & septima, truncat ut ensis.
February.
Quarta subit mortem, prosternit tertia fortem.
March.
Primus mandentem, disrumpit quarta bibentem.
April.
Denus & undenus est mortis vulnere plenus.
May.
Tertius occidit, & septimus ora² relidit.
June.
Denus pallescit, quindenus fœdera nescit.

² *Ex re & lædo.*

July.

Ter-decimus mactat, Julii denus labefactat.

August.

Prima necat fortem, prosternit secunda cohortem.

September.

Tertia Septembris, & denus, fert mala membris.

October.

Tertius & denus est sicut mors alienus.

November.

Scorpius est quintus, & tertius è nece cinctus.

December.

Septimus exanguis, virosus denus & anguis.

The tenth verse is intolerable, and might be mended thus :

Tertia cum dena fit sicut mors aliena.

If any object, and say, *deni* is only the plural ; I excuse myself by that admirable chronogram upon king Charles the martyr :

*Ter deno, Jani, lunæ, rex (sole cadente)**Carolus exutus solio, sceptroque secure.*

Neither will I have recourse for refuge to that old tetrastich,

*Intrat Avaloniam duodena caterva virorum,**Flos Arimathie Joseph, &c.*

because I have even now blamed the liberty of the ancient rhymers.

He means, by *mors aliena*, some strange kind of death ; though *aliena* signifies *strange*, in quite another sense than there used.

I shall take particular notice here of the third of November ; both because it is my own birth-day, and also for that I have observed some remarkable accidents to have happened thereupon.

Constantius the emperor, son of Constantine the Great, little inferior to his father, a worthy warrior, and good man, died the third of November. *Ex veteri Calendario penès me.*

Thomas Mountacute, earl of Salisbury, that great man, and famous commander *sub Hen. IV. V. & VI.* died this day, by a wound of cannon-shot he received at the siege of Orleans. *E MS. quodam & Glovero.*

So also cardinal Borromeo, famous for his sanctity of life, and therefore canonized, (Heylin, in his *Præcognita*, says, ‘ He made Milan memorable, by his residence there’) died this day, 1584 ; as Possevinus, in his *Life*.

Sir John Perrot (Stowe corruptly calls him Parrat) a man very remarkable in his time, lord-deputy of Ireland, son to Henry the Eighth, and extremely like him, died in the Tower, the third of November, 1592 : as Stowe says, grief, and the fatality of this day, killed him. See Naunton’s *Fragmenta Regalia*, concerning this man.

Stowe, in his *Annals*, says ; (*Anno 1099,*) Novemb. 3. as well in Scotland as England, the sea broke in, over the banks of many rivers, drowning divers towns, and much people, with an innumerable number of oxen and sheep ; at which time, the lands in Kent, some time belonging to earl Goodwin, were covered with sands, and drowned ; and, to this day, are called ‘ Goodwin’s Sands.’

I had an estate left me in Kent, of which between thirty and forty acres were marsh-land, very conveniently flanking its upland ; and, in those days, this marsh-land was usually let for four nobles an acre. My father died in 1643. Within a year and a half after his decease, such charges and water-scots came upon this marsh-land, by the influence of the sea, that it was never worth one farthing to me, but very often eat into the rents of the upland ; so that I often think, this day, being my birth-day, hath the same evil in-

fluence upon me, that it had five-hundred and eighty years since upon earl Goodwin, and others concerned in low lands.

The parliament, so fatal to Rome's concerns here, in Henry the Eighth's time, begun the third of November, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign ; in which the pope, with all his authority, was clean banished the realm, he no more to be called otherwise than ' Bishop of Rome ;' the king to be taken and reputed as supreme head of the church of England, having full authority to reform all errors, heresies, and abuses of the same ; also the first-fruits and tenths of all spiritual promotions and dignities were granted to the king. See Stowe's Annals, and Weaver, pag. 80.

Not long after which, followed the visitation of abbies, priories, and nunneries ; and, after that, their final suppression ; this parliament being the door of entrance thereto.

The third of November, 1640, began that parliament, so direfully fatal to England in its peace, its wealth, its religion, its gentry, nobility, nay, its king ; so verifying the former verse of the calendar :

Scorpius est quintus, & tertius è nece cinctus.

' A killing day to some or other.'

The third of September was a remarkable day to the English Attila, Oliver ; in 1650, he obtained a memorable victory at Dunbar ; another at Worcester, 1651 ; and on that day he died, 1658.

The first two occurrences wonderfully accord to the preceding verse,

Tertia Septembris, & denus, fert mala membris.

being fatal to the two members of Great-Britain, Scotland and England. The third was as happy to them both, as the same day, 1666, was dismal and unhappy to the city of London, and consequently to the whole kingdom, with its immediately preceding and two succeeding days, viz. the second, fourth, and fifth of September.

I come now to days of the week.

Tuesday (*dies Martis*) was a most remarkable day with Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury ; as Weaver, 201, observes from Matthew Paris : *Mars, secundum poetas, deus belli nuncupatur. Vita Sancti Thomæ (secundum illud Job, ' Vita hominis militia est super terram') tota fuit contra hostem bellicosa ; &c.* ' Mars, according to the poets, is called ' the god of war. The life of St. Thomas (according to that of Job, ' The life of man ' is a warfare upon earth') was a continual conflict against the enemy.' Upon the Tuesday he suffered ; upon Tuesday he was translated ; upon Tuesday the peers of the land sat against him at Northampton ; upon Tuesday he was banished ; upon Tuesday the Lord appeared to him, at Pontiniac, saying, ' Thomas, Thomas, my church shall be ' glorified in thy blood ;' upon Tuesday he returned from exile ; upon Tuesday he got the palm or reward of martyrdom ; and upon Tuesday, 1220, his venerable body received the glory and renown of translation, fifty years after his passion. Thus my authors.

' One thing I make bold to gloss upon : his translation is mentioned twice. Note, this ' is no tautology of the historian ; but the latter paragraph is a more particular recitation of the first, viz. in reference to the time when he was translated into the ' number of saints and martyrs : *quando in divorum numerum relatus ;*' as Camden phrases it.

Wednesday is said to have been the fortunate day of Sixtus Quintus, that pope of renowned merit, that did so great and excellent things in the time of his government. (See ' The just Weight of the scarlet Robe ;' pag. 101, his deserved praises.) On a Wednesday he was born ; on that day he was made monk ; on the same day he was made general of his order ; on that also was he successively created cardinal, elected pope, and also inaugurated. See Heylin, speaking of the temple of Jerusalem.

Friday was observed to be very fortunate to the great and renowned captain Gonsalvo ; he having on that day given the French many memorable defeats.

Saturday was a lucky day to Henry the Seventh. Upon that day he atchieved the victory upon Richard the Third, being August 22, 1485. On that day he entered the city, being August 29. (Correct Stowe, who mistakes the day.) And he himself always acknowledged, he had experienced it fortunate. See Bacon, in his Life.

Thursday was a fatal day to Henry the Eighth, (as Stowe, 812,) and so also to his posterity. He died on Thursday, January 28. King Edward the Sixth, on Thursday, July 6. Queen Mary, on Thursday, November 17. Queen Elizabeth, on Thursday, March 24.

Saturday, or the Jewish sabbath, was fatal to Jerusalem-temple; for on that day it was taken by Pompey, Herod, and Titus, successively. Heylin.

Hitherto by way of prologue. And be pleased to take notice, as to the days of the month, I have taken such care, that all are according to the Julian, or old account, used by us here in England. (See Partridge's Almanack, Preface to the Reader.) Pope Gregory the Thirteenth brought in his New Stile, used generally beyond sea, anno 1585, in October; as asserts the 'Journal History,' before recited.

Now for Epilogue, and remarkable Reflexions.

Turning over our annals, I chanced upon a two-fold circumstance: I will not say, that none else hath observed the same; but I protest, (*ita me Deus amet, ut verum loquor,*) I do not know of any that have; and therefore must justly claim to be acquitted from the least suspicion of plagiarism, or plowing with others' heifers.

The first is, of William the Conqueror. The second, of Edward the Third. (I need not say any thing of the eminency of these two; every one knows what great things they did.) And making reflexion upon the auspicious birth-day of his royal highness, the duke of York, I adventured upon the following composure. I cannot be proud of my poetry; but I cannot but be glad of my *bon heur, d'avoir, en lisant, tombé si fortuitement sur les événements d'un si bon jour.*

Ad Illustrissimum & Celsissimum Principem, Jacobum Ducem Eboracensem, de Natali suo auspicatissimo, Octobris 14. Anno MDCXXXIII.

—Deus

Anne nefasto te posuit die?

Hor. lib. ii. Od. 13.

—'The Fates have they,
Thy birth design'd on an unlucky day?'

*OCTOBRI decimo-quarto Normannus Haroldum
Dux superavit, & hinc regia sceptrum tulit.
Tertius Edwardus, capto pernicio Caeto,
(Gallica quo regna sunt reserata sibi)
Ire domum tentans, diris turbonibus actus
In pelago, vitæ magna pericula subit:
Octobris decimo-quarto, tamen appulit oras
Nativas. (His quàm prosperus ille dies?)
Natali letare tuo, quam maximè princeps;
Fausta velut sunt hæc, omina semper habe.*

'OCTOBER'S fourteenth gave the Norman duke
'That vict'ry, whence he England's scepter took.
'Third Edward, after he had Calais won,
'(The mean whereby he France did overrun)

- ‘ Returning home, by raging tempests tost,
- ‘ (And near his life, so fortunes, to have lost)
- ‘ Arrived safe on shore, the self-same date :
- ‘ (This day to them afforded so fair fate.)
- ‘ Great duke, rejoice in this your day of birth ;
- ‘ And may such omens still increase your mirth.’

These verses I presented, *in anno* 1677, to a most honourable peer of the land, and of great place near his royal highness. Since which time, old Fabian coming into my hands, from him I got knowledge, that that advantageous peace, mentioned by Stowe, *anno* 1360, (concluded between the forementioned king Edward the Third and the French king) was acted upon the fourteenth of October, with grand solemnity.

The two former circumstances must needs fall out providentially. Whether this last, of *anno* 1360, was designed by Edward the Third, or no, (as remembering his good hap) may be some question : I am of opinion, not. Where things are under a man’s peculiar concern, he may fix a time ; but here was the French king concerned, equally with the English, and many other great personages interested : to have tied them up to his own auspicious conceit of the day, had been an unkind oppression, and would have brought the judgment of so wise a prince into question. We may conclude then, it was merely fortuitous. And therefore to the former observation, concerning this famous Edward, give me leave to add,

*Insuper hoc ipsoque die, sibi commoda, grandis
Rex cum Galligenis, fœdera fecit idem.*

- ‘ An advantageous peace, on day self-same,
- ‘ This mighty prince did with the Frenchmen frame.’

A memorable peace, foretold by Nostradamus, much conducing to the saving of Christian blood, was made upon the fourteenth of October, 1557, between pope Paul the Fourth, Henry the Second of France, and Philip the Second of Spain. Nostradamus says, These great princes were, *frappez du Ciel*, ‘ moved from Heaven,’ to make this peace. See Garencieres’s Comment on Nostradamus, pag. 76.

A lucky day this, not only to the princes of England, but auspicious to the welfare of Europe.

Upon the third of March last, being the day of St. Eutropius, his royal highness withdrew towards the Low-Countries : Procopius tells us, *Humana sæpè contingit à Deo mutari*. Terence says, *Vicissitudo omnium rerum est*. Which two sayings I can no way better English, than by that of Eccles. ix. 11. ‘ Time and chance happen to all men :’ nor no way better second, than with that of 1 Cor. iv. 11. *Incertis vagamur sedibus*. This accident therefore, our life being but a pilgrimage, (as Jacob termed it to Pharaoh,) is nothing to a general Providence in the main. Therefore from the augury of his fourteenth of October, and from the good omen comprehended in the signification of Eutropius, which hints, that all this shall end well, and turn to the best ; and from Eccles. xiv. 14, 15. I accost his royal highness with a *Non defraudabitur à diebono*. He shall not lose his good-day.

*Dixerunt ibis, pariter dixere redibis ;
Te non infausto Dii posuere die.*

- ‘ The Gods thy exit have ordain’d, and also they
- ‘ Thy bless’d return have firm’d, born on a lucky day.’

I just now said, that the third of March was dedicated to Eutropius, which is derived from *eu* well, and *τρέπω* to turn : it is also dedicated to St. Maximus, St. Marinus, St. Lucius ; which three also have notable hints in relation to his royal highness.

First, No man can deny, but that he is *Maximus princeps*.

Secondly, he is *maximus Marinus* ; for in the time of his exile, he was admiral of Ar-

ragon, as I have been told many years since in Flanders; and I am sure very many commissions, in those days, passed under his name: and till 1673, he was lord high-admiral of England.

Lúcius comes from *luci*, which signifies 'in the morning;' and betokens a child born in the morning, or at sun-rising, which some affirm to be a good time for birth: but I will, for my present purpose, deduce it à *luceo*; and I must affirm, *Quod hic maximus princeps gestis marinis maximè lucet, & aliàs lucebit*: This most great prince is extremely illustrious in sea-negotiations, and shall yet be otherwise most illustrious.

That his highness has long since verified the first paragraph of my assertion, take it not only on my credit; but besides what has been said before, hear part of an ode to his sacred majesty, on his highness's victory over the Dutch, June 3, 1665, composed by sir T. H.³ a most worthy person, whom his foreign negotiations have made enough known:

This day your empire fate secures,
And now one half of the whole world is yours.
The Austrian youth, who won the day,
When the pale crescent to the cross gave way,
Must to your glorious brother yield,
Who with less loss hath got a greater field; &c.

The Germans, High and Low, amongst which last, his highness now resides, call October, Wyn-maendt, *Mensis Vindemialis*, 'the Wine-month.'

The effects of wine we read; Judg. ix. 13. Psal. civ. 15. Eccles. x. 19. Zach. x. 7. Why then may we not term this month, *mensis letificans*? That it may be so to his royal highness, as well as it was to the most great queen his mother, are the hearty prayers of Blue-mantle.

————— *Hæc olim meminisse juvabit* :
Unanimes omnes, cùm te, dux Celse, reducto,
Certatim instaurent epulas, atque omine magno
Crateres leti statuant & vina coronent.

Virgil.

' Remembrance of these things delight shall thee,
' When, home return'd, great feastings thou shalt see,
' And healthings round shall stir up gladsome glee,
' And this rejoicing general shall be.'

I have by me a book, printed anno 1641, containing the true effigies of king Charles the First, of blessed memory, his queen, with their royal progeny, with verses annexed, wherein are notable predictions of his royal highness, which I will here recite:

This prince, much like another sun, darts forth
Most glorious beams to's dukedom, and the North;
And makes us see with eyes of expectation,
He'll be a mighty pillar to this nation,
A stay of state, a strong supporting prop,
Whose fame will scale the height of honour's top.
He hates dull idleness, and loves to be
In action such as fits his high degree:
He will be stirring in such exercise,
As well becomes his years and qualities.

³ [Sir Thomas Higgons; who married the widow of Robert earl of Essex, and delivered a very interesting oration at her funeral, which Granger has cited with feeling commendation. Sir Thomas was sent envoy-extraordinary to invest the duke of Saxony with the order of the Garter, and resided four years as envoy at the court of Vienna. In 1685 he was elected a Burgess for St. Germain's, and (according to Wood) was accounted a loyal and accomplished person, and a great lover of the regular clergy. He died suddenly of an apoplexy in the King's-bench court, where he had been summoned as a witness, Nov. 1691.]

Surely th' eternal eye of Providence
Doth watch, direct, and guide this hopeful prince.
For some designs may be for Heaven's glory,
And fill the earth, with James's noble story.
This all true Britons do expect in love :
No doubt, our wishes, are confirm'd above.

Thus that book : and I add,

Quis meliora petat, consultus quod tripos edat ?

' Who better things than these can wish
' From the oracles breath of bliss ?'

1678. *Martis mense data hæc, timidi committere prælo
Non impressores audebant, tempore duro.*

J. GIBBON.

An Essay towards carrying on the present War against France,
and other public Occasions : As also, for paying off all Debts
contracted in the same, or otherwise : And new Coining of
all our Monies, without Charge; to the great Increase of
the Honour, Strength, and Wealth of the Nation. Humbly
proposed for the Parliament's Consideration, and submitted
to their great Wisdom, and Love to their Country, &c.

[Octavo ; containing thirty-two pages.]

To which is added an Appendix. [MS.]

SECT. 1.

ABOUT three years since, I humbly proposed, among other things, the new-coining
of all our monies ; and gave these reasons for it : viz.

1. They were generally so bad, as to be refused abroad ; and so were unserviceable in
other countries.

2. The suffering them to pass, gave advantage to the further clipping them, as is mani-
fest in our sad experience, for they are now much worse ; and so unserviceable at home.

3. It was reproachful to us, that it should be suffered to pass ; and, therefore, worthy
consideration and enquiry into the causes of it.

4. It was no otherwise to be prevented or reformed, than by new-coining all ; and then
prohibiting the passing of any clipped money from and after a certain day to be limited,
under the penalty of seizure and sequestration, in whose hands soever the same should
afterwards be found.

SECT. II.

Since which, and as the natural consequence thereof, the value of our gold-coin hath been enhanced to above half as much more as the same was coined at ; the inconveniencies and damages whereof to the nation and trade thereof are, and will be, at least, as great as the clipping of the silver ; and, if not timely prevented, will utterly ruin us in our trade ; and the longer this is suffered, the firmer will the disadvantages be fixed, till the root of all our commerce becomes worm-eaten and cankered, and we lose the sweet fruit thereof for ever.

SECT. III.

In short, the whole nation is almost destitute of monies, not only for the carrying on the war, in or by any ordinary course of procedure, but for our home-markets ; and taken off from trade abroad, as by means hereof, so, partly by their losses at sea, partly by the more advantageous proposals for lending or laying out their monies on the lotteries, and other ways and means found out, and pitched upon, by the late parliament, for carrying on the war : and, lastly, by the high exchange of monies abroad for commodities imported hither, and paying our forces there ; who must, otherwise, have had more of our monies sent hence to our further streightening.

Is there any remedy ? *viz.*

Q. First, How shall the silver be new-coined, so as to become a due measure and standard for traffick ?

Q. Secondly, How shall our gold be reduced to its coined value ?

Q. Thirdly, How shall the war be carried on thereby ?

Q. Fourthly, How shall the trade be recovered, so as to preserve our coins, and augment bullion ?

To the first, *viz.* How shall the silver be new-coined, &c.

SECT. IV.

I humbly proposed, that all the clipped monies might be called-in by a certain day to be limited ; that the value in weight might be delivered out again new-coined ; and that the damage accruing, as well to the public as the private persons concerned, by the new coinage thereof, might be good to both ; by issuing so many bills of credit, made current by act of parliament, as would countervail the same, so as there should be no lessening of the nation's stock, and would cost nothing : and to facilitate this, that all unnecessary silver-plate (especially in taverns, inns, ale-houses, and victualling-houses) might be prohibited, called in, coined, and delivered out immediately to such as should bring in the same at five shillings and three-pence *per* ounce, deducting the coinage.

To the second, *viz.* How shall the gold be reduced to its coined value ?

SECT. V.

I humbly propose, that all coined gold may be likewise called in by a certain day, and each piece punched, and delivered back again to the owner, thenceforth to pass but at twenty shillings each guinea ; &c. and that like bills of credit may be also delivered to the parties concerned for ten shillings more upon each guinea ; and so proportionably for other pieces of gold ; &c. And thus both silver and gold become reduced to their coined values, without prejudice, loss, or damage, either to the parties concerned, or to the public stock of the nation. Nobody is injured, but all greatly obliged in thankfulness and loyalty to the king for recommending the care thereof, and to the parliament for their enacting the same ; for thus our home-markets and manufactures will be supplied and carried on, in future, to general satisfaction. And, for preventing as much as may be this additional charge upon guineas, I humbly propose care may be taken, that, from henceforth, no guineas may be coined till this work be over ; and, afterwards, only such as shall be dis-

tinguished from those already coined, by some special mark in the stamp thereof, to be passed at twenty shillings, and no more : which is, also, the reason of propounding that all guineas already coined may be punched ; *viz.* that they may not be twice allowed for.

To the third, *viz.* How shall the war be carried on thereby ?

SECT. VI.

I formerly proposed, 1. That whatsoever taxes or assessments should be thought fit and necessary to be raised or levied for carrying on the present war, and other public charges of the nation, (whether by or upon land, tenements, or hereditaments, poll-monies, or personal estates,) might be paid by the parties so assessed, quarterly, as had been done before, in ready monies, or silver plate, at five shillings and three-pence *per* ounce. This I argued to be necessary upon several accounts : 1. To assist and facilitate the coinage proposed. And 2. For pay of our forces abroad ; though possibly, not needful to be all sent over in specie, but partly remitted by bills of exchange charged by merchants, &c. and partly supplied by the products, manufactures, and provisions that may be sent from England, Scotland, and Ireland, (by which I mean, not only of such things as are needful for the soldiers, or them only, but of others to be transported to our confederate countries, at merchantable rates, instead of monies ; out of the proceed whereof, the soldiers may be paid in the respective monies or coins of such countries,) which would be a means to keep much of our monies amongst us, and afford employment to our own manufactures at home in this dead time of trade, and keep them in peace.

SECT. VII.

2. I also proposed, that every person so assessed, who should voluntarily advance and pay in one full year's tax at one entire payment, to the parish, or county-collector, or receiver, within one month after demand made of the first quarterly payment, might, in lieu thereof, have like bill or bills of credit delivered him, for the re-imbusement of his said full sum paid, and so be out nothing. And,

SECT. VIII.

That in case the party taxed should not comply therewith, if any other person should, within one month after that, pay in the said whole year's tax, and should declare his willingness to accept his repayment thereof quarterly from such taxed party's self, or from the said collector or receiver, when it shall grow due, or be received ; he might, in like manner, receive also half the value thereof in like bills of credit for his encouragement so to do.

SECT. IX.

3. That the like method, rules, and advantages might be allowed, in case the parliament shall annually repeat and pass acts for that purpose, during the continuance of the war, and for carrying on thereof, and not otherwise.

SECT. X.

4. That, in case the sums appointed to be assessed, taxed, and levied, &c. shall not amount to the respective values or sums, at which, they shall be declared by the parliament to be computed or estimated ; (as for example, if four shillings *per* pound, or whatever other proportion, chargeable on lands, shall be so computed and granted to his majesty, for two millions, which, were it duly taxed, no doubt, it would raise ; and, upon the taxing and levying thereof, it shall appear to amount to no more than one million and a half, &c.) whosoever shall voluntarily advance and pay any sum or sums of money or plate, as aforesaid, towards the making up the same, might, for every hundred pounds sterling so paid by him, receive, and have like bills of credit, delivered him to the value of a hundred-and-twenty pounds ; and so proportionably, for any lesser or greater sum, that shall be so paid in and received on that account. On which terms, no doubt, but such sums, as the par-

liament shall think fit to raise, for carrying on the war from year to year, may, and will be raised in money, for that service; as long as there shall be so much money in trade, or hoarded up in the nation, to be had: which is our present consideration and care. And, further than that, is to be over fore-sighted in the present crisis. And if any object, this will reflect on and lower the reputation of our nation abroad; as if we were reduced to so sinking a condition, as not to have money sufficient to carry on the war: and thence, that we cannot hold out, to the length of the French king, &c.

SECT. XI.

I answer, first; Such as so think, will but deceive themselves; and, if they be our enemies, be necessitated to take new measures, for (which they might have observed before) the king will certainly be supplied by this means, with ready monies, as much as he shall need, each year; and that, in the beginning thereof, and by no other way whatsoever, for carrying on the war. For these advantages will bring out all the hoarded best money, which any have culled and laid by against a more cloudy day: if means be used for promoting trade, as is herein-after proposed; otherwise, it will be in vain to conceal our poverty. All the world will see it, whatever taxes shall be laid on the nation, cannot otherwise be paid: so that, if our dependence should be thereon, they must and will fail, for want of a money-stock to pay them: but,

SECT. XII.

Secondly; It is well known, that all nations and persons improve their credit; some banks of credit, as well as monies, for carrying on their respective trades, and occasions, both at home and abroad, without the least reflection of dishonour; and they grow rich thereby, (to which many of our wealthiest men in this city and kingdom must subscribe, who began with little of their own,) and much more may these nations. For,

SECT. XIII.

Thirdly; His majesty and parliament, designing vast improvements, both of wealth and power, for these nations, by their own products and manufactures; (which may be as well done by bills amongst ourselves, as by ready monies,) beyond whatever was in prospect, attempt, or attainment heretofore, by us, or any nation under heaven, by all their or our ready monies: by this medium of bills of credit, added to our money-stock, for the enlargement and increase thereof, to what proportion they please, will be able to carry on the same, *pari passu*, with this expensive war: and thereby become more formidable to our enemies. And, the rather,

SECT. XIV.

For that no other nation will be able to keep pace with, or go to the length of these kingdoms; nor to imitate us considerably, in these undertakings; by reason of our products and manufactures, to so great excess of theirs, &c. which must of necessity bring in great plenty of gold and silver. Nor will they be able to hinder our free trading, during the lasting and continuance of this war, if we be not wanting to ourselves: and, consequently, in an ordinary course of providence, we shall find our enemies disposed, or necessitated, to seek our peace and friendship, when they shall find us disposing ourselves into such a flourishing condition. Which brings on the consideration of the ways and means, next to be treated of, *viz.* under

The fourth question, *viz.* How shall our trade be recovered, so as to preserve our coin, and augment bullion? &c.

SECT. XV.

I answer, first; By the parliament's owning and encouraging the royal fishery company and trade, to the increase of one, two, or three millions, *per annum*, export of that sea-product: which, added to our other products and manufactures, and they also improved

and multiplied as aforesaid, must necessarily produce and bring in great wealth of all kinds: and particularly, plenty of monies, for its balance, from the masters of it in all countries, &c. For, the situation of these islands, being such as may justly challenge to be the emporium or mart of all trade, beyond all others put together; and furnished thereby, at all times, with magazines and stores of all sorts, for war and peace, for ourselves and all our neighbours, must needs be attended with this success (our ports being made free for their importation and exportation after a time to be limited.) And we shall not need to fear the vent of such surplusage of imports, as we shall not use, even for ready monies of all countries, who shall need them: nor shall we have any occasion to send out our monies, to fetch-in like proportion yearly.

SECT. XVI.

Secondly; By taking care, that guards and convoys be always in a readiness to attend, as well our fishing-trade, as our foreign exports and imports. To which purpose, it is humbly proposed, as necessary hereunto, that a select number of ships of war be set apart for that sole use; and be under such conduct and commanders, as may be accountable for their miscarriage, by the neglect of their duty therein. The rising, charge, and paying of which ships may be borne, and provided for, by the bills of credit afore-mentioned; which will cost the nation nothing. And this may be called, in way of distinction, the 'Trading Admiralty,' or 'Fleet volant for Trade;' as the other is the Navy Royal. It may also be done by commissions from his majesty, and be but temporary; viz. whilst his majesty, being engaged in wars abroad, cannot so well, or seasonably, attend the particular consideration of such things, as may encourage and enlarge so great trade of these nations, or addresses cannot be made to him in order thereunto.

If it be said, This seems to lay the whole foundation of our trade and commerce, on bills of credit, which have neither intrinsic value, nor fund.

SECT. XVII.

Admitting that; yet, 1. If we have a sufficiency of these bills in our counting-houses, pocket-books, or letter-cases, uncounterfeitable, made current, as monies, by act of parliament, which will answer all our occasions at home, as well as monies in specie; and particularly may as well be disposed forth at interest on bonds, as ready money in bags: and, consequently, we become as rich in these, for all uses, to which we would employ monies, as now we are; yea, and much more: where, then, lies the force of this objection? For,

SECT. XVIII.

2. It cannot be denied, but that if we were twenty times as rich, in that which will effectually carry on trade and manufactures, pay debts, purchase lands, and manage our markets, amongst ourselves, as now we are, or ever were; we shall be able thereby to multiply and export our manufactures proportionably; and carry on our fishing-trade (the richest golden mine, in the experience of our neighbours; so called by them, for that it infallibly brings them gold in) to far greater value, from the greatest masters of it, than our necessary imports of commodities from other countries need to be, for our home-expenditure: and what is imported more, may be easily shipped off to other countries; as is afore-mentioned. As for example:

SECT. XIX.

3. If we were wont to export cloths, stuffs, lead, tin, iron, monies, bullion, &c. to the value of two millions, yearly; and by the fish we may take, to export one, two, or three millions more, without any monies, &c. The product and balance thereof must be answered to us, in other goods from other countries; or remitted or brought to us in bullion, or ready monies, as it has with our neighbours, to above five millions, *per annum*, on that account; or it must remain in our factors' hands abroad, for supply of our foreign occasions: so our riches will increase, proportionably as the export can be increased, whether

of our own products and manufactures, or other importations; for there will be no occasion for transporting our monies for goods. And it is undeniable, that whatsoever means may be suggested, for furnishing and keeping of monies amongst us, must be fruitless: for there will abide no more with us, than such proportion, as the super-balance of our exports shall amount unto, let what value will be set on our monies, above the current price thereof, here, and in other countries, with whom we deal.

SECT. XX.

4. It is found by experience, that bills are judged so necessary, whether of intrinsic value or not, as that, without them, these kingdoms cannot otherwise subsist, or pay taxes much longer. And they are become so useful and eligible already, as that most men desire them, rather than our present monies. Upon which presumption, since the erecting the Bank of England, banks of credit are multiplied upon men's voluntary undertakings, on various principles or funds, methods and pretensions, also uses and ends; most of them for the private advantages thereof to the undertakers, and without any reference or regard to the supporting the parliamentary funds and credit given by them; or having the least respect to the present exigencies of the publick, or how they shall be provided for next year. By which means, nevertheless, the monies we have, are (for the present) eeked out for our necessary occasions; and both our markets at home, and bills of exchange from abroad, have been supplied and answered. And, if so,

SECT. XXI.

Why may not such bills of credit, as are proposed, be made current, for the service of the publick, by act of parliament; and regulated or kept within bounds by law, for carrying on this necessary war, wherein the king has been engaged by parliament? Particularly, why may not his majesty be supplied with such number and values of them, as added to what present taxes, the condition of the nation will bear to have imposed, upon the terms aforesaid, may complete the sum needful, for carrying on the present war, this next year; and so much longer as that shall continue. And, also, pay off the debts contracted last year, &c. through the deficiency, or falling short of the sums or funds, settled for the same, in the way and manner before proposed?

As touching that part of the objection against the want of a fund for these bills, &c. I answer,

SECT. XXII.

Though some things might be offered, which possibly might silence some objectors; yet the debt, should the war continue, would be so vast, as nothing less than the whole nation can be equivalent; and that can no otherwise be engaged, than by an act of parliament. It cannot be rationally expected, they should expose particular estates of this, or that, or another sort of men, to become liable, exclusive of others: and it is manifest, if the people were ever so willing, they cannot pay down so much money; yet the war must and may be carried on by bills, &c.

If, then, the parliament shall judge it necessary to make use of such bills of credit, and to make them current by law; and for facilitating the new-coining of our present monies, and giving some respite and ease from greater taxes, shall enact, that they shall be, and continue current, until the nation be in a better capacity and condition to pay them off, by laying moderate taxes on all men's estates and persons in general; and shall rather choose to have them so paid off, than to continue: that will be as good a fund as can be expected. For why should they be called in, at any time, to become so burthensome?

First, they will be of such general use and great conveniency, when understood and further experimented, that people will choose to have them, rather than monies in specie; as is found true in fact, amongst ourselves, to the value of many hundreds of thousand pounds, already given out by the aforementioned banks erected. Besides which, they have also been so found and approved of in other places of the world, even where money-banks have

been erected by public authority, *viz.* In Holland, where their bills, or credit in bank, are ordinarily better than monies, by at least three *per cent.* sometimes four, five, and more. In Venice also, where their credit is better, by twenty *per cent.* and was once at above thirty *per cent.* and with much difficulty reduced to twenty *per cent.* where it is fixed to be so. By which means also, that state has answered a debt of above two millions, borrowed of their people, and spent on their public occasions. And all their creditors are so satisfied, as that never will any of them ask a hundred pound, for the hundred the state had of him; being sure of a hundred-and-twenty pounds for the same, from any other hands.

SECT. XXIII.

And if any enquire, What induced that people thus to raise and value their said bills or credit? I answer,

1. The ease of counting, carriage, and preventing damage to the receiver by counterfeit, clipped, and base coin; which is as valuable with us, at this juncture, as is obvious to all.
2. Their safety in travelling, &c. as visible as the other.
3. The advantage that was to be made by the exchange, on the account of such conveniences, &c.

Where then is the necessity or usefulness of a fund, in our case?

SECT. XXIV.

I answer, 1. Some late proceedings, for raising monies, have given a rise for such an expectation. But, there, men parted voluntarily with their estates; whereas, in this case, men have these bills for nothing, and may dispose them to the uses of such trading and manufactures, as may bring in riches to themselves and the whole nation.

2. It is objected, upon a supposition, that some persons (perhaps of those who will be concerned to give a sanction to the matter of these proposals) may imagine, that the bills delivered out must necessarily be called in at one time or other, &c.; whereas such consider not, that the usefulness of these bills will make them current for continuance, and preferable to monies, upon the forementioned accounts; as it hath proved in the two forementioned instances: and if still any doubt, that bills may prove prejudicial in after-times, and that, if any future parliament shall conceive them to be so, they will make them void, &c.

SECT. XXV.

That is thus resolved, *viz.* Instead of prejudicing the nation, they will continue to promote, improve, and carry on our home-trade, manufactures, and fishery, as aforesaid; and thereby answer our expectations as effectually as monies in specie. And, the rather, for that the generality of the people, at their first receiving of them, *viz.* for the reimbursing of their taxes, will be thereby prepared to esteem them, by their property in, and possession of them, in the way and manner before proposed, and become enriched thereby. It will therefore be as far from any parliament to pass a law to make them void, without first paying them off; as to pass an act for taking away all their lands; which their justice, as well as interest, will not suffer them to do. For every parliament-man, and person in the nation, will have a considerable part of their personal estates lie principally in these bills; so that fear is sufficiently removed by interest, which will not lie. But, may not our coin be so raised in denomination, price, or value, as to bring in gold and silver plentifully?

SECT. XXVI.

I answer, It is evident, even to a demonstration, that the inhancing the value of our monies, whether silver or gold, is, and will be, a very great impoverishing of, if not utterly destructive to the nation. For that will unavoidably raise the price of all our foreign exchanges, and work confusion in our trade; and that raises, consequently, the price of all goods, not only foreign but domestic: which, though it may not be any great damage,

possibly, to our retailers thereof, and such as bring to our market, (for they will not sell to loss;) yet, to the body of the rest of the people, the buyers thereof, and the poorer sort especially, *viz.* servants, day-labourers, artificers, seamen, soldiers, &c. it cannot be otherwise: and what a condition then will this bring the nation into?

SECT. XXVII.

Now, that it is, and will be so, I shall give two instances, within his majesty's dominions in America, which occurred to my own observation, whilst I was the unworthy governor of the province of Pensylvania, *viz.* about seven years since.

The one is in New-England, where the government, conceiving they had power by their charter from the king to coin monies, coined shillings of about the value of nine pence sterling, and stamped the same twelve pence. They also raised the value of Spanish pieces of eight, of about seventeen penny-weights, from four shillings and six-pence, to six shillings, which held proportion with their shillings. This they did, upon this vulgar error and misapprehension, that by this inhansing the price of silver, they should both keep their own coin, and bring in and retain other imported monies amongst them. But this, instead of answering their expectation, raised the value of all goods to at least twenty-five *per cent.*: and likewise all their exchanges, whether to or from England, or other parts, proportionably: or, so much more of their monies were carried forth in these species, (though they were sufficiently severe against its exportation) to their disappointment.

The other instance, and more notable, is in Pensylvania; where, though they coined no monies, yet suffering Spanish pieces of eight, of not above eleven or twelve penny-weights, and consequently not above three shillings in value sterling, to pass current at six shillings. And, though the exchange did not rise proportionable, (for they had little or very seldom occasion to return any in trade;) yet this other consequence attended their so doing, *viz.* that such as brought thither any goods or merchandises, needful for that plantation, from England, &c. when any came to contract with them for their goods, they treated them after this manner, *viz.* says the importer, The cargo cost me one-hundred pounds in English ready money, at about five shillings *per* ounce sterling, whereas your money is not half the value: so I must have two-hundred pounds of your money, or I shall be a loser of my first cost: and I cannot take less than fifty pounds sterling *per cent.* for my freight, risk, and profit; which will be one-hundred pounds more of your money. And accordingly receives of the retailer there, three-hundred pounds; who generally raises the price of the same goods to another hundred pounds; whereby the price of the same goods, which cost one-hundred pounds English money, costs the people there four-hundred pounds.

The importer, having received his three-hundred pounds, buys therewith, only, such commodities of the country products, as he needs for his voyage; and carries away the rest in specie; making money, which ought to be the standard of traffick, to be the merchandise; as they must do, who take it at inhansed values, &c. And, thus, three pieces went for one, and their monies decreased proportionably.

The effect whereof was, the generality of the people, (except their shop-keepers, artificers, handicrafts-men, carpenters, bricklayers, labourers, and servants,) grew poorer. And particularly, it had this influence upon the landed men, whether proprietors or farmers; *viz.* that they were forced to give great wages to all these sorts of poor people, especially to ploughmen, carters, &c. *viz.* from twelve pounds, *per annum*, wages, to twenty-seven pounds; besides victuals, &c. And, at this charge, they get a little corn; which, if they spend not all in their own families, they bring, what is left, to the market, and sell that there, at two shillings and six pence, the bushel of wheat; which, in English money, is but fifteen pence, *per* bushel. Which impoverisheth the masters, many of them, to such degree, that, after a while, their servants set up in their steads, on new plantations given them, for their encouragement to plant the country: and their masters children become their servants. All which naturally ensues their inhansing the value of their monies, amongst themselves. For, say their servants, &c. "We must have such wages, or we

cannot live: we can buy nothing we have occasion for, but at four times the rate of what is paid in England." And therefore, whilst we plead, though under the most specious pretences, (having regard barely to the theory and notions of things taken up thence, or from vulgar misapprehensions,) for the inhansing of our silver or gold, to above the par, intrinsic value, and ancient meteyard of traffick, between us and other nations; we are, in truth and reality, steering by the same needle, or common politicks of Pennsylvania; and discern it not. Which will, in time, be alike ruinous to us.

Nor is it any answer to our assertion, to tell us, our servants, &c. need nothing that comes from beyond sea; which may be as truly predicated of ourselves too, could we be contented, with sobriety, to use our own products, and manufactures: for what does that avail? Such do not observe or consider, that the prices, even of our own products and manufactures that are necessary; as well as foreign, that are less necessary; are raised alike upon us all, since our coin hath been at this pass. Nor do such give us any estimate of the height, to which servants, as well as their masters, are grown, since the last act of state for inhansing the value of silver and gold, in their expectations, and deportments. Which yet can no more be reformed, than the nation converted from their atheistical profaneness, and impieties, &c. till their superiors and masters set them better copies to write by.

There is, then, a necessity of putting a stop to the inhansing of our monies. And if any easier, safer, more probable or advantageous means, ways, or methods, of doing it to general satisfaction, than these aforementioned, and humbly proposed, be offered; I shall readily receive my dismiss from this controversy, having offered my poor mite. But, there remains yet one stumbling-block, in the minds of some, who do not duly weigh and consider, that there is no perfection attainable under the sun, &c. It is this, *viz.* The danger of counterfeit bills. Touching which, I shall offer some considerations, *viz.*

I humbly proposed,

1. That the said bills of credit should be printed or impressed on paper, from engraven copper-plates, and gave reasons for it. Which, together with a specimen of such bills, being uncounterfeitable, I shall readily evince, when required.

2. That the said paper should be of a different make and mark from any yet extant in the world.

3. That the indented counter-parts of each bill should be filed up, and kept in a public office, or offices, to be erected for that purpose; in order to the discovery, and preventing of damage thereby, to the publick.

4. That the printing or publishing such bills, to any greater number, value, or proportion, than shall be allowed by act of parliament, though by the persons that shall be thereunto authorized, might be made as penal; as coining or counterfeiting the current monies of the kingdom: or, that the same; and particularly,

5. That the engraving all such plates, and making, having, or keeping undiscovered any such papers, so made and marked, as from time to time shall be made use of upon this occasion: or bringing the like into this kingdom from beyond the seas, by any other person than by order of such as shall be by such act of parliament appointed and authorized thereunto, might be punished with great severity, both corporal and pecuniary, *in terrorem*; *viz.* Being convicted thereof, may be branded in the right-hand, and forehead, or cheek; so, as to be known thereby ever after: and thenceforth kept strictly to the most severe, servile, constant, hard work and labour; enjoined a daily task; and on failure of doing it, have correction at the keeper's or work-master's discretion: never to be pardoned, remitted, or mitigated, but upon the discovery and producing of other his partners, accomplices, associates, or other offenders in like nature, and proving the same. Which, undoubtedly, if pursued, will deter and keep all men, who have the least spark of ingenuity, or humanity, from attempting to counterfeit these bills, if any thing will. And,

6. That, though it is impossible in nature these bills should be so counterfeited, as to deceive the office; or that, in twenty millions of them, printed off from the same copper-plates, any two should agree, (as hath been acknowledged by several engravers and other

counterfeiters of writings, critically skilled in such affairs, and called together for advice in the like case;) yet, that persons abroad may not, in all cases, be so critical, as to discern true bills from false, through the niceties of them. It may be therefore queried, *viz.*

Is there any course to be prescribed, by way of remedy, for avoiding false bills?

I answer, 1. Where the distance is not great, persons may repair to the office, where the counterparts of all true bills remain; and, have them examined as Exchequer-tallies, by applying the counterparts. And, if remote, they may be sent up *per post*, &c. Or, the person who offers them may be put upon the proof of them; or, if suspected, give security. And being made to continue but for a year, from the respective date of them, as is proposed; they will then be certainly detected, and the values of them known.

2. Suppose that there should be some bills counterfeited, which may be thought fit to be repaired, to the person deceived thereby, by the publick: it would, in the whole, be far less, being thus annually detected, than the twentieth part of the interest-money, hitherto allowed for monies, borrowed upon the funds settled, and laid upon the nation, according to Mr. Brisco's computations, in his printed treatise. Besides, the repaying of them might be by other bills, which would cost nothing. But,

3. The risk of such is no greater than of gold and silver coin, of which the nation has been, and daily is, and will be deceived: nor than that of all merchants bills of exchange, and letters of advice from foreign parts: all which may be more easily counterfeited. Besides,

4. There are no sorts of deeds, conveyances of lands, or bonds given for monies, but they, also, are more liable to be counterfeited, both as to the hands and seals of the granters, obligors, and witnesses: all which, &c. may be so counterfeited, that the parties themselves will not be able to deny them to be theirs. Yea, even Exchequer-tallies are liable to be counterfeited, so that persons may be doubtful, till they come to the office, &c. Yet, by these more uncertain methods of common dealings, and dangers, we are not affrighted, or taken off from our correspondencies, and businesses, as men.

Why then, in this case only, and upon this urgent occasion; wherein, if now we become so singularly wise or cautious, as to stumble at the threshold, we endanger ourselves, and these nations and government, to all our unavoidable ruin; rather than run the hazard of, probably some small inconsiderable sum, *per annum*, which will certainly come to be discovered at each year's end, at farthest, and cancelled? This were to be 'penny-wise, but pound-foolish;' according to our English proverb.

An APPENDIX.

Containing an Abstract of the foregoing Treatise; explaining, also, some Particulars therein: and humbly proposing a more particular Fund, for Paying off the Bills of Credit; *viz.*

First, The ABSTRACT.

- §. 1. **C**ONTAINS the reasons given for new-coining our silver monies.
 - §. 2. Shews how the clipping thereof, and suffering it to pass, has occasioned the raising our gold, to half as much more as it was coined at.
 - §. 3. That our trade is lost; our merchants having, too generally, withdrawn their stocks, and disposed them in more profitable present adventures.
- Pag. 318. Four questions are proposed to be answered for remedies, *viz.*
- Question I.* How shall our clipped silver be new coined, so as to become a due measure and standard for traffick, without obstructing our present [markets, &c. and without decrease of our stock?

§. 4. It is proposed, that all the clipped silver may be called-in, by a time to be limited ; and new-coined as fast as may be, according to the ancient standard. And that the damage by such coinage thereof may be made good to the parties, bringing in the same, by bills of credit ; made current, as monies, by act of parliament. And that for the rendering thereof practicable, so as there may be a full supply of the tale thereof, for carrying on the trade and markets, until the monies can be so coined, and delivered out : that at the time of each person's bringing-in his monies for coinage, he may receive the full sum, according to the tale thereof, in such bills, to traffick and trade withal. That upon notice, by proclamation or otherwise, that the coin is ready : one half thereof may be delivered to the respective parties, who brought it in ; they delivering back respectively one half of the bills they received for the said new-coined silver, to be concealed, or made void : and retaining the other half of the said bills, for answering the deficiency of their clipped monies brought in.

Question II. How shall the gold be reduced to its coined value ?

§. 5. It is proposed, that all the guineas, &c. in the nation, may be also called in by a time to be limited, and each piece punched, so as it may be known ; and declared thenceforth, to pass for no more than twenty shillings, each guinea, &c. And that, at the punching thereof, like bills of credit, to the value of ten shillings, each guinea, (and so proportionably,) to the respective persons, who bring in their gold, may be given forth : also, that no other, or more guineas, &c. be coined, till after the day is past, for bringing in the same : nor any be suffered to be brought in from beyond the sea, or past here at any other value than twenty-shillings, from thenceforward. And thus the nation will be supplied for carrying on their trade and markets, to as great extent as heretofore ; and this, without loss or damage to the parties concerned, and without any interest, or present charge to the nation.

Question III. How shall the war be carried on abroad ?

§. 6. It is proposed, that a tax, of four shillings *per* pound, being laid on lands, &c. may be made payable quarterly, as heretofore, in ready monies, or silver-plate, at five shillings and three pence, *per* ounce.

§. 7. That it be provided therein, and enacted, that in case the party taxed shall voluntarily advance, and pay in his whole year's tax, at one entire payment, within a month after demand of his first quarterly payment, he may have like bills of credit delivered to him, for his re-imbusement, at the time of his payment thereof, for his full sum taxed ; whereby, in effect, he pays nothing.

§. 8. That in case the party taxed shall not so do, if any other person shall do it, within a month after that, such other person may have half so much, in like bills delivered to him, as the taxed party himself should have had, for his encouragement : and may also receive his quarterly payments for his re-imbusement, as the same shall grow due.

§. 9. That the like method may be pursued from year to year, during the continuance of the war, if the parliament shall see cause to pass acts annually for that purpose, and not otherwise.

§. 10. That in case the four shillings, *per* pound, shall not amount unto two millions, whosoever shall voluntarily supply and make it up, may have like bills of credit, to the value of one-hundred-and-twenty pounds, for every hundred pounds so advanced by him ; and so proportionably. On which terms no doubt but his majesty will be supplied with two millions of the best silver and gold, that shall be in the nation, at the beginning of the next year. And what his majesty shall further want, as §. 21. *viz.* His majesty may be supplied with such furnished numbers and values of these bills, as added to what other present taxes the condition of the nation will bear to have imposed, upon the terms aforesaid, may complete the sum needful for carrying on the present war, this next year ; and so much longer, as that shall continue. And also pay off the debts contracted last year, &c. through the deficiency or falling short of the sums, or funds, settled for the same.

§§. 11, 12, 13, 14. Contain the answer of an objection, touching the disrepute of passing

bills. To which might have been added, the reason of making use thereof, especially during the new coinage of our monies.

Question IV. How shall our trade be recovered; and what is the necessity thereof, as to the getting and increasing of monies? &c.

§. 15. It is proposed, that there be an encouraging and countenancing of the royal fishery company and trade, by act of parliament, &c.

§. 16. That both guards and convoys be seasonably afforded, &c.

§. 17. That bills of credit will carry on our home-trade fishery and manufactures, as well as monies in specie.

§. 18. That if we had twenty times as much in bills, as ever we had in monies, they will proportionably increase our manufactures, fishery, and exports of both; and consequently our wealth; for that the balance must come back in monies or bullion.

§. 19. An instance thereof is given: and it is further shewed, that whatsoever other means may be suggested, for the furnishing or keeping monies amongst us, must and will be fruitless.

§. 20. Another instance, taken from the late experience we have had of the usefulness of bills, issued by goldsmiths, and by the several banks erected amongst us: which have eeked out our monies, for answering our markets at home, and paying off bills of exchange from abroad; which could not else have continued thus long.

§. 21. The parliament, therefore, may much more make bills current: for the preservation of the nation, and carrying on the war, wherein the king has been engaged by their advice, which require far greater credit than all the banks together can give security for, &c. by supplying his majesty with a sufficiency of them, instead of other taxes, which there is not money to pay.

Pag. 300. The objection against bills without a fund is answered, *viz.*

§. 22. There can be no fund equivalent, but the whole nation: and that can be no way engaged, but by act of parliament, declaring such bills shall be and continue current, in all receipts and payments whatsoever; as monies in specie, whether to, or from the king, or the people of these nations amongst themselves, until the nation be in a better condition to pay them off, by laying moderate taxes on all estates, real and personal; which is a good general fund, and as much as any state or nation, until very lately this, have been exposed unto. Whereof two instances are given, *viz.*

1. Of the states of Holland.

2. Of the states of Venice.

§. 23. Contains an enumeration of the advantages of bills beyond monies.

§. 24. Answers the objections about the necessity of a fund.

§. 25. Answers the objection about the hazard, that some future parliaments may see cause to make the bills of credit void, without paying them off.

§. 26. Answers the objection, touching raising the price of silver and gold, by two instances. And,

§. 27. Shews the unavoidable mischiefs thereof, *viz.*

1. In New-England, }
2. In Pensylvania, } In America.

Pag. 300. Answers the objections about counterfeiting the bills of credit proposed: and offers a specimen, evincing the utter impossibility of it, so as to deceive the publick; &c.

Pag. 300. to the end of the treatise, further clears the vanity of that objection; by comparing and preferring these bills of credit, for uncounterfeitableness, above and beyond all other writings, bills of exchange, letters of credit and advice, obligations for monies, deeds and evidences of lands, which may be also counterfeited, as the parties signing, sealing, and witnessing thereunto, cannot deny them to be theirs. Yea, our gold and silver coins, Exchequer tallies, &c. yet we are not affrighted or taken off from our correspondences and businesses depending thereon. Why then in this case only; where-

in, by stumbling at this threshold of the only door of our hopes, we expose ourselves and our posterities to our unavoidable and utter ruin? I say, the only: for, 1. Propose the raising of whatsoever taxes, if there be not money in the nation to pay them. Or, 2. Propose what funds you will, whether for principal or interest, for paying off bills of credit or otherwise, if there be not monies in the nation to pay them. Or, 3. Propose what means you will for bringing in monies or bullion, if there be not an excess of our exports above our imports; our monies, as fast as they are coined, must and will be carried away. And, 4. Without bills made equivalent, for supplying the uses of monies, we cannot carry on our manufactures or fishery; which, alone, can increase our wealth and power at sea, &c.

Nevertheless if, notwithstanding all that has been said, it shall be judged needful to make a present settlement of a fund, or funds, for paying off such of the said bills, as shall be given forth upon this occasion, within some time limited; it is therefore humbly offered, that, in order thereunto, there may be a thrifty managing and improving of all casual revenues, incomes, profits, and advantages, that may arise, accrue, or be made, whether in England, or Ireland; to which his majesty is, or by inquisitions or other usual ways, means, or methods, may be entitled: some of which may be these following, *viz.*

Secondly, The FUND.

1. One moiety, the whole in two equal parts to be divided, of all such lawful booty, seizures and prizes, as shall, or may be hereafter taken in war, whether by land or sea.

2. All French and other prohibited goods, so seized, which may be by act of parliament allowed to be brought in, and sold here, or where else a market may be found for them.

3. All the undisposed lands, within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, forfeited upon the account of the last defection, war, or rebellion, in or about the year 1688, or since: and all other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods, and chattels, by felonies, murders, treasons, or otherwise escheated, or to be escheated, and accruing to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, in right of his crown: and also all rents and profits of such estates, due since the respective convictions, out-lawries, or attainders of such persons.

4. All forests, chaces, and parks, within the said kingdoms, except such as his majesty shall reserve for his royal pastimes, and recreations, &c.

5. In defect, or falling short of these, whereby the said bills of credit, or any of them shall remain unsatisfied, for the space of . . . years, from the end of this session, &c. That a yearly tax of . . . pence in the pound of, and upon lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments; as also of, and upon all annuities, offices, and salaries, of above twenty pounds, *per annum*; and upon all goods, chattels, &c. may be passed this present session, by act of parliament: to commence from, and after the end of this present war, or expiration of the forementioned term or space of . . . years, which shall first happen: or sooner, if the parliament shall judge it needful; and that it may be done without hindrance to the carrying on the public affairs and trade of these nations: and that the same may have continuance, and be in force, until the said bills shall be fully paid off, and no longer.

6. And for the better appropriating and securing these funds, and the rents, revenues, and profits thereof, to the ends and uses aforesaid: that, by the said act of parliament, it may be made highly criminal, in all and singular person and persons respectively, who shall be concerned, in the levying, raising, receiving, disposing, and paying the same, or any part thereof; to pay, or dispose, the monies that shall be by this act, or by any of these funds raised, to any other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever, than to, and for the paying off the said bills of credit. And that no warrant or order, shall be issued, or if issued, shall be obeyed by the commissioners, or other persons, that shall be entrusted with the charge and care hereof, to any other use or uses whatsoever.

7. And that the way and manner, time and place, order and course of paying thereof;

as also the persons to be employed and used herein; be settled by act of this present parliament, so as the said bills may be satisfied, and paid accordingly, without fees, &c.

All which, notwithstanding, is humbly submitted,

By the Proposer.

Quod omnes tractat ab omnibus tractari debet.

The Queen's Wells: That is, a Treatise of the Nature and Virtues of Tunbridge-Water.¹ Together with an Enumeration of the chiefest Diseases, which it is good for; and against which, it may be used; and the Manner and Order of taking it. By Lodowick Rowzee, Doctor of Physick, practising at Ashford, in Kent.

London; Printed for Robert Boulter, at the Turk's-Head, in Bishopsgate-Street, 1670.

[Octavo; containing eighty-two pages.]

CHAP. I.

Of Water in General.

ALTHOUGH my main scope in this following discourse be concerning Tunbridge-water; yet will it not be altogether fruitless or unpleasant, I hope, to the reader, if I say something, as it were, by way of preface, touching water in general.—Water is a substance so absolutely necessary, that no living creature can subsist without the benefit of it, nor no tree bring forth its leaves and fruit, nor any plant its seed, if they be deprived of that vivifical moisture, which maketh them all to grow and prosper. That this is true, you may observe it in summer; for, if rain be wanting but a few weeks, how backward be all things? How do all plants wither in that season when they should chiefly flourish? For this cause, perhaps, it was, that Hesiod thought water to be the most ancient of all the elements. Of this opinion also was Thales Milesius (one of the seven wise Grecians), who made water the sole principle of all things. Empedocles likewise jumping with them said, that all things were made of water. And Hippon in Aristotle, (lib. i. c. 2. *de Anima*,) terms the soul water. Hippocrates goeth not so far; but yet he calleth water and fire the two principles of life. That it is, that, by water, Hippon doth understand our seed; and

¹ [This treatise was followed by Dr. Patrick Madan's 'Philosophical and Medicinal Essay on the Waters of Tunbridge,' reprinted in Vol. I. p. 585. See also 'Metellus his Dialogues: the first part containing a relation of a journey to Tunbridge-Wells, also a description of the Wells and place, &c. written under that name by a gentleman of this nation, sometime gentleman-commoner of Christ Church, Oxford.' Lond. 1693. 12mo. A 'History of Tunbridge-Wells' was published, Lond. 1766. 8vo. by Tho. B. Burr, a native of the place, and journeyman to Mr. Hawkins, a bookseller there. There have been several subsequent compilations of the same nature mostly trivial; and an analysis of Tunbridge water, was published in 1792.]

Hippocrates, our radical moisture. The Latins, upon the etymology of the word *aqua*, 'water,' do derive it from *a & qua*, *quasi à quâ vivimus, vel à quâ omnia fiunt*, 'by which we live, or out of which all things are made.' Others will have it *quasi æqua*, because there is nothing more equal and smooth than water, when it is not tossed with the wind. But Julius Cæsar Scaliger, (*Exercit.* 745,) disliketh these etymologies; and will derive *aqua* from the obsolete Greek word *ἄρξα*, which anciently did signify 'water.' This element seemeth to challenge a kind of rule and dominion over the rest; for it easily transmuteth air into itself, extinguisheth fire, and devourerth earth. And, to go no higher than our grandfathers' memory, nor further than our neighbours, the ocean-sea swallowed up above one-hundred-thousand acres of ground at one clap in Holland. Nay, it aspireth even unto the heavens; and, which is strange, it doth not only get up thither in itself alone, but carrieth with it whole shoals of fishes, heaps of stones, and divers other heavy substances, which afterwards fall down with it. Most creatures live without fire; without water, none; and, with water only, without any other substance, a Spanish maiden (*Cal. Rhod. lib. xiii. c. 23.*) is reported to have lived a long time: and Albertus writeth of a melancholy man, who, by the space of seven weeks, lived with water only; one draught of which he took but every other day. The lord Verulam also hath produced his opinion of late, and holdeth, that trees and plants live, and are nourished merely by water; and that the earth is (as it were) but a *stabilimentum* unto them, to keep them steady, and from being beaten down by the wind. He proveth it by rose-bushes, which, being put into water, without any earth, and kept upright in the same, not only brought forth leaves, but fair roses also; and the royal prophet saith, (*Psal. i.*) 'That a tree, planted by the rivers of water, bringeth forth his fruit in due season.' Much more might be said concerning water; but, because I intend to be brief, let this suffice.

CHAP. II.

Of the Differences of Water.

IN the creation, God said, (*Gen. i. 4, 5.*) 'Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters, which were under the firmament, from the waters which were above the firmament.' And David saith, (*Psal. xxix. 10.*) that 'the Lord sitteth upon the flood;' that is, upon the orb of the waters; and where he exciteth the creatures to laud the Lord, he speaketh thus; (*Psal. cxlviii. 4.*) 'Praise him, ye heavens of heavens, and the waters that be above the heavens.' Those waters are likened in another place, (*Ezek. i. 22.*) to a terrible crystal; and said to be, as it were, (*Exod. xxiv. 10.*) a paved work of sapphire-stone. And some, (*Rab. Levi Ben Jarchij in Gen. c. i.*) go so far, as to define the place and seat of those waters, and say, that they are as much above the *primum mobile*, as the *primum mobile* is above the elementary waters: but whether they ever were there to take the just distance, I do not know. That there should be water above the firmament, many men think it strange; and yet the deluge, besides the express word of God, proved it to be true. For, if all the water of all the seas, lakes, ponds, rivers, and fountains in the world, had been drawn up into the heavens in like manner, as we do in distillations, yet would not their quantity have increased; but there would have returned back again, by rain, no more, than was ascended up, nor so much neither, perhaps; because, though you be never so careful in your distillations, and use glass-vessels never so well luted, yet will you still receive some loss; and so the flood had not gone fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. But, why this should be stranger than all the rest of the wonderful works of God, there is no reason. The massy and heavy globe of the earth and water standeth (as it were) in *æquilibrio*, in the centre of the world; suspended by the omnipotency of God. Nay, all his works are universally so admirable, that there is no less wonder in the smallest gnat, than in the biggest elephant; in the least weed, that creepeth upon the ground, than in the tallest cedar. But of those waters, which are above the

firmament, and of those, which were gathered together under the firmament, (namely, the sea,) we speak here but by the way: though, concerning the seas, divers curious and pleasant questions might be handled, as touching the saltness of it, the ebbing and flowing of the same, why it can endure no impure things, and the like. These things, I say, might bring some delight to the reader, but they are beyond our scope; and, therefore, I will only speak briefly of those waters which are *potabiles*, and in common use amongst us, either for diet or physick.

They are commonly divided into fountain-water, river-water, well-water, rain-water, and pond-water. The pre-eminence thereof is commonly given to spring-water; but, in general, that water is accounted best and wholesomest for diet, which is pure, and without any taste, but such as water should have: for most water retaineth some savour of the ground through which it runneth: and although to those who do not use to drink water, it be imperceptible; yet divers of those, who drink nothing but water, will as easily perceive a difference betwixt water and water, as we do betwixt beer and beer, or wine and wine. The best water also is lightest; but that lightness is not to be considered by weight, (for snow-water is most light, and yet unwholesome) but by the thinness of the parts thereof, and by the speedy heating and cooling of the same; as Hippocrates well observeth. Let this suffice to have been briefly touched concerning the differences of waters in general; and let us now say something, with like brevity, concerning the original of springs and rivers.

CHAP. III.

Of the Original of Springs and Rivers.

IT is a common received opinion, derived from Aristotle, that the generation of water proceedeth from the air condensed into the same, in the bowels of the earth; and distilling (as water doth with us) from a limbeck. But it is hard to imagine, how the nature of air should be so speedily corrupted, and turned into water, and in that quantity too, that should maintain the continual course of so many springs, and so great a number of rivers as are in the world; divers of which are of such vastness, and of so swift a course, that a man might justly think, that the whole element of air, which, in its own nature, is but very thin, should scarcely suffice to maintain the course of that abundance of water one only day. And as for the reason they allege, that air is retained within the concavities and porosities of the earth, *ad vitandum vacuum*, (which nature doth abhor,) and afterwards is converted into water, it is but a very weak one: for those concavities are still full of air; as well elsewhere, as where springs and rivers do flow. But, if the transmutation of air into water was the only cause of the flowing of all springs and rivers; surely their streams must needs be but narrow, and their course slow, and of small continuance. Besides, if this was true; how could the sea (think you) contain that excessive abundance of water, which perpetually runneth into the same? The ancient opinion then is the truer, that all fountains and rivers come from the sea, and are transcolated through the veins and porosities of the earth, where, in their passage, they leave their saltness. Plato, Aristotle's master, was of this opinion; and, before him, Thales Milesius; as also Philo, (*in lib. de Mundi Opificio*), Seneca, (*lib. iii. c. 9. Nat. Quæst.*) and Georgius Agricola; (*lib. i. de Ortu subterr.*) which, without question, they had learned from the Hebrews; for thus speaketh the Preacher, (*Eccles. i.*) 'All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again.' This is a most clear and express text, and which alone shall suffice to prove this point; especially seeing the rule and law of nature doth suffragate unto the same; for, wheresoever there is a repletion, there must needs an evacuation be. But some, perhaps, may say, "We see, indeed, all rivers run into the sea, but we do not see how they come from it?" True; but when we see that, for all the abundance of water which runneth continually into the seas, the same are not increased thereby, but remain still the same, we must needs imagine that they disburden themselves somewhere. For, otherwise, the waters had, long ago, overwhelmed

the world, and reached up even unto heaven; seeing that the flood (Gen. vii.) caused but by rain of forty days, ascended fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Besides, our very senses may persuade us, that the original of springs and rivers is from the sea; for divers springs of fresh water are in sundry places, which seem to sympathize with the sea, and to imitate the motion thereof by a kind of ebullition. And, which is strange, (and yet a thing vouched by divers good authors,) those things, which were cast into the river of Alpheus in Græcia, were afterwards found in the fountain called Arethusa, near Syracuse in Sicily, though there be a great distance of sea and land betwixt them; which gave occasion to the ancient poets (who did use to involve all the secrets of nature in their fables) to feign, that Alpheus and Arethusa were a couple of lovers, which were transformed, the one into a river, and the other into a fountain; and of them speaketh Ovid, (*lib. v. Metam.*) saying:

*In latice mutor; sed enim cognoscit amatas
Amnis aquas, posiloque viri, quod sumpserat, ore,
Vertitur in proprias, quo se mihi misceat, undas.*

But whereas I said before, that, for all the water, which runneth into the seas, they remain still the same, I would not be mistaken; for I know, that the seas have sometimes gone beyond their ordinary bounds and limits; but it hath been when they were, as it were, commanded so to do by their Creator, for the punishment of men's wickedness; or whensoever men have gone about to alter the natural seat and state of the same, and the ordinary course of rivers.

Of God's judgments there are divers examples, as² Olenus and Helice (two of the twelve cities, which made the commonwealth of the Achæans,) which, a little before the battle of Leuctra, were drowned by the sea. Antissa, Tyndaris, and Burrha, had the like fortune also; being swallowed up by the sea, together with all their inhabitants. And that it might the better appear that the finger of God was in it, all such, as thought to have escaped by shipping, perished as well as the rest; being drowned and overwhelmed by the waves. And of those, who have endeavoured to contract and pin up the sea into narrower limits, by rills, dikes, and other works, divers of them have often sustained great damage by the same; as for example, the Hollanders, who (as we said before) lost above a hundred-thousand acres of ground by such means; which the sea, after the overthrow of all their dikes and strong works, took away from them, as it were by letters of reprisal. This were enough to teach men, that it is but in vain to go against the order established by God, and the ordinary course of nature; yet it is worth the noting also, and a thing not to be considered, without admiration, that all those princes, who purposed to cut the isthmus of Peloponnesus, which is a neck of land betwixt two seas, containing according to Mercator, in his '*Atlas major*,' some five miles in breadth, died all before the work was begun; as Caligula, C. Cæsar, Demetrius, Nero, and Domitian.

² Lib. ii. Of Polybius, that excellent Greek author, whose works I lately finished, to translate into English; my translation being ready for the press, if it can find any room there. And as for Polybius, I dare boldly say here, by the way, that there is not any better, or more necessary author extant in his kind; especially, for three sons of men, princes, statesmen, and soldiers. And whereas the emperor Charles the Fifth was wont to say, "That there were but three books necessary for a prince: Polybius, for wars; Machiavel, for state-matters and policy; and Castiglio, for behaviour:" if he aimed at a compendium, he might very well have left out the second; seeing for state-matters, and honest policy, enough of it may be found in Polybius, who, for judgment, sufficiency, virtue, and honesty, (though but an heathen) went far beyond Machiavel; and far more for employment and experience; having been in great places of authority, both in civil and martial affairs, and familiarly acquainted with that great Roman, Scipio Africanus, and with Caius Lælius. Whereas Machiavel was but a petty secretary or town-clerk of the city of Florence, grown famous only through the wicked maxims and positions contained in his writings, and especially in his '*Prince*;' where he setteth forth that monster of men, Cæsar Borgia, bastard son to the like father, Alexander the Sixth, pope of Rome, as a pattern to be imitated by such, as desire to get rule and dominion to themselves. And it seemeth, by a passage of the seventh chapter of his '*Prince*,' that he was acquainted with him; and perhaps a counsellor of his, in his murders, poisonings, and other devilish exploits. But Polybius is so far from doing the like, that there are infinite digressions in his works, in which he reprehendeth the vicious actions of men more sharply, than some other authors, which profess themselves Christians.

CHAP. IV.

Of Waters of strange Nature and Effects.

ALL springs of waters are actually either hot or cold. Of those hot springs, some are of so excessive heat, that a man would think it were water boiling upon the fire; and amongst others there is a vein of it running under a street, in a village, called Porcet, near the city of Akin in Germany. In the middle of this street, there is a hole, which they call Hell, with three or four bars of iron over it, in which the neighbours round about, in the summer-time, when they have no fire, do use to seethe their eggs; letting them down with a net into the water, and in a small space of time they may be boiled hard; of which I was twice an eye-witness: being there first in the year 1610, after the siege of Gulick, and the yielding of the town to the States, with that brave soldier, sir Horace Vere, now lord of Tilbury; and the second time, with that worthy knight, sir Henry Palmer, now comptroller of the navy. The cause of those hot waters is commonly ascribed to mines of sulphur or brimstone, inflamed within the bowels of the earth. But few of those hot waters, as at Akin, Porcet, in the Pyrenéan mountains, at Bath in Somersetshire, and elsewhere, have any great or extraordinary taste of brimstone, as they should of necessity have, if brimstone melted, and burning, were the cause of their heat; that mineral being of so piercing a nature, and of so extensive a faculty, that never so little of it burning upon a few coals, when our women dry their tiffanies, filleth a whole room, with the strong scent of it. Besides, such a great quantity of water running continually, and so many years and ages together, had long since extinguished those fires; or if there were such flames within the bowels of the earth, the same would long ago have dried up the water, and reduced the earth into ashes. Another reason there is, that you shall find no hot springs, where fires do break out; and, though the hill Vesuvius and mount *Ætna* burn continually, yet are there no hot springs about them, though they be environed by the sea. And for all the late wonderful and extraordinary eruption of fire out of the said hill Vesuvius, or *Monte de Soma*, as they call it now; which hath been so violent, that the houses of Naples, which are eight or (as others say) twelve miles from the same, were all covered very thick, with the ashes thereof; yet, do they not write that the water, which gushed out, at the foot of the said hill, was hot.

Besides, although there be many hot waters in Italy (for those that have written of them reckon few less than three score), yet shall you see, no where, a mixture of fire and water in those parts; which makes me think with some, that the cause of the heat of those waters proceedeth from their motion and agitation in the bowels of the earth, falling from cataracts and broken concavities in the same.

That this may be true, it may be proved by the sea; for, though it be actually cold, yet, if it be tossed by a tempest, but of three or four days (and it is seldom, that a storm lasteth longer), the water thereof will sometimes become very hot. Besides we have many very sulphureous springs, which are never but cold: as for example, one of the four springs used at the Spa, called Geronster, which tasteth so strong of the brimstone, (as myself can speak by experience,) that divers of those who drink of it, are constrained to hold their noses, whilst they are drinking; and the sulphureous fumes of it are so piercing, that they do speedily intoxicate the brain, and cause drunkenness; though it be but for a little time, being soon discussed away³.

Now for the other springs which are actually cold, there are sundry differences of them,

³ Since the writing of this treatise, and when I was come to London, about the printing of it, I lighted by chance upon Dr. Jordan's learned and elaborate discourse, of 'Natural Baths and Mineral Waters;' wherein he hath a peculiar opinion, concerning the actual heat of mineral waters, which he ascribeth to the fermentation of minerals; and illustrateth the same, with reasons and examples. I am so far from disliking it, that I applaud it; and leave both his and my opinion to the choice of the reader: for, in those abstruse things, we have no certain knowledge, but only probable conjectures. Howsoever, the least probable of these two opinions is far more likely than those imaginary actual fires, which the vulgar opinion holdeth.

according to the several substances they do run through; and the nature and effects of some of them are very admirable. Some do turn into stone whatsoever is cast into them; especially, if the things cast in be of a loose and porous substance, as leather, balls, gloves, and such like: and Pliny and others describe divers springs of that nature.

But, not to go out of this Island for examples, there is a spring of that nature in Wales, in a piece of ground, belonging to sir Thomas Middleton; and the quick activity of some of those springs is wonderful, and almost incredible; for Bodinus (*lib. ii. Theat. Nat.*) doth affirm, that he hath seen sticks of wood, straws, and such like small things, converted into stone, in *lacu Piceno & Alliensi fonte Avernorum*, within the space of two or three hours. So that Pliny's assertion, who (in *lib. xxxv. c. 13.*) saith, that earth is turned into stone, in a fountain of Guidus, within the space of eight months, is no more to be wondered at. The same author, namely Pliny, (in *lib. xxxi. c. 2.*) maketh mention of two fountains; the one called Cerone, which maketh the sheep, that drink of it, to bear black wool; and the other Melan, which maketh the wool of the sheep which drink of it white; and, if they drink of both, their wool will become of two colours: and of another, called Crathis, which procureth whiteness; and of a fourth, called Sybaris, which causeth blackness in the sheep and oxen which drink of the same. Nay, the same effect is seen also in men, which drink of them; for those that drink of Sybaris become blacker, harder, and of a curled hair; and such as drink of Crathis, wax whiter, softer, and of a smooth hair. He bringeth in also other waters, which have the like effect, in changing the colour of such as use them. He saith likewise, that there are two springs in Bœotia, near the river of Orchomenus; whereof, the one strengtheneth memory, and the other causes oblivion. A fountain in Arcadia called Linus, preserveth conception, and hindereth abortion; and on the other side, the river called Amphrysus maketh women barren. Cydnus, a river of Cilicia, helpeth the gout in the feet; as appeareth by the epistle of Cassius Parmensis, to Marcus Antonius: and contrariwise, by the use of the water which is in Træzene, all men get the gout in their feet. All such as drink of a lake, called Clitorius, begin thereby to hate wine. Polyclitus relateth, that the water of a fountain in Cilicia serveth instead of oil; and Theophrastus, that the like is done by the water of a spring in Æthiopia; and Lycus, that the water of a fountain in India burneth in a lamp: the like is also at Ecbatana. Juba speaketh of a lake amongst the Troglodytes, which, for the hurt it doth, is called 'the Mad Lake;' and saith, that it is bitter and salt thrice in a day, and then fresh, and so again at night. The same author also maketh mention of a spring in Arabia, which bubbleth up with such force, that it casteth forth whatsoever is thrown into it, though it be never so weighty. There are two fountains in Phrygia; the one, called Clæon, and the other Gelon, having those Greek names from their effects; for the first maketh men cry, and the second makes them laugh. There is an hot spring at Craon, and yet without excessive heat; which being mingled with wine, and kept in a vessel, keepeth the same hot by the space of three days. There is a river in Bithynia, called Olachas, into which if perjured persons be thrown, they feel as much heat, as if they were in a flaming fire. In Cantabria, there are three springs, but eight feet asunder, which running together make a goodly river; and every one of them by turns becometh dry twelve times, and sometimes twenty times a day; so that a man would think, there were no more water in it, whilst in the mean time its next neighbours be full, and flow continually. There is a brook in Judea, which is dried up every Sabbath. In Macedonia, not far from the sepulchre of Euripides, there are two brooks running together; the one having very wholesome water; and the other, poisonous and deadly. *Quod si quis*, saith Pliny, (*lib. xxxi. c. 2.*) *fide carere ex his aliqua arbitratur, discat in nullâ parte naturæ majora esse miracula.* 'If any man think, that some of these things are past belief, let him learn that there are 'no greater miracles in any other part of nature, than in waters.' But, if any man desire to know more, concerning the various nature and effects of springs and rivers, let him read the thirteenth dialogue of Simon Majolus, bishop of Vulturaria, in that tome of his works, which he intitleth, '*Dies Caniculares*;' and there he will find wherewith to satisfy his curiosity.—I pass now to mineral and medicinal springs, which use to be drank.

CHAP. V.

Of Mineral and Medicinal Springs.

MINERAL waters, by their manifold turnings and windings under the ground, are (as it were) impregnated with divers virtues and faculties of the several minerals through which they run; and draw with them either the faculties or substance of the same, and sometimes both⁴: and therefore, as mere pureness commendeth ordinary springs and wells, so doth the various mixture of several things, though sometimes of a contrary and repugnant nature, procure commendation to medicinal waters. Some of them are beholden for whatsoever they have to the several kinds of earth, which they pass through, and lick, as it were, by the way; as, bole, oker, rubrick, chalk, and the like: others, to liquors, or congealed juices; as, alum, bitumen, brimstone, nitre, and copperas: and others, again, to metals; as, gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, and lead. There are some also which owe their virtues to stone; as, crystal, marble, pumice-stone, *lapis hæmatites*, and the like; and others to the roots of trees and plants; though these are rare, either because trees do not root so deep, or by reason that medicinal springs are commonly in barren soils; as, on the contrary, wheresoever there is a fruitful soil, there are no mineral or medicinal springs to be found. Out of all these subterraneous substances divers springs draw sometimes contrary faculties, or, at least, such as have but small affinity one with another; and from hence it happeneth, that oftentimes one and the same medicinal spring cureth divers diseases, which are either contrary one to another, or, at least, have but small affinity together. It is of this as it is of theriack or mithridate, which are compositions consisting of a great number of simples, of contrary and repugnant natures, as it were, huddled together by chance; and yet, when those compositions have had their due fermentation, and those several simples have wrought one upon another, and become incorporated together; there resulteth afterwards an universal form in the composition, which maketh it excellent for most diseases, and, as it were, a general *panpharmacon*; and, in that regard, some do merrily call mithridate the father, and treacle the mother of all medicines. But, that we may the more accurately distinguish betwixt mineral springs, we must consider the nature of minerals, and look which of them have affinity together, and which not. Bitumen, salt, sulphur, copperas, and copper are hot; and therefore they have a faculty to cut, cleanse, open, dry, extenuate, and disperse. Albertus Magnus, (*lib. v. de Metallicis*,) and, after him, Andernacus and others, do reckon *sal nitrum* with these, and hold it to be hot; which might be granted them, if, by *nitrum*, they understood that *nitrum*, whereof Hippocrates, (*lib. i. de acr. Locis & Aquis*;) Dioscorides, (*lib. v. c. 89.*) Pliny, (*lib. xxxi. c. 13.*) and Galen, (*lib. ix. Simp. Medicam.*) do speak. But I do not think, that either Albertus or Andernacus ever saw it; because it began to be scanty, and hard to be found, in the time of those ancient authors before-cited after Hippocrates. But our salt-petre, which is now called *nitrum* amongst us, is as far from that ancient *nitrum*,

Quantùm Hispanis Veneto dissitus Eridano.

For, if gunpowder were not enough to prove the coldness of *nitrum*, in which its opposition and contrariety to brimstone is so manifest, yet were the *sal prunellæ* of the chymists (which is nothing but *nitrum* purified from its dregs with *flores sulphuris*) sufficient to evince it; a very little of it, put into a glass of wine, making it so cold, that one is scarce able to drink it. And to this purpose, I remember, that when I was in Holland, the prince of Orange, Maurice, was wont always, in the summer-time, to have some of it thrown into

⁴ [Hence Akenside invokes the Naiads, in his celebrated Hymn:

————— ‘ With the first
And finest breath, which from the genial strife
Of mineral fermentation springs, like light
O’er the fresh-morning’s vapours, lustrate then
The fountain, and inform the rising wave.’]

the water, where his wine lay a-cooling. That *sal prunellæ* also is the best remedy against the heat, dryness, and roughness of the tongue in all fevers, and especially in that Hungarian fever, called *prunella*; from that symptom, which gave likewise the name of *sal prunellæ* to that purified *nitrum*, by reason of the excellency of it in assuaging the same. And, the more to confirm this, one of the four springs of the Spa, called *Tounelet*, and consisting chiefly of *nitrum*, is so very cold, both in the mouth and in the stomach, that few can endure it; and in that regard it is very little frequented: and, during my stay there, I do not remember that ever I saw at it more than a Capuchin-friar, and another clergyman, who used it for the heat of their livers; in which case it may do good, if the stomach be not too weak.

Silver, iron, tin, and lead, are accounted cold; and by reason of their astringency, to be at least in the second degree. Gold is likewise placed amongst these, though a man might, perhaps, with better right account it temperate. Now, in regard of this variety, some springs are called nitrous, sulphureous, bituminous, aluminous, &c. according to the only or predominant mineral, of which they do participate. But yet some there are, in which it is a very difficult matter to know the same. So the Uberlingunians in Sweden do dispute, to this day, whether their mineral springs proceed from lead or copper. In like manner, the Italians are not well agreed, whether the virtue of the mineral water about Lucca cometh from iron, or from alum. And a great man, that was one of the chiefest chymists of this age, doubted whether he should call the *Empsenses aquæ* aluminous, or nitrous: so hard a thing it is exactly to distinguish in things that are compounded and permixed. But it is now time we should go to Tunbridge-water.

CH A P. VI.

Of Tunbridge-Water.

THE waters, commonly known here amongst us by the name of Tunbridge-Waters⁵, are two small springs contiguous together, about four miles southward from the town of Tunbridge in Kent, from which they have their name, as being the nearest town in Kent to them. They are seated in a valley, compassed about with stony hills, so barren, that there groweth nothing but heath upon the same. Just there do Kent and Sussex meet; and one may, with less than half a breath, run from those springs into Sussex. It pleased our gracious queen Mary to grace this water by her presence two years ago; so that those springs may justly be called, as some do call them now, 'Queen Mary's Wells.'

The taste of the water is not unpleasant to those who have a while been used to it; and it is a sure thing, that no man is able to drink half so much of any other liquor, though never so pleasant unto him, as he may of this. What other minerals it runneth through, besides iron and the rubrick of iron, which is seen on the ground, over which the water runneth, is not yet well known; for there hath been, as yet, no digging near about the same. The greater part of those that drink of it are purged by stool, and some by vomit, as well as by urine; which, perhaps, should argue some other minerals, besides iron. The same may, peradventure, be discovered in after-times. Howsoever, though there were no other minerals thereabout, besides iron; yet, iron being a metal, and all metals, according to the chymists, proceeding from two principles, sulphur and mercury; wheresoever there are any metals bred, there must also of necessity their principles be.

Besides this, all metals have also their peculiar salts; and iron, in particular, hath a

⁵ [Kilburne, in his Survey of Kent, calls them Frant-wells, probably from their rising on the borders of an estate in Frant parish, belonging to lord Abergavenny; who first interested himself in making them useful to the publick. Gough's Anecdotes of Brit. Topogr.]

Dudley, the third lord North, however, in his 'Forest of Varieties,' (a folio volume, printed at London in 1645,) asserts that 'the use of TUNBRIDGE and Epsom waters, he first made known to London, and the king's people: the Spaw being a chargeable and inconvenient journey to sick bodies, besides the money it carries out of the kingdom; and inconvenient to religion.'

great deal of volatile salt, which is it that dissolveth in the chalybeate wine, now so much in use. Now iron is of an astringent and corroborating faculty, and hath an opening virtue withal, as may be seen by the powder of steel; steel being nothing but a defecated iron, which is used with good success in the green-sickness, and in all other diseases proceeding from obstructions. But here I shall seem, perhaps, to some to contradict myself, in making iron both astringent and opening, which the vulgar think to be two qualities incompatible in one subject; and yet they are deceived: for to open and corroborate have no such repugnance, but that they are together in many simples. Now, concerning those two springs, a question doth often arise amongst those who are there drinking, which of them should be the better and stronger? But, being so contiguous and near together, certainly there can be no manifest odds betwixt them; and, though I often tasted of both immediately one after the other, yet can I not say, that I ever found any perceptible difference betwixt them. Yet will I not deny, but that it may so fall out, that at some times the one may appear stronger than the other, according as the water may participate more of the virtue of the minerals at one time, than at another: but I think that there can be nothing constant in it, though they may alternately something differ one from another. This shall suffice to have been spoken concerning those springs. It followeth now, that we make an enumeration of the chiefest diseases their water may be used for; wherein we will chiefly follow experience, seeing it is an empirical remedy, and yet so, as we shall not exclude reason. For, although it be *empiricum remedium*, yet must we not use it altogether empirically, nor make a *panpharmakon*, or a *panacea*, a medicine for all diseases, and send thither promiscuously all sorts of patients; as some physicians do to the like springs, when they are at a *nonplus* with them, and after a long time can do no good upon them in chronical diseases: for then they send them to those mineral waters, *tanquam ad sacram anchoram*: which causeth those springs to become infamous, and to lose the credit they justly deserve (the common people ordinarily judging of things by the event); when some miscarry after the use of the same, either because they were already too far spent when they were sent thither, or by reason their diseases were not to be cured by that remedy.

CH A P. VII.

The chiefest Diseases against which Tunbridge-Water may be used with good Success.

BEING now to reckon up the chiefest diseases which Tunbridge-water is good for, we will not go *à capite ad calcem*, 'from the head to the heel,' but begin at that which it is most generally good for, and that is obstructions; which are the causes of infinite diseases. This water then doth effectually open all manner of obstructions, wheresoever they be lurking, and especially the obstructions of the mesaraical veins of the spleen, and of the liver, and that better than any apozems or other physick whatsoever. For, those obstructions being stubborn, and requiring a great deal of physick to be removed, and physick being both loathsome and chargeable; people grow weary of it, before a physician shall have run a quarter of the course which is necessary for the removing of those obstructions; and that is the reason that so many are troubled with chronical lingering diseases, which in their own nature are not incurable, but only remain uncured; either because the patient is not able or willing to undergo such a course of physick as is requisite for his recovery, or because he loveth his purse too well. But these waters bring no charges; and, after one hath been used a little while to them, the taking of them is not troublesome at all; but, the longer a man continueth the use of them, the more he may; and, being taken in a large quantity, they cannot choose but open effectually. Wherefore they are of excellent use for all diseases, which have their dependence upon obstructions, as all long and tedious agues, quartans, and the like; for a dropsy, the black and yellow jaundice, the *scirrhus lienis*, or hard swelling of the spleen, which the common people call an Ague-cake, the scurvy, the green-sickness, the whites in women, and the defect and excess of their

courses. And though this last assertion seemed to have some repugnancy, in that we ascribe two contrary effects to one and the same agent; yet there is no such matter: for the one is done by opening of obstructions, and the other either by cooling the blood, when it is too hot and sharp, and so provoketh nature to expulsion, or by corroborating or strengthening the retentive faculty. And it is the property of all equivocal agents, to vary their operations according to the variety of their objects, and of the matter they work upon: so the sun melteth wax, and hardeneth clay. This water doth also cut and extenuate tough, clammy, and (if I may so speak) tartarean phlegm; and, in that regard, it may be much available for those who are used to be troubled with the cholick, when such an humour is contained in their guts.

It scoureth and cleanseth all the passages of urine, and therefore is good against the gravel and the stone in the kidneys, ureters, or bladder; where also it dissolveth and washeth away a kind of clammy phlegmatic excrement bred in the bladder, which, sometimes stopping the passage of one's water, maketh him believe that he is troubled with the stone: as happened to one, that was himself a very skilful and famous stone-cutter, who, being fully persuaded that he had a stone in his bladder, gave himself to another of the same profession to be cut at Namurs; but, when he was cut, nothing was found in his bladder, but such a tough humour, which might have been dissolved and voided with facility by the help of the Spa-water, which was but a day's journey from him. It is good also (in regard of the astringent and healing faculty it hath), for all inward ulcers; and especially for those of the kidneys and bladder, and of the *musculus splenator*, which openeth and shutteth the same. And, in confirmation thereof, divers have been cured of a bloody urine, which had long troubled them; and amongst the rest a worthy Kentish gentleman, with whom I went thither the last year.

It is good also against all inveterate dysenteries, or bloody-fluxes: as also all other fluxes of the belly, whether it be *leinteria*, *diarrhæa*, or *fluxus hepaticus*. It doth likewise extinguish all inward inflammations and hot distempers; and yet, for all that, the stomach is no whit hurt by the actual coldness thereof, but rather corroborated or strengthened, and appetite provoked: yea, in some but too much, as in myself for one. For whensoever I drank, either at the Spa or at Tunbridge, I was never able to fast with patience until noon, but must needs *offam latranti stomacho offerre*, 'cast a bit to my barking stomach,' before the rest of my company went to dinner. For this cause, when I was at the Spa, a Spanish physician, who was come thither with the young prince Doria (who was then but a youth), would not let him take the water above two or three days, when he saw such an effect in him; fearing that he would receive more hurt by the excess of his appetite, than benefit by the water: and so, after a long and troublesome journey from Italy thither, he returned home without any profit. The nerves or sinews, and the original of them, the brain, are strengthened by the use of this water; and consequently it is good against the palsy, inclination to an apoplexy, lethargy, and such like diseases of the head.

And some paralyticks have been seen, who sometimes voided all their water by urine, and at other times were as effectually purged, as if they had taken a strong potion, and withal sweated abundantly all their body over. All these evacuations, and vomiting also, are sometimes seen in other diseases, as well as in that: nay, besides that, in some women you shall have an evacuation by urine, & *per menses simul* & *hæmorrhoidas*. The cause of all rheums and distillations is likewise removed by the help of this water, and all diseases cured, which have their dependence upon the same, for all that verse of '*Schola Salernitana*,'

Jejunes, vigiles, sitias, sic rheumata cures.

Convulsions also, head-ache, megrim, and vertigo, are driven away by the use of the same, if the patient be constant, and not too soon weary. Against vomiting and the hickup, it is used with good success. Those that are troubled with hypochondriacal melancholy, find a great deal of ease by this water. It helpeth also the running of the reins, whether it be *gonorrhœa simplex*, or *venerea*, and the distemper of the *parastatae*

arising from thence: as, likewise, a certain carnosity, which groweth, sometimes, in the conduit of the urine; nay, and the pox also; the water having a notable potential drying faculty. It driveth away, besides, all manner of worms; whether they be ordinary ones, or *ascarides*, or *tæniæ*. It may be used also for the gout, but it must be with some caution; and the body must be extraordinarily well prepared and purged before; because it hath sometimes brought the fit upon some, who were well when they came thither. Outwardly applied, it doth help sore eyes, red pimples, and other external infirmities. More diseases, which have affinity with these, it may be used for; but I will content myself with this enumeration of the aforesaid ones, and pass to the time, manner, and order of taking the water. Yet must I not forget, in the behalf of women, to tell them, that there is nothing better against barrenness, and to make them fruitful; if other good and fitting means, such as the several causes shall require, be joined with the water.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Time, Manner, and Order of taking Tunbridge-Water.

SOME, that shall read the next foregoing chapter, will, perhaps, say, that I make this water a direct *panpharmacon*, 'a remedy for all diseases,' and therefore will give small credit unto it. But, for all that, daily experience doth, and (if it continue to be used) will more and more confirm what I have said to be true. For very few of those who live at the Spa, whose water hath great affinity with that of Tunbridge, and in the country about it, and make that water their ordinary drink, as many do; (and myself have seen there very aged people, that did never drink any thing else;) few of them, I say, are troubled with head-ache, heart-burning, stone, obstructions of the kidneys, liver, or spleen; falling-sickness, and the like; and as for the jaundice, dropsy, and scabs, they do not know what they are. Myself, during my stay there, being once rid out to take the air with a couple of gentlemen, and a shower of rain coming, we made to a country-house near hand to shelter ourselves; and, after the taking of a pipe of tobacco, I requested the good man of the house (who was a very old man, and yet fresh and lusty, and with very few grey hairs) to give us a cup of his beer? But he answered me, that he never had any beer in his house; if we would drink good Pouhon, it was at our service, and he had a fresh vessel of it abroach. Pouhon is the name of that spring of the Spa, which standeth in the middle of the town, and by the same name they call also the water thereof. But to return to our matter:

*Temporibus medicina valet, data tempore prosunt,
Et data non apto tempore, vina nocent.*

And so water. The time then of taking those waters is either the season of the year, when to come to them; or the time of the day, when to drink of the same. Concerning the season of the year, summer is the fittest; when there is a settled warm and dry weather, as in the Dog-days especially.

Cum Canis arentes findit hiulcus agros.

And the chiefest months are June, July, August, and September; although the Dutch, who naturally love good beer and wine better than water, use to have this rhyming verse in their mouths:

Mensibus in quibus R. non debes bibere water.

And, according as the year proveth, a man may sometimes come sooner, and continue later. In general, whensoever the weather is clear and dry, the water is then best, as well in winter as in summer; yea, in hard frosty weather the water is commonly strongest, the *antiperistasis* of the air hindering that there is not so great an evaporation of the mineral spirits of the water. For, when the weather is rainy or misty, and that Jupiter doth, *per*

cribrum mingere, 'piss through a sieve,' (as Aristophanes merrily speaks,) the water loseth much of its virtue. Myself have known, at the Spa, a friar of the reformed order of St. Francis, a good, honest, temperate man, who assured me, that having been there three whole years together continually for the stone, (of which he shewed me a box almost full of several forms and sizes,) and taking the water all the while, both summer and winter, when the weather was seasonable; he found divers times the water better, stronger, and of a more speedy passage in frosty weather, than in the middle of summer, without ever perceiving any inconvenience by the water, no more at that time, than in summer, for all he did always drink it cold. For some, that use to take it in cold weather, do warm it; but sure the water cannot choose, by that means, but lose a great deal of its virtue, which, in the warming, evaporateth away; seeing that, in the very transporting of it, the same doth happen. When the Spa-water is bottled to be sent away, although those who have the charge of it be never so careful, in stopping the bottles close with boiled cork, and pitching them over; yet will the mineral spirits find way; insomuch as, when you come to open them, you shall still find some want, and sometimes a pretty deal, especially of the water of the Savenier, which is more subtile and spiritual than that of Pouhon.—But, to return to the matter; there is no more to be said, but that, in a word, the water is always best, when the weather is clearest and driest.

Now concerning the time of the day: the morning, when the sun is an hour, more or less, high, is the fittest time to drink the water. For, when the sun beginneth to be of force, it doth attract some of the mineral spirits, and the water loseth some of its strength; and, betimes in the morning it is also best walking. And you are so to drink the water, as you may have taken the quantity, which you intend to take that day, within as small a space of time, as conveniently you can, without oppressing your stomach too much; as within an hour, or less, if you be able. Those that lie not too very far from the springs, and are able to use their legs, shall do better to come thither on foot, than to ride; because so they shall heat their bodies more. Yet do I not intend they should be so hot as to sweat, or be ready to sweat, for that would do hurt; but I mean only, that their natural heat should be something awaked and excited; because then the water will be the better attracted, and have the more speedy passage. After every glass, or every two or three glasses, (according as you shall be able to take it,) it will be good to take a few carraway-comfits, or coriander-seed, some galingal, zedoar, elecampane, angelica-root, or such like; to help the digestion and passage of the water. In some it is necessary, that they should have some electuary lozenges, or the like, appropriated to the grief for which they take the water.

Divers do take tobacco after their water, which I do not dislike; especially if they hold it a good while in their mouths, before they puff it out. Moderate exercise after it is very available; but I utterly dislike it, if it be too violent, as running, leaping, and jumping, as some in wantonness use to do. For that kind of exercise is rather a hindrance, than a help, to the digesting of their water; and many times all the good it doth is to bring it up again; weakening, by that means, their stomach, which, in vomiting, doth always suffer. True it is, that if the stomach be foul, it is not amiss sometimes so to do; and I am not against it. After you have taken your full quantity, it will do well to walk and stir there up and down, and to compose yourself to mirth with the rest of the company; for those, that look to reap benefit by Tunbridge, must turn away all cares and melancholy.

In your return to your lodging, I hold it better to ride than to go on foot, because, sitting upon your horse, the inward parts, as the muscles of the belly, the guts, and the stomach itself, are thereby borne up and contracted; and by the jogging of the horse, moderately stirred; and so, consequently, your water will be the better digested. The sign of the thorough concoction of the same is commonly, when your urine beginneth to have a tincture, and to be coloured, and then may you go to dinner: but of this we will speak of purpose, when we come upon diet. I said before, that the best time of the day to take

the water was betimes in the morning; and I mean also it should be the only time for that day. For I have known some, who took it twice a day, (namely, in the afternoon also,) but I could never approve of it: and my reason is, that if they take it soon after dinner, their meat will not be digested, and the water, forcing to make way for itself, will draw with it the *chylus*, raw and unconcocted, and so cause crudities and obstructions, which will do a great deal more hurt, than the water can do them good; and, if they take it later after dinner, their water will not be digested before supper. Once a day then is enough; lest you have worse speed, by making too much haste. Now, for the whole quantity of the water to be taken in one morning, it is a thing which cannot justly be defined; in regard of the difference of bodies in age, sex, strength, and other circumstances: but generally those, that are able to drink most, receive the most benefit, so that they do digest and void their water well. And here it is, if any where, that the Greek proverb should take place, *ἢ πῖναι, ἢ ἀπὸ, aut bibe, aut abi*, 'either drink, or be gone:' if you cannot tipple, this is no place for you. Yet must every man ever have this general rule in memory, *A juvantibus & lædentibus optima judicatio*; 'The best judgment or direction is, from those things which do good, and from such as do hurt.' You shall see some that arise to a great quantity, and,

Invenies illic, qui Nestoris ebibat annos;

three-hundred ounces, according to Nestor's years; yea, and some a greater quantity. And it is a thing, that will make the very women there, filling the glasses, to laugh; to see some patients sent thither by ignorant physicians, and appointed to take ten or twelve ounces of water, and arise perhaps to twenty or thirty ounces. But this may be a rule, for a body of competent years and strength, to begin at thirty, forty, or fifty ounces, and to arise by degrees, increasing their quantity every day, to an hundred, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred ounces, more or less, as they shall be able; and so again to decline and decrease by degrees, ending where they began, when they are to leave the water.

As for the time of every man's stay there, it is a thing which cannot be defined: for, in some diseases, some weeks suffice; in others, divers months are not enough; nay, in some, they have need to come thither the next year, and the next to that too. This, I hope, will suffice for the time, manner, and order of taking Tunbridge-water. I will now pass to the preparation of the body of such as are to take it.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Preparation of the Body of such as are to take the Water.

I HAVE set down before, the chiefest diseases, which may be cured by the help of this water; but I am not so to be understood, as though I meant, that the water alone were sufficient for the same in all of them, without any other helps. For, though this be an empirical remedy, yet must it not be used altogether empirically, but with reason, discretion, and circumspection; otherwise hurt, rather than good, will follow the use of it. Many have fallen into diseases, as fevers and agues, by coming unadvisedly and unprepared to those waters; although (as we said before) there is nothing better for agues, than they are, if they be rightly and advisedly used; the body being first prepared and purged. For, although blood by a sole distemper of heat, may cause a fever, yet cannot the other humours do it, as Galen (lib. ii. *de Diff. Februm*) well observeth, unless they putrefy; which they will not do, if the body be free from obstructions, and perspirable; and therefore that body, which is to be taken with an ague, must first be obstructed. Now, these waters being very diuretical, when they meet with a foul body, having a repletion of gross humours; they easily and speedily carry the same with them into the veins, which not being able to give passage to such a quantity of humours, they are thereby obstructed and stopped, and those humours being there retained and wedged in, and not perflated or ven-

tilated, they inflame and putrefy, and so produce a putrid fever or ague. Wherefore those, that love their health and life, must (before they use the water) if they have not a very pure body, prepare and purge the same to prevent all inconveniencies.

Now, according as bodies do differ in sex, age, temperature, qualities of the peccant humour, and other circumstances; so must they accordingly diversly be prepared and purged. And in that regard, we have not thought it good to set down here any forms thereof, but refer those that shall come to the water, to the advice and counsel of learned and skilful physicians; and such as are withal well acquainted with those kinds of waters, which is the main point. And as for those that come far off, they may take physick at Tunbridge, and it will be best for them so to do; because if they take physick before, and presently travel upon the same, it may produce some danger.

If the resort to the water continue, and that there be competent company at the same, I do purpose (by the grace of God) to be there, every summer; for it is a place I like: and if any be pleased to confer with me, I will be ready to afford them my best counsel; and they shall find there variety of physick, appropriated to their several diseases, which the water is to be used for. Neither is it enough to prepare the body, and take physick, before coming to the water; but it is requisite also, in some diseases, to take something now and then during the time they use the water, to help the working of it, and to cause a happy and prosperous effect by the same: and so much the more, because some are not able, either by reason of business, or otherwise, to stay there a competent time; and therefore have need of some other help. For some diseases are so stubborn and difficult to be eradicated, that we must fight at all weapons against the same; and yet all little enough too. Some unlooked-for accidents, also, happen there sometimes, which have need to be redressed and helped by other means. But of these things, neither myself, nor any man else, can speak but in general terms; and therefore I will conclude, and pass to the diet requisite to be observed there.

CHAP. X.

Of the Diet to be observed by those that use Tunbridge-Water.

DIET, amongst physicians, is taken in a larger signification than it is with the vulgar; for, besides meat and drink, it comprehendeth air, motion, and quiet, things retained and voided, sleeping and watching, and the passions of the mind. All these must be rightly ordered, both to preserve, and to restore health. As for air, it must be taken, such as it is found there; and I think there is no great exception to be taken against it, being thereabout pure and wholesome enough. Of motion and quiet, we have said something before, when we spoke of exercise; as also of the passions of the mind, when we wished all such, as come to the water, to compose and frame themselves to mirth, and to leave all cares and melancholy at home. Concerning sleeping and watching, a moderation must be observed therein; though it be better to sleep something too much, than to watch too long; and therefore you shall do well to sup betimes, and to go to bed betimes, *animo securo, quieto, & libero*, that the first, second, and third concoction may be ended, before you take the water. And, as for things voided and retained, you must endeavour to have the benefit of nature, by all manner of ordinary evacuations; as by stool and urine, and the private excrements of the brain, at the mouth and nose. And thus much in brief, concerning those things: we will now come to meat and drink. Bread is commonly, and with most men, the chiefest part of food, and therefore though always, yet here more especially, you must have a care to have bread of good pure wheat, well handled and seasoned in the making, and well baked: for the excrements and ill humours, which are heaped by the use of ill bread, are worse than those which proceed from meat. Ravel bread, generally, is wholesomer than manchet, and not so apt to breed obstructions; having some of the bran left in it, which is detergent, and maketh it pass the better. As for meat, let every one feed upon that which he hath been most used to, so it be good meat; yielding good

nourishment, and of easy digestion: and let him shun the use of sauces which have much butter and spices in them. For it was a good admonition of Disarius, a learned physician, (in Macrobius, Saturn. 7, c. 4:) *Vitandos esse cibos, qui ultra sitim & famem appetentiam producerent*; 'That those means were to be avoided, which did lengthen appetite, beyond 'hunger and thirst.' If you can, be contented with one dish at a meal; for *multa fercula multos morbos ferunt*, 'many dishes bring many diseases; and *perniciosa sentina est abdomen insaturabile*, 'an unsatiable belly is a pernicious sink.' In foul bodies especially, over-feeding doth a great deal of hurt; according to that aphorism of Hippocrates, (lib. ii. Aphor. 9,) *Τὰ μὴ καθαρὰ τῶν σωμάτων, ὁκόσον ἂν θρέψῃς, μᾶλλον βλάπτεις*. 'The more you 'nourish foul bodies, the more you hurt them.' In a word, a moderate sober diet is always best, but especially here. As for the kinds of meats, though (amongst the flesh of four-footed beasts) pork and veal be chiefly commended in our books; yet here, in regard of their moisture, I prefer mutton before them. And if pork be to be avoided, much more pig, lamb, and such like flashy meat. As for beef, though it be discommended by most authors, yet good beef, well fed, and of an indifferent age, may be used without scruple, especially, by such, as have been accustomed to it; for those authors were never acquainted with our English beef. If oxen, indeed, be killed, when they are so old that they be past labour; their flesh cannot be wholesome, nor is it to be commended. But for our good succulent beef here, I verily think, if that those authors were alive again, and should taste of it; they would be so far from forbidding it, that, on the contrary, they would commend it. For, if they so much commend veal, I see no reason they can have to discommend good succulent beef.

Besides mutton and beef, you may sometimes have capons, hens, pullets, chickens, pigeons, partridges, pheasants, black-birds, and other small birds, rabbits, and the like. And, because some hares are sometimes caught about Tunbridge, it is a question which some ask, Whether those, who are there at the waters, may feed upon them? They are grown infamous, and banished from most tables undeservedly; out of a conceit, that they are melancholy meat. But I will now take their cause in hand, and vindicate them from that imputation, if I can; saying with Martial:

Inter aves turdus, si quis, me iudice, certet,

Inter quadrupedes gloria prima lepus.

And, lest I seem to give too easy an assent to the poet, (though he was not a mere poet, but well grounded in natural philosophy,) I will strive to prove, that it is not melancholy meat, but meat for melancholy men.

First, I will bring in Galen, (*lib. iii. de Alim.*) to patrocinate unto him, who prefers the blood of a hare, before that of hens, pigeons, and all other birds; and saith, that it is most sweet and dainty. Now, if hare's blood be so good, how can the flesh thereof be naught, which is made and produced by it; flesh being nothing else but blood coagulated and converted into the same? The same author (*ibidem initio libri*) saith also, that hare's flesh breedeth better blood than mutton or beef. And if these two come every day to the tables, even of the noblest and richest persons, why should the poor hare, which is better, and yieldeth better nourishment than they, be banished from the same?

After Galen, learned Heurnicus reckoneth hare's flesh in the first place, amongst those meats, which alter melancholy in the kidneys: but to alter and free from melancholy, and to breed melancholy, cannot both be done by one kind of meat. For, if any man would fly here to similitude of substance, or to an hidden property, he should deserve to be hissed at: but they say, it is a melancholy fearful creature. What reason they have to call him so, (unless it be, because he shunneth and runneth away from the dogs, which pursue him,) I do not know: but, if that be all, do not wolves, bulls, bears, yea the lions also, the like? If we may believe those who have been in Africa, an old woman there, or a child, with a stick in their hands, do drive away lions, as we do dogs here. And a hare is not so fearful, but that you shall see some of them turn about, and look upon the dogs, after a daring manner. They do not lie in holes and burrows, as conies do; which, in that regard, should be more melancholy; and yet they are in most common use amongst us, and accounted the best meat. And, as for their food, it is the same with that of part-

ridges, the excellency whereof is no where controverted; and with the use of them only the pox may be cured, as Cardan holdeth; who could speak of it, by experience, as having had that disease seven times, as himself witnesseth, in that book of his, which he intitlith, '*De utilitate ex adversis capiendâ*:' and sure his witness is not to be rejected. Let the hare then return in use, and be re-admitted to his former pre-eminence; so he be not too old, but of a competent age, as of a year or less. But, as for water-fowl, you shall do well to abstain from the same.

Concerning fish, though it be for the most part unwholesome, and apt to breed excrementitious and slimy humours; yet, for a change, you may sometimes eat some river-fish, that are firm and not slimy; as, trouts, gudgeons, pikes, perches, and the like, either broiled, or boiled in wine (if you will go to the charges) rather than in water; and corrected with fennel, spearmint, thyme, rosemary, parsley, or the like. But, for mints in particular, let those women, that come to the water for fruitfulness, refrain the same; because it is thought it hindereth conception. At your fruit, you may use some raisins of the sun, a bit of marmalade, a roasted warden, or pippin with carraways, or the like: but in all this you must be sparing.

Now, for an end of all, I must repeat what I have touched before; namely, that you avoid variety of dishes. For, the nature of several meats being diverse, and sometimes clean opposite and contrary one to another, and some sooner concocted, and others later; from hence those evils will arise, against which you come to seek help from the water: as, crudities, wind-gripings, pain of the reins, obstructions of the mesaraical veins, rawness of the *chylus*, (and consequently of the blood which shall be made of the same,) and such like inconveniences; which by a sober and moderate diet may be avoided.

Thus much concerning meat. As for drink, good ordinary clear beer, and of an indifferent strength and age, is best; and it is the ordinary drink of this Island, which agreeth best with the nature of those who are bred in it. Yet, if any, having been used to drink wine at meals, desire to continue the same, I am not against it; if so be they be not of too hot a constitution, and have no principal part offended through excess of heat; for a cup of wine or two, at meals, doth but help to make the better digestion. And for that purpose sack or claret better than white wine; because white wine, by the diuretical faculty it hath, passeth too soon away, and before the *chylus* be thoroughly perfected; and so it may carry some of the *chylus* raw and unconcocted with it, and consequently breed crudities and obstructions. And thus much concerning diet.

The Conclusion of this Treatise.

HAVING briefly run through the chiefest things needful to be known and practised by such as shall desire to use this water, I will here end with an exhortation unto them to be well advised concerning the nature of their diseases, before they come; and when they are come, to observe the rules and directions contained in this treatise, as also to be constant in the use of the water. And although, perhaps, some of them perceive little or no benefit at first by the same, yet let them not be discouraged, but persevere in the use of it; for some, having been there once with small or no profit at all, the next year after, upon a second trial, have returned home perfectly cured. It is the ordinary reward of constancy and perseverance, in the end, to hit the mark they aim at. Every thing in this world hath a certain period, before which it cannot come to a full perfection; and so, herewith, I wish all happy and prosperous success to all such as shall come to these springs, and will be ready at all times to afford them my best help and counsel.

Now, as for this treatise, I do not look it should have a privilege, above all other writings, to be exempted from controlment and carping; for it were better luck, than any man ever had, that exposed himself to the censure of the world. There are far more fools than wise men in the world; and, as the Spaniard well observeth, *Un loco haze cientio*, 'One fool maketh an hundred more such,' (most men having their wits pinned to another

man's sleeve,) and the greater fool commonly is the bolder censurer; which maketh books to be variously received, liked, and entertained, according to the variety of the reader's understanding and capacity.

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.

'Upon the reader's wit the fates of books depend.'

But the best is; that I ever was regardless of the multitude, as well in this, as in all things else. If the judicious reader find any just fault with any thing contained in this treatise, let him remember, that *humanum est errare*; 'that to err is incident to the frailty of our human nature.' But I never was so wedded to my own opinions and conceptions, but that, upon better information, I ever was, and ever will be, willing to acknowledge my errors, (if I committed, or shall commit any,) without esteeming it any shame so to do; any more than many good and worthy authors have done, when they published their retractions.

A View of St. Helena, an Island in the Ethiopian Ocean, in America; now in Possession of the Honourable East-India Company, where their Ships usually refresh in their Indian Voyages. With an Account of the admirable Voyage of Domingo Gonsales, the little Spaniard, to the World in the Moon, by the Help of several Gansas, or large Geese. An ingenious Fancy, written by a late learned Bishop.

[Duodecimo; containing forty-three pages.]

BEFORE I come to relate the acquisitions of the English in India, &c., I will make a halt at St. Hellens, or Helena; which is now possessed by the honourable East-India company. It is called the Sea-inn, because the English, and other nations stop there, as a place for watering and refreshment, in their long voyages to India. It was formerly seized by the Dutch, but retaken May the 6th, 1673, by captain Munday, with a squadron of English ships; and three rich Dutch East-India ships made prizes in the harbour: since which the company have fortified, and secured it, against any future invasion of Dutch, Portuguese, or Spaniards. It was called St. Helena, by the Portuguese, who discovered it on St. Hellen's day; being April the second. There is no island in the world so far distant from the continent, or main land, as this. It is about sixteen leagues in compass, in the Ethiopick sea, in sixteen degrees of south latitude; about fifteen-hundred miles from the Cape of Good Hope; three hundred and sixty from Angola, in Africa; and five-hundred and ten from Brasile, in America. It lies high out of the water, and surrounded on the sea-coasts with steep rocks; having within many cliffs, mountains, and valleys, of which one is named Church-Valley: where behind a small church they climb up to the mountains. To the south is Apple-Dale, so called from the abundance of oranges, lemons, and pomegranates; enough to furnish five or six ships. On the west side of the church, ships have good anchorage close under the shore, to prevent the winds which blow fiercely from the adjacent high mountains.

The air seems temperate and healthful, so that sick men brought a-shore there in a short time recover; yet the heat in the valleys is as intolerable as the cold upon the mountains. It commonly rains there five or six times a day; so that the barrenness of the hills is not occasioned for want of water, of which it hath two or three good springs for furnishing ships with fresh water: the ground of its own accord brings forth wild pease, and beans, also whole woods of orange, lemon, and pomegranate trees, (all the year long laden both with blossoms and fruit,) good figs, abundance of ebony, and rose trees, parsly, mustard-seed, purslain, sorrel, and the like; the woods and mountains are full of goats, large rams, and wild swine, but difficult to be taken. When the Portuguese discovered it, they found neither four-footed beasts nor fruit-trees, but only fresh water; they afterwards planted fruit-trees, which so increased since, that all the valleys stand full of them; partridges, pigeons, moor-hens, and peacocks breed here numerous, whereof a good marksman may soon provide a dinner for his friends. On the cliff-islands on the south, are thousands of grey and black mews, or sea-pies; and white and coloured birds, some with long, and others with short necks, who lay their eggs on the rocks, and suffer themselves to be taken with the hand; gazing at the surprisers, till they are knocked on the head with sticks.

From the salt-water beating against the cliffs, a froth or scum remains in some places, which the heat of the sun so purifies, that it becomes white and good salt; some of the mountains yield bole-armoniack, and a fat earth like *terra Lemnia*. The sea will answer the pains of a patient fisherman, who must use an angle, not a net, because of the foul ground and beating of the waves; the chief are mackarel, roach, carp, but differing in colour from those among us; eels as big as a man's arm, and well tasted crabs, lobsters, oysters, and mussels as good as English.

It is in this island that the scene of that notable fancy, called, 'The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse of a Voyage thither, by Domingo Gonsales,' is laid; written by a learned bishop, saith the ingenious bishop Wilkins, who calls it a pleasant and well-contrived fancy, in his own book intitled, 'The Discovery of a new World, or a Discourse tending to prove that it is possible there may be another habitable World in the Moon:'¹ wherein among other curious arguments he affirms, that this hath been the direct opinion of divers ancient, and some modern mathematicians, and may probably be deduced from the tenets of others; neither does it contradict any principle of reason nor faith; and that, as their world is our moon, so our world is theirs.

Now this small tract having so worthy a person to vouch for it, and many of our English historians having published, for truth, what is almost as improbable as this, (as sir John Mandevil in his Travels, and others,) and this having what they are utterly destitute of, that is, invention mixed with judgment; and was judged worthy to be licensed fifty years ago², and not since reprinted, whereby it would be utterly lost: I have thought fit to republish the substance thereof, wherein the author says he does not design to discourse his readers into a belief of each particular circumstance, but expects that his new discovery of a new world may find little better entertainment than Columbus had in his first discovery of America; though yet that poor espial betrayed so much knowledge, as hath since increased to vast improvements; and the then unknown is now found to be of as large extent as all the other known world: that there should be antipodes was once thought as great a paradox as now that the moon should be habitable. But the knowledge of it may be reserved for this our discovering age, wherein our virtuosi can by their telescopes gaze the sun into spots, and descry the mountains in the moon. But this and

¹ [This little effusion of Bishop Wilkins's was written when he was only 24 years old, and published in 1638, 8vo. W. Knight, the publisher, tells us in his preface, that 'the reader, without the danger of waves, tempests, or the fear of want or shipwreck, is conducted safe to a new world; which, if considered as to the largeness of the country, the situation of the provinces, the habits, manners, and inclinations of the people, appears so like the old one, that you might doubt at first, whether it be another, or the same.']

² [The only precedent edition, which the Editor has met with, is in 1638, 8vo. intitled 'The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse of Domingo Gonsales, the speedy Messenger. London, &c.']

much more must be left to the criticks, as well as the following relation of our little eye-witness, and great discoverer, which you shall have in his own Spanish style; and delivered with that grandeur and thirst of glory, which is generally imputed to that nation.

‘ It is known to all the countries of Andalusia, that I Domingo Gonsales was born of a noble family in the renowned city of Seville. My father’s name being Therando Gonsales, near kinsman, on the mother’s side, to Don Pedro Sanches, the worthy count of Almenara; my mother was the daughter of the famous lawyer, Otho Perez de Sallaveda, governor of Barcelona, and corregidor of Biscay. I, being the youngest of seventeen children, was put to school, and designed to the church; but heaven, proposing to use my service in matters of far another nature, inspired me with spending some time in the wars: it was at that time, that Don Ferando, the renowned duke D’Alva, was sent into the Low-Countries, in 1568. I then following the current of my desire, leaving the university of Salamanca, whither my parents had sent me, without giving notice to any of my friends, got through France to Antwerp, where I arrived in a mean condition. For having sold my books, bedding, and other things, which yielded me about thirty ducats, and borrowed twenty more of my father’s friends; I bought a little nag, wherewith I travelled more thriftily, than usually young gentlemen do; till arriving within a league of Antwerp, some of the cursed Gueses set upon me, and bereaved me of my horse, money, and all. So I was forced through necessity to enter into the service of marshal Cossey, a French nobleman, whom I served in an honourable employ; though my enemies, to my disgrace, affirm, I was his horse-keeper’s boy. But for that matter, I refer myself to count Mansfield, and other persons of condition; who have often testified to many worthy men the very truth of the business, which indeed was this: monsieur Cossey being about this time sent to the duke D’Alva, governor of the Low-Countries; he understanding the nobility of my birth, and my late misfortune, (judging it would be no small honour to him, to have a Spaniard of that quality about him,) furnished me with a horse, arms, and whatever I wanted; using my service, after I had learned French, in writing his letters, because my hand was very fair. In time of war, if upon necessity, I sometimes dressed my own horse, I ought not to be reproached therewith; since I count it the part of a gentleman, to submit to the vilest office for the service of his prince.

‘ The first expedition I was in was, when the marshal, my friend, met the prince of Orange making a road into France, and forced him to fly, even to the walls of Cambray: it was my good fortune to defeat a trooper, by killing his horse with my pistol; who, falling upon his leg, could not stir, but yielded to my mercy. I, knowing my own weakness of body, and seeing him a lusty tall fellow, thought it the surest way to dispatch him: which having done, I plundered him of a chain, money, and other things, to the value of two-hundred ducats. This money was no sooner in my pockets, but I resumed the remembrance of my nobility; and taking my audience of leave from monsieur Cossey, I instantly repaired to the duke D’Alva’s court, where divers of my kindred, seeing my pocket full of good crowns, were ready enough to acknowledge me. By their means I was received into pay; and in time obtained favour with the duke, who would sometimes jest a little more severely at my personage, than I could well bear: for though I must acknowledge my stature is so little, as I think no man living is less; yet since it is the work of heaven, and not my own, he ought not to have upbraided a gentleman therewith; and those glorious things that have happened to me may evince, that wonderful matters may be performed by very unlikely bodies, if the mind be good and fortune second our endeavours.

‘ Though the duke’s jokes a little disgusted me, yet I endeavoured to conceal my resentment; and accommodating myself to some other of his humours, I was so far interested in his favour, that at his going into Spain, whither I attended him; by his kindness, and other accidents, wherein, by my industry, I was seldom wanting to myself, I was able to carry home three-thousand crowns in my pocket.

‘ At my return, my parents, who were extremely disturbed at my departure, received me with joy ; which was increased, because they found I had brought wherewith to maintain myself, without being chargeable to them, or lessening the portions of my brothers and sisters. But doubting I would spend it as lightly as I got it, they solicited me to marry the daughter of John Figueres, a considerable merchant of Lisbon, to which I complied ; and putting my marriage-money, and good part of my own, into the hands of my father, I lived like a gentleman many years very happily. At length a quarrel arising between me and Pedro Dalgades, a gentleman and kinsman of mine, it grew so high, that when no mediation of friends could prevail, we two went alone with our swords into the field ; where it was my chance to kill him, though a stout proper man : but what I wanted in strength I supplied in courage, and my agility countervailed for his stature. This being acted in Carmona, I fled to Lisbon ; thinking to conceal myself with some friends of my father-in-law, till the business might be accommodated. At which time, a famous Spanish count, coming from the West-Indies, published triumphant declarations, of a great victory he had obtained against the English, near the isle of Pines ; whereas in reality he got nothing at all in that voyage but blows, and a considerable loss. It had been well, if vanity and lying had been his only crimes ; his covetousness had like to have been my utter ruin ; though since it hath proved the occasion of eternizing my name (I very believe) to all posterity, and to the unspeakable benefit of all mortals, for ever hereafter : at least, if it please heaven that I return home safe to my country, and give perfect instructions how these almost incredible and impossible acquirements may be imparted to the world ; you shall then see men flying in the air, from one place to another ; you shall then be able to send messages many hundred miles in an instant, and receive answers immediately, without the help of any creature upon earth ; you shall then presently impart your mind to your friend, though in the most remote and obscure place of a populous city ; and a multitude of other notable experiments. But what exceeds all, you shall then have the discovery of a new world, and abundance of rare and incredible secrets of nature, which the philosophers of former ages never so much as dreamed of : but I must be cautious in publishing these wonderful mysteries, till our statesmen have considered how they may consist with the policy and good government of our country ; and whether the fathers of the church may not judge the divulging them prejudicial to the catholic faith ; which, by those wonders I have seen above any mortal man before me, I am instructed to advance, without respect to any temporal advantage whatsoever.

‘ But to proceed. This huffing captain pretended much discontent for the death of Delgades, who was indeed some kin to him : however he was willing to be quiet, if I would give him a thousand ducats. I had now, besides a wife, two sons, whom I was not willing to beggar, only to satisfy the avaricious humour of this boaster ; and so was necessitated to take some other course. I embarked in a stout carrick bound for the East-Indies, carrying the value of two-thousand ducats to trade with ; leaving as much more for the support of my wife and children behind, whatever misfortune might happen to me. In the Indies I thrived exceedingly, laying out my stock in diamonds, emeralds, and pearls ; which I bought at such easy rates, that my stock safely arriving in Spain, (as I understood it did,) must needs yield ten for one. But, having doubled cape Buena Esperanza in my way home, I fell dangerously sick, expecting nothing but death ; which had undoubtedly happened, but that we just then discovered the blessed isle of St. Hellens, the only paradise I believe on earth, for healthfulness of air, and fruitfulness of soil, producing all necessaries for the life of man. It is about sixteen leagues in compass, and has no firm land or continent within three-hundred leagues ; nay, not so much as an island within an hundred leagues of it : so that it may seem a miracle of nature, that out of so vast and tempestuous an ocean, such a small rock or piece of ground should arise and discover itself. On the south is a good harbour, and near it divers small houses built by the Portuguese to accommodate strangers ; with a chapel handsomely beautified with a tower, and bell therein. Near it is a stream of excellent fresh water, divers handsome walks planted on both sides with orange, lemon, pomegranate, almond-trees, and the like ; which bear fruit all the

year, as do also divers others. There is store of garden-herbs, with wheat, pease, barley, and most kinds of pulse; but it chiefly aboundeth with cattle and fowl, as goats, swine, sheep, partridges, wild hens, pheasants, pigeons, and wild fowl beyond credit. But especially about February and March are to be seen large flocks of a kind of wild swans, (whereof I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter,) who, like our cuckoos and nightingales, go away at a certain season, and are no more seen that year.

‘ On this happy island did they set me a-shore, with a Negro to attend me; where I recovered my health, and continued a whole year; solacing myself, for want of human society, with birds and brute beats. Diego, my blackmoor, was forced to live in a cave at the west end of the isle; for, had we dwelt together, victuals would not have been so plenty with us; but now, if one succeeded well in hunting or fowling, the other would find means to treat him, and, if both missed, we were fain to look out sharply. But this seldom happened; since no creature there fears a man more than a goat or cow, whereby I easily tamed divers kind of birds and beasts by only muzzling them; so that till they came either to me, or Diego, they could not feed. At first I much delighted in a kind of partridges, and a tame fox, whereof I made good use: for if I had occasion to confer with Diego, I would take one of them muzzled and hungry, and, tying a note about his neck, beat him from me, whereupon he would straight away to Diego's cave; and, if he were not there, would beat about till he found him. Yet, this conveyance being not without some inconvenience, I persuaded Diego (who, though a fellow of good parts, was content to be ruled by me,) to remove to a cape on the north-west part of the island; being, though a league off, yet within sight of my house and chapel: and so, when the weather was fair, we could, by signals, declare our minds each to other in an instant, either by night or by day, wherein we took much pleasure. If in the night I would signify any thing to him, I set up a light in the bell-tower, which was a pretty large room, with a fair window well glazed, and the walls within plaistered white; so that, though the light were but small, it made a great show. After this light had stood half an hour, I covered it; and then, if I saw any signal of light again from my companion, I knew he waited for my notice: and so, by hiding and shewing my light, according to the agreement betwixt us, I certified him of what I pleased. In the day, I advised him by smoke, dust, and other refined ways.

‘ After a while, I grew weary of it as too painful, and again used my winged messengers. Upon the shore, about the mouth of our river, I found store of a kind of wild swans feeding upon prey, both of fish and birds; and, which is more strange, having one claw like an eagle, and the other like a swan. These birds breeding here in infinite numbers, I took thirty or forty of them young, and bred them up by hand for recreation; yet, not without some thoughts of that experiment which I after put in practice. These being strong, and able to continue a great flight, I taught them, first, to come at call afar off; not using any noise, but only shewing them a white cloth: and here I found it true what Plutarch affirms, ‘ that creatures which eat flesh are more docible than others.’ It is wonderful to think what tricks I taught them before they were a quarter old: amongst others, I used them, by degrees, to fly with burthens, wherein I found them able beyond belief; and a white sheet being displayed to them, by Diego, upon the side of a hill, they would carry from me to him, bread, flesh, or whatever I pleased; and, upon the like call, come to me again. Having proceeded thus far, I consulted how to join a number of them together so as to carry a heavier weight; which if I could compass, I might enable a man to be carried safely in the air from one place to another. I puzzled my wits extremely with this thought, and, upon trial, found, that if many were put to the bearing of one great burthen, (by reason it was impossible all of them should rise together just at one instant,) the first that rose, finding himself stayed by a weight heavier than he could stir, would soon give over; and so the second, third, and all the rest. I contrived, at last, a way whereby each might rise with only his own proportion of weight: I fastened about each gansa a little pulley of cork, and putting a string of a just length through it, I fastened one end to a block of almost eight pounds weight, and tied a two-

pound weight to the other end of the string, and then (causing the signal to be erected) they all rose together, being four in number, and carried away my block to the place appointed. This hitting so luckily, I added two or three birds more, and made trial of their carrying a lamb; whose happiness I much envied, that he should be the first living creature to partake of such an excellent device.

At length, after divers of trials, I was surprized with a great longing to cause myself to be carried in the same manner: Diego, my Moor, was likewise possessed with the same desire; and, had I not loved him well, and wanted his service, I should have resented his ambitious thought: for I count it greater honour to have been the first flying-man, than to be another Neptune who first adventured to sail on the sea. Yet, seeming not to understand his intention, I only told him, that all my gansas were not strong enough to carry him; being a man, though of no great bulk, yet twice heavier than myself. Having prepared all necessaries, I, one time, placed myself, and all my utensils, on the top of a rock at the river's mouth; and, putting myself upon my engine at full sea, I caused Diego to advance the signal; whereupon my birds, twenty-five in number, rose all at once, and carried me lustily over to the rock on the other side, being about a quarter of a league. I chose this time and place, because if any thing had fallen out contrary to expectation, the worst that could happen was only falling into the water, and being able to swim well, I hoped to receive little hurt in my fall. When I was once safe over, oh how did my heart even swell with joy and admiration at my own invention! How often did I wish myself in the midst of Spain, that I might fill the world with the fame of my glory and renown! Every hour I had a longing desire for the coming of the Indian fleet, to take me home with them; which then staid three months beyond their usual time. At length they arrived, being three carricks, much weather-beaten; the men sick and weak, and so were constrained to refresh themselves in our island a whole month. The admiral was called Alphonso de Xima, a valiant wise man, desirous of glory, and worthy better fortune than afterwards befel him. To him I discovered my device of the gansas; being satisfied that it was impossible, otherwise, to persuade him to take so many birds into his ship, who, for the niceness of their provision, would be more troublesome than so many men: yet I adjured him, by oaths and imprecations, to be secret in the business; though I did not much doubt it, assuring myself he durst not impart the experiment to any, before our king was acquainted therewith. I had more apprehension, lest ambition and the desire of gaining to himself the honour of so admirable an invention, should tempt him to dispatch me. However, I was forced to run the risk, unless I would adventure the loss of my birds, the like whereof, for my purpose, were not to be had in Christendom; nor was I sure ever to bring up others to serve my turn.

It happened all these doubts were causeless: the man I believe was honest, but the misfortune we met with prevented all these thoughts. Thursday, June the 21st, 1599, we set sail for Spain. I having allowed me a convenient cabin for my birds and engine, which the captain would have persuaded me to have left behind, and it was a wonder I did not; but my good fortune saved my life; for, after two months sail, we met with an English fleet about ten leagues from the island of Teneriffe, one of the Canaries, famous for a hill therein called Pike, which is discerned at sea above an hundred leagues off. We had a-board five times their number of men, all in health, and were well provided with ammunition; yet, finding them resolved to fight, and knowing what infinite riches we carried, concluded it better, if possible, to escape; than, by encountering a crew of desperate fellows, to hazard not only our own lives (which a man of courage does not value), but the estates of many poor merchants, who, I am afraid, were undone by the miscarriage of this business. Our fleet consisted of five sail; that is, three carricks, a barque, and a caravel, who, coming from St. Thomas' Issle, had, in an ill hour, overtaken us some days before. The English had three ships well provided, who no sooner espied, but presently engaged us; and, changing their course, endeavoured to bring us under their lee; which they might easily do as the wind then stood; they being light nimble vessels; as English ships generally are; ours heavy, deep laden, and foul with the sea. So our

captain resolved (wisely enough it may be, but neither valiantly nor fortunately) to fly ; commanding us to disperse ourselves. The caravel, by too much haste, fell upon one of the carricks, and bruised her so, that one of the English easily fetched her up and entered her ; the caravel sinking before our eyes. The barque escaped unpursued ; and another of our carricks, after some chace, was given over by the enemy, who, expecting a sufficient booty of us, and getting us between them, fell upon us with much fury : our captain, hereupon, gave direction to run a-shore upon Teneriffe, the port whereof we could not recover, saying, " That he hoped to save part of the goods and some of our lives, and he had rather the rest should be lost, than all fall into the mercy of our foes."

' When I heard this resolution, (observing the sea to work high, and knowing all the coast to be so full of rocks and shoals, that it was impossible our ship should come near the land, unless broken into a thousand pieces,) I represented to the captain the desperateness of the attempt ; wishing him rather to try the kindness of the enemy, than throw away himself and so many brave men. But he would by no remonstrances be removed from his resolution ; therefore, finding it high time to shift for myself, I locked up my little casket of jewels, which putting into my sleeve, I then betook me to my gansas ; and, having harnessed them to my engine, and put myself thereon ; supposing, as indeed it happened, that when the ship should split, my birds, though they wanted their signal, yet for saving their own lives (which nature hath taught all creatures to preserve) would make toward land ; which fell out according to my expectation. The people in the ship wondered what I was doing, none being acquainted with the use of my birds, but the captain ; Diego being in the other ship, which fled away unpursued. We were about half a league from land, when our carrick struck upon a rock, and split to pieces ; upon which I let loose the reins to my birds, having first placed myself upon the top of the deck, and with the shock they all arose, carrying me fortunately to the land : of which you need not doubt but I was very joyful, though it was a miserable sight to behold my friends and acquaintance in that woeful distress ; of whom yet many escaped better than they expected. For the English, launching out their cock-boats, discovered more generous tempers than we are pleased to allow them ; taking compassion of their calamity, and endeavouring with all diligence to save them from the fury of the waves, though with much danger to themselves. Among others they took up our captain, who (as father Pacio since told me) having put himself with twelve others into the cock-boat, was forced to yield to one capt. Raymundo, who carried him and our pilot along with them in their voyage to the East-Indies, whither they were bound : but it was their hard fate, by a breach of the sea near cape Buena Esperança, to be swallowed by the merciless waves, whose rage they a while before had so hardly escaped. The rest, (as I likewise heard,) who were about twenty-six persons, they took into their ship, and set them on land at cape Verde.

' As for myself, being now a-shore in an island inhabited by Spaniards, I reckoned I was safe, but found myself mistaken ; for it was my hap to pitch upon that part of the isle where the peak begins to rise, which is inhabited by a savage people who live upon the sides of that hill ; the top whereof is for the most part covered with snow, and formerly accounted, for its steepness, inaccessible either for man or beast. But these savages (fearing the Spaniards) keep as near the top as they can ; never coming down into the fruitful valleys, but to seek for booty. A crew of these out-laws happened to espy me soon after I landed, and, thinking they had got a prize, approached me with all speed. I guessed their design before they came within half a mile ; when, perceiving them come down the hill directly towards me, with long staves and other weapons, I thought it necessary to secure myself from these villains, who, out of hatred to us Spaniards, would have cut me to pieces. The country was sandy, but the peak beginning to lift up itself, I espied in the side a white cliff, which I hoped my gansas would take for a mark, and, being put up, would make all that way ; whereby I might be carried so far, that those barbarous rascals should not overtake me, before I got to some Spaniard's house ; or hid myself, till by the covert of the night I might travel to Laguna, the chief city of the island, three miles off. So I settled myself upon my engine, and let loose the reins to my gansas, who by

good fortune took all one course, though not just the way I aimed at. But what of that? O reader, prick up thy ears, and prepare thyself to hear the strangest chance that ever happened to any mortal, and which I know thou wilt not have the grace to believe, till thou seest the like experiment; which I doubt not in a short time may be performed. My gansas, like so many horses that had gotten the bit between their teeth, made not their flight towards the cliff I intended, though I used my wonted means to direct the leader of the flock that way; but with might and main took up toward the top of the peak, and never stopped till they came there: a place, in vulgar estimation (though since experimentally contradicted) fifteen miles in height. What kind of place this was I would gladly relate, but that I hasten to matters of greater importance. When I was set down there, my poor gansas fell to panting, blowing, and gaping for breath, as if they would all have died; so I did not trouble them a while, forbearing to draw them in (which they never use to endure without struggling), but little did I expect what followed.

‘ It was now the season that these birds take their flight away, as our cuckows and swallows do in Spain towards autumn; and (as I afterwards found) being mindful of their usual voyage, just when I began to settle myself to take them in, they with one consent rose up, and (having no other higher place to make towards) to my unspeakable fear and amazement, struck bolt upright, and never left towering upward still higher and higher, for the space, as I guessed, of an hour; after which, I thought, they laboured less than before, till at length (ah wonderful!) they remained immoveable, as steadily as if they had sat upon so many perches. The lines slacked; neither I nor the engine moved at all; but continued still, as having no manner of weight. I found then by experience what no philosopher ever dreamed of; namely, that those things, we call heavy, do not fall towards the centre of the earth as their natural place, but are drawn by a secret property of the globe of the earth, or rather something within it, as the loadstone draweth iron which is within the compass of its attractive beams. For though my gansas could continue unmoved, without being sustained by any thing but the air, as easily and quietly as a fish in the water; yet, if they forced themselves never so little, it is impossible to imagine with what swiftness they were carried, either onward, downward, or side-ways. I must ingenuously confess, my horror and amazement in this place was such, that, had I not been armed with a true Spanish resolution, I should certainly have died for fear.

‘ The next thing that disturbed me was the swiftness of the motion, which was so extraordinary, that it almost stopped my breath. If I should liken it to an arrow out of a bow, or a stone thrown from the top of a high tower, it would come vastly short of it. Another thing was exceeding troublesome to me; that is, the illusion of devils and wicked spirits, who, the first day of my arrival, came about me in great numbers, in the likeness of men and women, wondering at me like so many birds about an owl, and speaking several languages which I understood not; till at last I met with some that spoke good Spanish, some Dutch, and others Italian; all which I understood: and here I had only a touch of the sun’s absence once for a short time, having him ever after in my sight. Now, though my gansas were entangled in my lines, yet they easily seized upon divers kinds of flies and birds, especially swallows and cuckows, whereof there were multitudes, even like motes in the sun, though I never saw them eat any thing at all. I was much obliged to those (whether men or devils, I know not) who, among divers discourses, told me, “If I would follow their directions, I should not be only carried safe home, but be assured to command at all times all the pleasures of that place.” To which motion not daring to give a flat denial, I desired time to consider; and withal entreated them (though I felt no hunger at all, which may seem strange) to help me to some victuals, lest I should starve in my journey; so they readily brought me very good flesh and fish of several sorts, and well dressed, but that it was extreme fresh, without any relish of salt. Wine likewise I tasted of divers kinds, as good as any in Spain; and beer, no better in all Antwerp. They advised me, that, while I had opportunity, I should make my provisions; telling me, that till the next Thursday they could help me to no more; at which time they would find means to carry me back, and set me safe in Spain, in any place I would desire; provided I would become

one of their fraternity, and enter into such covenants as they had made to their captain and master, whom they would not name. I answered civilly, I saw little reason to rejoice in such an offer; desiring them to be mindful of me as occasion served. So for that time I was rid of them, having first furnished my pockets with as much victuals as I could thrust in; among which I would be sure to find a place for a small bottle of good canary.

‘ I shall now declare the quality of the place wherein I was: the clouds I perceived to be all under between me and the earth. The stars, because it was always day, I saw at all times alike; not shining bright as we see in the night upon earth, but of a whitish colour like the moon with us, in the day-time: those that were seen, which were not many, shewed far greater than with us; yea, as I guessed, no less than ten times bigger: as for the moon, being then within two days of the change, she appeared of an huge and dreadful greatness. It is not to be forgot that no stars appeared, but on that part of the hemisphere next the moon; and the nearer to her, the larger they appeared again: whether I lay quiet, and rested, or were carried in the air, I perceived myself to be always between the moon and the earth; whereby it is plain that my gansas took their way directly towards the moon, and that when we rested, as we did at first for many hours, either we were insensibly carried round about the globe of the earth, (though I perceived no such motion,) or else, according to the opinion of Copernicus, the earth is carried about, and turneth round perpetually from west to east; leaving to the planets only that motion, which the astronomers call natural, and is not upon the poles of the equinoctial, (commonly called the poles of the world,) but upon those of the zodiack. The air in that place I found without any wind, and exceeding temperate; neither hot nor cold, where neither the sun-beams had any subject to reflect upon, nor the earth and water so near to affect the air with their natural quality of coldness. As for the philosophers attributing heat and moisture to the air, I always esteemed it a fancy. Lastly, I remember that, after my departure from the earth, I never felt either hunger or thirst; whether the purity of the air, freed from the vapours of the earth and water, might yield nature sufficient nourishment, or what else might be the cause I cannot determine, but so I found it; though I was perfectly in health, both of body, and mind, even above my usual vigour.

‘ Some hours after the departure of that devilish company, my gansas began to bestir themselves; still directing their course towards the globe, or body of the moon; making their way with such incredible swiftness, that I conceive they advanced little less than fifty leagues in an hour; in which passage I observed three things very remarkable: one, that the farther we went, the less the globe of the earth appeared to us, and that of the moon still larger: again the earth, which I had ever in my eye, seemed to mask itself with a kind of brightness like another moon; and as we discern certain spots or clouds as it were in the moon, so did I then see the like in the earth; but whereas the form of those spots in the moon is always the same, these on the earth seemed by degrees to change every hour, the reason whereof seems to be, that whereas the earth according to her natural motion (for such a motion I am now satisfied she hath, according to the opinion of Copernicus) turns round upon her own axis, every four-and-twenty hours, from west to east; I should at first see in the middle of the body of this new star, the earth; a spot like a pear with a morsel bit out on one side, in some hours I should observe this spot move away towards the east; this no doubt was the main land of Africa: then might I perceive a great shining brightness in that place, which continued about the same time, and was questionless the vast Atlantic Ocean. After this succeeded a spot almost oval, just as we see America described in our maps, then another immense clearness representing Mare del Zur, or the South Sea; and lastly a number of spots like the countries and islands in the East Indies; so that it seemed to me no other than an huge mathematical globe turned round leisurely before me, wherein successively all the countries of our earthly world were within twenty-four hours represented to my view; and this was all the means I now had to number the days, and reckon the time.

‘ I could now wish that philosophers and mathematicians would confess their own blindness, who have hitherto made the world believe that the earth hath no motion; and to confirm it, are forced to attribute to every one of the celestial bodies two motions di-

rectly contrary to each other: one from the east to the west, to be performed in twenty-four hours with an impetuous rapid motion; the other from west to east in several proportions. O incredible supposition! that those huge bodies of the fixed stars in the highest orb, whereof they confess divers are above an hundred times bigger than the whole earth, should like so many nails in a cart-wheel be whirled about in so short a time; whereas it is many thousand years, no less (say they) than thirty-thousand, before that orb finishes his course from west to east, which they call his natural motion: now whereas they allow their natural course, from west to east, to every one of them therein, they do well; the moon performs it in twenty-seven days; the sun, Venus, and Mercury in a year, or thereabouts; Mars in three years, Jupiter in twelve, and Saturn in thirty. But to attribute to these celestial bodies contrary motions, at once, is an absurd conceit; and much more, to imagine that the same orb, wherein the fixed stars are, whose natural course takes up so many thousands of years, should be turned about every twenty-four hours. I will not go so far as Copernicus, who makes the sun the centre of the earth, and immoveable; neither will I be positive in any thing, only this I say—Allow the earth its motion, (which these eyes of mine can testify to be true,) and all those absurdities are removed; every one having only his own single and proper motion.

‘But where am I? I promised an history, and am unawares turned disputer. One accident more befel me worth mention; that during my stay (I say) I saw a kind of a red-dish cloud coming toward me, and continually approaching nearer; which at last I perceived was nothing but a huge swarm of locusts. He that reads the discourses of learned men concerning them, (as John Leo, of Africa, and others, who relate that they are seen in the air, several days before they fall on the earth) and adds thereto this experience of mine, will easily conclude that they can come from no other place than the globe of the moon. But now give me leave to go on quietly in my journey for eleven or twelve days, during all which time I was carried directly toward the globe, or body of the moon, with such a violent whirling as is inexpressible; for I cannot imagine a bullet out of a cannon could make way through the vaporous and muddy air near the earth with half that celerity; which is the more strange, since my gansas moved their wings but now and then, and sometimes for a quarter of an hour, not at all; only holding them stretched out, as we see kites and eagles sometimes do for a short space: during which pauses, I suppose they took their naps, and times of sleeping; for other times I could perceive they never had any. For myself, I was so fastened to my engine, that I durst slumber enough to serve my turn; which I took with as great ease as if I had lain on the best down bed in Spain.

‘After eleven days passage, in this violent flight, I perceived we began to approach to another earth (if I may so call it,) being the globe or very body of that star, which we call ‘the Moon.’ The first difference I found, between this and our earth, was; that it appeared in its natural colours, as soon as ever I was free from the attraction of the earth; whereas, with us, a thing a league or two from us, puts on that deadly colour of blue. I then perceived also, that this world was the greatest part covered with a huge mighty sea; those parts only being dry land, which are to us somewhat darker than the rest of her body; I mean, what the country-people call ‘The Man in the Moon:’ and that part, which shines so bright, is another ocean, besprinkled with islands, which, for their smallness, we cannot discern so far off; so that the splendour, which appears to us in the night, is nothing but the reflection of the sun-beams, returned to us out of the water as from a looking-glass. How much this disagrees with what our philosophers teach in the schools is evident: but alas! how many of their errors hath time and experience refuted, in this our age? And among other vain conjectures, who hath not hitherto believed the upper region of the air to be very hot; as being next, forsooth, to the natural place of the element of fire? Mere vanities, fancies, and dreams! For, after I was once free from the attractive beams of that tyrannous loadstone, the earth; I found the air altogether serene, without winds, rain, mists, or clouds, neither hot nor cold, but constantly pleasant, calm, and comfortable, till my arrival in that new world of the moon: as for that region of fire, our phi-

losophers talk of, I heard no news of it; my eyes have sufficiently informed me, there is no such thing.

' The earth had now, by turning about, shewed me all her parts twelve times, when I finished my course: for when, by my reckoning, it seemed to be (as indeed it was) Tuesday, September the eleventh; at which time, the moon, being two days old, was in the twentieth degree of Libra; my gansas seemed, by one consent, to stay their course, and rested for certain hours; after which they took their flight, and in less than an hour set me on the top of an high hill in that other world, where many wonderful things were presented to my sight. For I observed first, that though the globe of the earth appeared much greater there than the moon doth to us, (even three times bigger,) yet all things there were ten, twenty, yea thirty times larger than ours; their trees were thrice as high, and above five times broader and thicker; so were their herbs, birds, and beasts; though I cannot well compare them to ours, because I found not any kind of beast or bird there, which any way resembled ours, except swallows, nightingales, cuckows, woodcocks, bats, and some kind of wild fowl; and likewise, such birds as my gansas; all which, as I now perceived, spend their time, in their absence from us, in that world: neither do they differ in any thing from ours, but are the very same kind.

' No sooner was I upon the ground, but I found myself extremely hungry: stepping, then, to the next tree, I fastened my engine and gansas thereto, and in great haste fell to examining my pockets, for the victuals I had reserved there; but, to my great surprise and vexation, instead of partridges and capons, which I thought I had hoarded there, I found nothing but a medley of dry leaves, goats' hair, sheep or goats' dung, moss, and the like; my canary-wine was turned, and stunk like horse-piss. Oh the villainy and cheats of these cursed spirits, whose assistance if I had depended on, in what a condition had I been! While I stood musing at this strange metamorphosis, on a sudden, I heard my gansas fluttering behind me; and, looking back, I espied them falling greedily upon a shrub, within the reach of their lines, whose leaves they fed earnestly upon; whereas, before, I had never seen them eat any green thing whatsoever: so stepping to the shrub, I put a leaf to my mouth; the taste was so excellent, that I cannot express it, and, if I had not with discretion moderated my appetite, I should have surfeited thereon: yet it happened to be a good bait for both me, and my birds, when we had most need of refreshment.

' Scarce had we ended our banquet, when I saw myself surrounded with a strange kind of people, both in feature, manners, and apparel: their stature was very different, but they were generally twice as high as ours; their shape and countenance pleasant, and their habit hardly to be described; for I never saw either cloth, silk, nor other stuff, like that whereof their clothes were made; neither can I possibly relate their colour, they being in a manner all clothed alike: it was neither black, white, yellow, red, nor blue, nor any colour composed of these; if you ask what was it then, I must tell you, it was a colour never seen in our earthly world, and so neither to be described nor conceived by us: for, as it is hard to make a man, born blind, understand the difference between green and blue, so neither can I decipher this moon colour, as having no affinity with any I ever beheld; I can only say, it was the most glorious and delightful that can be imagined, neither was any thing more pleasant to me during my stay there.

' Being surprized at the appearance of these people, so suddenly and in such accoutrements, I crossed myself, and cried out, 'Jesu Maria:' no sooner was the word Jesu pronounced, but young and old fell on their knees, (whereat I not a little rejoiced,) holding their hands on high, and repeating certain words which I understood not; and, presently rising again, one much taller than the rest came and kindly embraced me, and ordering, as I perceived, some of the rest to attend my birds, he took me by the hand, and led me to his dwelling, down toward the foot of the hill; which was a building so great and beautiful, as nothing in our world is comparable thereto: yet afterwards I saw such as this seemed but a cottage, in respect of them. There was no door about the house less

than thirty feet high, and twelve broad ; the rooms were forty or fifty feet in height, and answerable in proportion ; neither could they be much less, the master thereof being full twenty-eight high, and I suppose his body would weigh twenty-five or thirty of ours. After I had rested with him about one of our days, he led me five leagues off to the palace of the prince of the country ; the stateliness whereof I have not now leisure to describe. This prince was much taller than the former, and called (as near as I can, by letters declare it, for their sounds are not perfectly to be expressed by our characters) Pylonas, which, in their language, is *first* or *chief* ; if it doth not rather denote his authority and dignity, as being the principal man in all those parts ; though yet there is one supreme monarch amongst them, much greater of stature than he, commanding over all that whole world, having under him twenty-nine other princes of great power ; and every one of these has twenty-four inferior governors, whereof this Pylonas was one. The first ancestor of this great monarch came out of the earth, as they relate ; and by marrying the heiress of that vast monarchy, obtaining the government, left it to his posterity, who have enjoyed it ever since, even forty-thousand moons, which is three-thousand and seventy-seven years : his name was Irdonozur, whose heirs to this day assume the same name. He, they say, having continued there about four-hundred moons, and begot divers children, returned (though by what means, they know not) to the earth again. I doubt, they have their fables as well as we, since our historians never mention any earthly man to have been in that world, before myself, and much less to have returned again. I cannot therefore but condemn this tradition, as false and romantic, though I found learning was in great esteem among them ; and they seem to detest lying and falsehood, which is there severely punished, and which may yield some credit to their historical narrations. Many of them live wonderful long, even beyond belief ; affirming to me, that some survived thirty-thousand moons, which is above a thousand years ; so that the ages of three or four men might easily reach to the time of the first Irdonozur : and this is generally noted, that the taller people are of stature, the more excellent are their endowments of mind, and the longer time they live ; for their stature is very different, great numbers not much exceeding ours, who seldom live above a thousand moons, which is fourscore of our years. These they account base, unworthy creatures, but one degree above brute beasts, and employ in mean and servile offices, calling them bastards, counterfeits, or changelings. Those, whom they account true natural lunars, or moon-men, exceed ours generally thirty times, both in quantity of body, and length of life, proportionable to the quality of the day in both worlds ; theirs containing almost thirty of our days.

‘ The manner of our travel to the palace of Pylonas was more strange and incredible than any thing we have related ; for, at our first setting forth, there were delivered to each of us two feather-fans, like those our ladies in Spain cool themselves with in summer. You must understand, that the globe of the moon has likewise an attractive power ; yet so much weaker than the earth, that if a man do but spring upward with all his strength, as dancers do, in shewing their tricks, he will be able to mount fifty or sixty feet high ; and, being then above all attraction from the moon’s earth, he falls down no more, but by the help of these fans, as with wings, they convey themselves in the air, in a short space (though not quite so swift as birds) whither they please. In two hours time, as I could guess, by the help of these fans, we were carried through the air those five leagues, in all about sixty persons. Being arrived at the palace of Pylonas ; after our conductor had declared what manner of present he had brought, I was called in to him by his attendants. By the stateliness of his palace, and the reverence done him, I soon perceived his greatness ; and managed my affairs, in order to procure his favour accordingly ; and having (as you may remember) a certain little box or casket of jewels, the remainder of those I brought from the East-Indies ; before I was introduced, I secretly took them out of my pocket, and choosing some of each sort, I made them ready to be presented, as I should think convenient.

‘ I found him sitting in a magnificent chair of state, with his wife or queen on one hand, and his eldest son on the other ; one attended by a troop of ladies, and the other of young

men; and all along the side of the room, stood a great number of handsome personages, whereof scarce one was lower of stature than Pylonas, whose age, they report, is now one and twenty-thousand moons. At my entrance, I fell on my knees; and taking out my jewels, I presented to the king seven stones of several sorts, a diamond, a ruby, an emerald, a sapphire, a topaz, and an opal; which he accepted with joy and admiration. Then I offered the queen and prince some others, and designed to have bestowed divers more upon his attendants: but Pylonas forbid them to accept any; supposing (as I heard) they were all I had, which he would have me reserve for Irdonozur, his sovereign. He then embraced me with much endearment, and inquired divers things by signs, which I answered in the same manner, to the best of my skill; which not contenting him, he delivered me to the guard of a hundred of his giants (as I may well call them), strictly charging them, that I should want nothing fit for me; that they should suffer none of the dwarf lunars, or little moon-men, to come near me: that I should be instructed in their language; and lastly, that they should, by no means, impart to me the knowledge of several things, by him specified: what they were I could never understand. It may be, you long to know what Pylonas inquired of me. Why, what should it be but, Whence I came? how I arrived there? what was my name and business? with the like. To all which, I answered as near the truth as possible.

Being dismissed, I was provided with all necessaries as my heart could wish; so that I seemed to be in a paradise, the pleasures whereof did not yet so transport me; but I was much concerned with the thoughts of my wife and children, and still retaining some hope that I might again return to them. I tended my gansas daily with much care; which yet had signified little, if other men had not done more than I could: for now the time came, when, of necessity, all people of our stature, and myself likewise, must needs sleep thirteen or fourteen whole days together; for, by a secret and irresistible decree of nature, when the day begins to appear, and the moon to be enlightened by the sun-beams, (which is in the first quarter of the moon,) all the people of our stature, inhabiting those parts, fall into a dead sleep, and are not possibly to be wakened till the sun set, and is withdrawn: for as owls and bats with us cannot endure the light, so, at the first approach of day, we begin to be amazed therewith, and fall into a slumber, which grows by degrees into a dead sleep, till the light be gone, which is in fourteen or fifteen days, that is, till the last quarter. During the sun's absence, there is a twofold light; one of the sun, which I could not endure to behold, and another of the earth. Now that of the earth was at the height; for when the moon is at the change, then is the earth a full-moon to them; and as the moon increases with us, so the light of the earth decreases with them. I found the light, though the sun was absent, equal to that with us in the day when the sun is clouded; but toward the quarter it daily diminisheth, yet leaving still a competent light; which seems very strange, though not so remarkable as what they there report, that in the other hemisphere of the moon, contrary to that I fell upon, where during half the moon they see not the sun, and the earth never appears to them; they have yet a kind of light not unlike our moon-light, which it seems the nearness of the stars and other planets, that are at a far less distance than from us, affords them.

You must understand, that of the true lunars, or moon-men, there are three kinds; some a little taller than we, as perhaps ten or twelve feet high; these can endure the day of the moon, when the earth shines but little, but not the beams of both, and so must then be laid asleep: others are twenty feet high or above, who can suffer all the light both of the earth and sun. There is in a certain island (the mysteries whereof are carefully concealed) men whose stature is at least twenty-seven feet high. If any other come a-land there in the moon's day-time, they instantly fall asleep. This is called *Insula Martini*, and hath a particular governor, who (as they report) is sixty-five-thousand moons old; which makes five-thousand of our years: his name is said to be *Hiruch*, and he, in a manner, commands *Irdonozur* himself; especially in that island, out of which he never removes. There is another comes often thither, who, they say, is not above half his age; that is, about thirty-three-thousand moons, or two-thousand six-hundred of our years;

and he orders all things through the globe of the moon, in matters of religion, as absolutely as the pope doth in any part of Italy. I would fain have seen this man, but was not permitted to come near him; his name is Imozes.

‘ Now let me settle myself to a long night’s sleep; to which end my attendants take charge of my birds, prepare my lodging, and signify to me, by signs, how I must order myself. It was then about the middle of September, when I perceived the air more clear than ordinary; and with the increase of the light I began to feel myself first dull, and then heavy to sleep, though I had not been lately disturbed of my rest. At length, I delivered myself into the custody of this sister of death, whose prisoner I was for almost a fortnight after; and then awaking, it is not to be believed how brisk and vigorous I found the faculties both of my body and mind. I then applied myself to learning the language, which is the same throughout all the regions of the moon; yet not so wonderful, since I believe all the earth of moon does not amount to the fortieth part of our inhabited earth: partly besides the globe of the moon is far less, and because the sea or ocean covers very nigh three parts of four; whereas the land and sea in our world may be judged of an equal measure. Their language is very difficult, since it hath no affinity with any other I ever heard; and consists not so much of words and letters, as tones and strange sounds, which no letters can express; for there are few words but signify several things, and are distinguished only by their sounds, which are sung, as it were, in uttering: yea, many words consist of tones only, without words; by occasion whereof, I find a language may be framed, and easily learned, as copious as any other in the world, only of tones; which is an experiment worth searching after. Notwithstanding these difficulties, within two months I attained to such knowledge therein, that I understood most questions demanded of me, and, with signs and words, made reasonable shift to utter my mind: which Pylonas having notice of, he oftentimes sent for me, and was pleased to inform me of many things my guardians durst not disclose; though I must needs say, I never found they abused me with an untruth; but, if I asked a question they were unwilling to resolve, they would shake their heads, and with a Spanish shrug, divert to some other discourse.

‘ After seven months time, the great Irdonozur, making his progress to a place about two-hundred leagues, from the palace of Pylonas, sent for me; yet would not admit me into his presence, but discoursed me through a window; where I might hear him, and he hear and see me at pleasure. I presented him with the remainder of my jewels, which he thankfully accepted, saying, “ He would requite them with gifts of more considerable value.” I staid there above a quarter of a moon, when I was again sent back to Pylonas; for if we had staid a day or two longer, the sun would have overtaken us, before we could have recovered our home. The gifts he bestowed on me were such, that a man would part with mountains of gold to purchase: they were all stones, nine only in number, of three sorts; one called, Poleastis, another Machrus, and the third Ebelus; of each sort three: the first are about the bigness of an hasle-nut, very like jet, which among many other incredible virtues hath this property, that being once put in the fire, they ever after retain their heat, though without any outward appearance, till quenched with some kind of liquor, which no way damages them, though heated and cooled therein a thousand times: their heat is so vehement, that it will make any metal, within a foot of it, red-hot; and being in a chimney, warms the room as if a great fire were kindled therein. The Machrus is yet more precious, in colour like a topaz, so clear and resplendent; as though not above the bigness of a bean; yet being placed in the night, in the midst of a large church, it makes all as light, as if an hundred lamps were hanged round: can any man wish for more useful properties in a stone than these? Yet my Ebelus is so excellent, that it may be much preferred before them; yea, prized above all the diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds, that our world can afford. The lunar colour is so exceeding beautiful, that a man would travel a thousand leagues to behold it: the shape is somewhat flat, of the breadth of a piece of eight, and twice the thickness; one side is of a more orient colour than the other, which, being clapped to a man’s bare skin, takes away all the weight and ponderousness of his body; but turning the other side, it adds force to the attractive

beams of the earth, either in this world or that, and makes the body half as heavy again. Do you not wonder now why I should so over-prize this stone? Before you see me on earth again, you will find I have reason to value this invaluable jewel. I inquired whether they had not any kind of gem, or other means, to make a man invisible; which I judged a thing of admirable use, and could mention divers of our learned men, who had written to this purpose: they answered, that if it were possible, yet they were sure, heaven would not suffer it to be revealed to us creatures, subject to so many imperfections; and which might be easily abused to ill purposes: and this was all I could get of them.

‘ Now after it was known that Irdonozur, the great monarch, had done me this honour, it is strange how much all respected me, more than before: my guardians, who had been hitherto cautious in relating any thing of the government of that world, grew now more open; so that from them, and Pylonas together, I understood many notable particulars; as that, in a thousand years, there is found neither thief, nor whoremonger; for first there is no want of any thing necessary for the use of man, food growing every where, without labour, of all sorts that can be desired. As for clothes, houses, or whatever else a man may be supposed to want, it is provided by their superiors, though not without some labour, but yet so easy, as if they did it for pleasure: again, their females are all absolute beauties, and by a secret disposition of nature, a man there having once known a woman never desires any other. Murder was never heard of amongst them, neither is it hardly possible to be committed, for there can be no wound made but what is curable; yea, they assured me, (and for my part I believe it,) that though a man’s head be cut off, yet if within three moons it be joined to the carcase again, and the juice of a certain herb there growing applied, it will be so consolidated as the wounded party shall be perfectly cured. But the chief cause of their good government is an excellent disposition in the nature of the people, so that all, both old and young, hate all manner of vice, and live in such love, peace, and amity, as it seems to be another paradise: though it is true likewise, that some are of a better disposition than others, which they discern immediately at their birth. And because it is an inviolable law amongst them, that none shall be put to death; therefore perceiving by their stature, or some other signs, who are like to be of a wicked and debauched humour, they send them (I know not by what means) into the earth, and change them for other children, before they have either opportunity or ability to do amiss among them: but first, they say, they are fain to keep them there for some time, till the air of the earth alters their colour like ours. Their ordinary vent for them is a certain high hill, in the north of America; whose people, I am apt to believe, are wholly descended from them, both in regard of their colour, and their continual use of tobacco, which the lunars, or moon-men, smoke exceedingly; the place abounding much with moisture, together with the pleasure they take therein, and some other respects, too long to rehearse. Sometimes, though but seldom, they mistake their aim; and fall upon Europe, Asia, or Africa. I remember some years since I read certain stories tending to confirm what is related by these lunars, and especially one chapter of Neubrigensis. Inigo Mondejar, in his description of Nova Granata; also Joseph Defia de Carana, in his history of Mexico, (if my memory fail not,) recount what will make my report more credible: but I value not testimonies.

‘ If you inquire how justice is executed: alas! what need is there of exemplary punishment, where no offences are committed? Neither need they any lawyers, for there is no contention; the seeds whereof, when they begin to sprout, are by the wisdom of the next superior plucked up by the roots. And as little want is there of physicians; they never surfeit themselves: the air is always pure and temperate, neither is there any cause of sickness: I could never hear of any that were distempered. But the time assigned them by nature being spent, they die without the least pain; or rather cease to live, as a candle does to give light, when what nourishes it is consumed. I was once at the departure of one of them, and was much surprized that notwithstanding the happy life he had lived, and the multitude of friends and children he should forsake, yet as soon as he understood his end to approach, he prepared a great feast, and inviting all whom he

esteemed, exhorts them, "To be merry, and rejoice with him; since the time was come he should now leave the counterfeit pleasures of that world, and be made partaker of all true joy and perfect happiness." I did not so much admire his own constancy, as the behaviour of his friends: with us in the like case all seem to mourn, when many of them do often but laugh in their sleeves, or under a vizard. But here all, both young and old, did (on my conscience) not pretendedly but really rejoice thereat; and if any dissembled, it was only grief for their own particular loss. Being dead, their bodies putrefy not; and so are not buried, but kept in certain rooms appointed to that purpose; so that most of them can shew their ancestors' bodies uncorrupted for many generations. There is never any rain, wind, or change of weather, never either summer or winter, but as it were a perpetual spring, yielding all pleasure and content, free from the least trouble or annoyance. O my wife and children, what wrong have you done me, to bereave me of the happiness of that place! But it is no great matter; for by this voyage, I am sufficiently assured, that when the race of my mortal life is run, I shall attain a greater happiness elsewhere.

' It was on the 9th of September, that I began to ascend from the peak of Teneriffe: twelve days I was upon my voyage, and arrived in that province of the moon called Semiri, September the 21st. May the 12th, we came to the court of the great Irdonozur, and returned back the 17th to the palace of Pylonas, where I continued till March 1601, when I earnestly requested Pylonas (as I had often done before) to give me leave to depart, though with hazard of my life, back into the earth again. He dissuaded me; insisting on the danger of the voyage, the misery of that place from whence I came, and the abundant happiness I now enjoyed; but the remembrance of my wife and children outweighed all these reasons; and, to say the truth, I was so elated with a desire of the glory I should purchase at my return, as, methought, I deserved not the name of a Spaniard, if I would not hazard twenty lives, rather than lose the least particle thereof. I replied, I had so strong a desire to see my children, that I could not possibly live any longer without going to them. He then requested me to stay one year longer. I told him, I must needs depart now or never: my birds began to droop for want of their usual voyage; three were already dead, and, if a few more failed, I was destitute of all possibility of return. At length, with much soliciting, I prevailed; having first acquainted the great Irdonozur with my intentions, and perceiving, by the often baying of my birds, a great longing in them to be gone, I trimmed up my engine, and took my leave of Pylonas; and, March the 29th, three days after my waking from the last moon's light, I fastened myself to my engine; not forgetting to take the jewels Irdonozur had given me, with the virtues and use whereof Pylonas had acquainted me at large, with a small quantity of victuals, whereof, afterwards, I had great occasion. A vast multitude of people being present, and, amongst them, Pylonas himself, after I had given them all the last farewell, I let loose the reins to my birds, who, with much greediness, taking wing, quickly carried me out of sight. It happened to me as in my first passage; for I never felt either hunger or thirst till I fell upon an high mountain in China, about five leagues from the high and mighty city of Pequin. This voyage was performed in less than nine days; neither heard I any news of these airy men I met in my ascending. Nothing staid me in my journey; whether, because of the earnest desire of my birds to return to the earth, having already missed their season, or that the attraction of the earth was so much stronger than that of the moon, and so made it easier; yet so it was, though I had three birds less than before. For the first eight days my birds flew before me, and I on the engine was, as it were, drawn after; but the ninth day, when I began to approach the clouds, I perceived myself and engine to sink towards the earth, and go before them. I was then horribly afraid lest my birds, unable to bear our weight, (being so few) should be constrained to precipitate both me and themselves headlong to the earth; and thought it very necessary to make use of my stone Ebelus, which I clapped to my bare skin within my clothes, and instantly I perceived my birds made way with greater ease than before, as seeming freed from a great burden; neither do I think they could possibly have let me down safely to the earth without that help.

‘ China is a country so populous, that I think there is scarce a piece of ground thrice a man’s length which is not carefully manured. I being yet in the air, some of the country-people, espying me, came running by troops, and, seizing me, would needs carry me before a magistrate; and, seeing no other remedy, I yielded to them. But, when I tried to go, I found myself so light, that, one foot being on the ground, I had much ado to set down the other; which was, by reason my Ebelus took all weight away from my body: therefore, I pretended a desire of performing the necessities of nature; which being made known to them by signs, (for they understood not a word of any language I could speak,) they permitted me to go aside amongst a few bushes, assuring themselves it was impossible I should escape from them. Being there, I remembered Pylonas’s directions about the use of my stones, and knit them up, with a few remaining jewels, into an handkerchief, all, except the least and worst Ebelus; which I found means to apply in such a manner to my body, that but the half of its side touched my skin. This done, I drew towards my guardians; till coming so near, that they could not cross my way, I shewed them a fair pair of heels, that I might have time to hide my jewels, which I knew they would have robbed me of, if not prevented. Being thus lightened, I led them such a dance, that had they been all upon the backs of so many race-horses, they could never have overtaken me. I directed my course to a thick wood, wherein I entered about a quarter of a league; and there finding a fine spring, which I took for my mark, I trusted my jewels into a hole made by a mole hard by.

‘ I then took my victuals out of my pocket, (to which, till now, in all my voyage, I had not the least appetite,) and refreshed myself therewith, till the people, who pursued, overtook me, into whose hands I quietly surrendered myself. They led me to an inferior officer, who, understanding that I escaped from those who first apprehended me, caused an inclosure of boards to be made, wherein they put me, so that only my head was at liberty, and then carried me upon the shoulders of four slaves, like some notorious malefactor, before a person of great authority; who, in their language, I learned was called a mandarin, and resided a league off the famous city of Pequín. I could not understand them, but found I was accused for something with much vehemence: the substance of this accusation, it seems, was, that I was a magician, as appeared by my being so strangely carried in the air; and that, being a stranger, (as both my language and habit did declare,) I, contrary to the laws of China, had entered the kingdom without a warrant, and probably for no good intent. The mandarin heard them with a great deal of gravity, and, being a man of quick apprehension, and studious of novelties, he told them he would take such order as the case required, and my bold attempt should not go unpunished. Having dismissed them, he ordered his servants I should be kept in a remote part of his vast palace, be strictly guarded and kindly used. This I conjectured by my treatment, and what followed; for my accommodation was much better than I could expect: I lodged well, eat well, was well attended; and could complain of nothing but my restraint. Thus continued I many months, afflicted more with the thoughts of my gansas than any thing else, who I knew must be irrecoverably lost; as indeed they were.

‘ In this time by my own industry, and the assistance of those who accompanied me, I learned to speak indifferently the language of that province (for almost every province in China hath its proper tongue), whereat I perceived they were much pleased. At length I was permitted to take the air, and brought into the spacious garden of that palace; a place of extraordinary pleasure and delight, adorned with herbs and flowers of admirable sweetness and beauty, with almost infinite variety of fruits, European, and others; all composed with that rare curiosity, as even ravished my senses in the contemplation of such delightful objects. I had not long recreated myself here, when the mandarin entered the garden on that side I was walking; of which, having notice by his servants, and that I ought to kneel to him (a usual reverence I found towards great officers), I did so; and humbly entreated his favour towards a poor stranger who arrived in these parts, not designedly, but by the secret disposal of the heavens. He answered in a different language, (which I hear all the mandarins use, and like that of the lunars, consisting chiefly of tones,) which was

interpreted by one of his attendants ; wishing me to be of good comfort, since he intended no harm to me. Next day I was ordered to come before him, and, being conducted into a noble dining-room exquisitely painted, the mandarin, commanding all to avoid, vouchsafed to confer with me in the vulgar language ; inquiring into the state of my country, the power of my prince, and the religion and manners of the people : wherein having satisfied him, he asked me about my education, and what brought me into this remote country. I then declared to him the adventures of my life, omitting what I thought convenient, and especially forbearing to mention the stones given me by Irdonozur.

‘ The strangeness of my story did much amaze him ; and finding, in all my discourse, nothing tending to magick, (wherein he hoped, by my means, to be instructed,) he began to admire the excellency of my wit, applauding me for the happiest man that this world ever saw ; and, wishing me to repose myself after my long narration ; he, for that time, dismissed me. After which, the mandarin took so much delight in me, that no day passed wherein he did not send for me. At length he advised me to clothe myself in the habit of that country, which I willingly did ; and gave me not only the liberty of his house, but took me also with him when he went to Pequín, whereby I had opportunity to learn the disposition of the people, and the policy of the country : neither did I, by my attendance on him, gain only the knowledge of these things, but the possibility likewise of being restored to my native soil, and to those dear pledges which I value above the world, even my wife and children : for, by often frequenting Pequín, I at length heard of some fathers of the society of Jesus, who were become famous for their extraordinary favour with the king, to whom they had presented some European gifts ; as clocks, watches, dials, and the like, which by them were counted exquisite curiosities. To these, by the mandarin’s leave, I repaired, and was welcomed by them ; they much wondering to see a lay-Spaniard there, whither they had, with so much difficulty, obtained leave to arrive. There did I relate to father Pentoja, and others of the society, the fore-mentioned adventures ; by whose directions I put them in writing, and sent this story of my fortunes to Macao, from thence to be conveyed to Spain as a forerunner of my return. And, the mandarin being indulgent to me, I came often to the fathers, with whom I consulted about many secrets, and, with them also, laid the foundation of my return ; the blessed hour whereof I do, with patience, expect ; that, by enriching my country with the knowledge of these hidden mysteries, I may at last reap the glory of my fortunate misfortunes.’

Sir Thomas Overbury's Observations¹ in his Travels, upon the State of the Seventeen Provinces, as they stood, *Anno Domini* 1609; the Treaty of Peace being then on Foot.

Printed 1626.

[Quarto; containing thirty pages.]

And, first, of the Provinces United.

ALL things concurred for the rising and maintenance of this state; the disposition of the people being, as mutinous, so industrious and frugal; the nature of the country, everywhere fortifiable with water; the situation of it having behind them the Baltick-sea, which yields them all materials for ships, and many other commodities; and, for men, hard before them France and England, both fearing the Spanish greatness, and therefore both concurring for their aid; the remoteness of their master from them; the change of religion falling out about the time of their revolt; and now the marquis of Brandenburg, a Protestant, like to become duke of Cleves. The discontentments of the Low-Countries did first appear soon after the going away of the kings of Spain, while the duchess of Parma governed: to suppress which beginnings the duke of Alva, being sent, inflamed them more, upon attempting to bring in the Inquisition and Spanish decimation; upon the beheading count Horne and count Egmont, persecuting those of the religion, and undertaking to build citadels upon all their towns; which he effected at Antwerp: but, enterprizing the like at Flushing, that town revolted first, and under it began the war. But the more general revolt of the provinces happened after the death of Don Lewis de Requesens, and upon the coming down of Don John of Austria; when all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, upon the sacking of Antwerp, and other insolencies, proclaimed the Spaniards rebels and enemies to the king: yet the abjuring of their obedience from the crown of Spain was not till a year or two after.

Holland and Zealand, upon their first standing out, offered the sovereignty of themselves to the queen; then the protection; (both which she neglected;) and that, while the French sent greater aid, and more men of quality, than we: but, after the civil war began in France, that kept them busy at home; then the queen, seeing the necessity of their being supported, upon the pawning of Brill and Flushing, sent money and men. And, since that, most part of the great exploits there have been done by the English, who were commonly the third part of the army; being four regiments, besides eleven-

¹ Vide Oldys' Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, N^o 536. [where a hint is thrown out, that some things may pass under Overbury's name, of which he was not the author. This suggestion is improved by a writer in *Censura Literaria*, who says, 'it is very doubtful whether he was the real author of the above book.' Upon reference to *Athenæ Oxonienses*, it appears that the same degree of dubitation attended it in Wood's time. (Vol. i. col. 389.)

The original edition had annexed to it "the lively portraiture of sir Thomas Overbury," by S. Pass: underneath were the following lines:

' A man's best fortune, or his worst's a wife;
' Yet I, that knew nor marriage peace, nor strife,
' Live by 'a good,' by a bad one lost my life.'

' A wife like her I writ, man scarce can wed;
' Of a false friend like mine, man scarce can read.'

These allusions are obvious to every one acquainted with the story of sir Thomas Overbury. The print was, doubtless, engraved for, and perhaps prefixed to, one of the editions of his 'Wife;' a poem.]

hundred in Flushing and the Ramekins, and five-hundred in the Brill: but of late, the king of France appearing more for them than ours, and paying himself the French that are there, they give equal, if not more countenance to that nation. But upon these two kings they make their whole dependence: and, though with more respect to him that is stronger, for the time; yet so, as it may give no distaste unto the other.

For the manner of their government: they have, upon occasion, an assembly of the General States, like our parliament; being composed of those which are sent from every province upon summons; and what these enact stands for law. Then is there, besides, a council of state, residing for the most part at the Hague; which attends daily occasions, being rather employed upon affairs of state, than of particular justice. The most potent in this council was Barnavelt, by reason of his advocates of Holland. And, besides both these, every province and great town have particular councils of their own. To all which assemblies, as well of the General States as the rest, the gentry is called for order's sake, but the state indeed is democratical; the merchant and the tradesman being predominant, the gentry now but few and poor; and even at the beginning, the prince of Orange saw it safer to rely upon the towns, than them. Neither are the gentry so much engaged in the cause; the people having more advantages in a free state, they in a monarchy. Their care in government is very exact and particular, by reason that every one hath an immediate interest in the state: such is the equality of justice, that it renders every man satisfied; such the public regularity, that a man may see their laws were made to guide, not to entrap; such their exactness in casting the expence of an army, as that it shall be equally far from superfluity and want; and as much order and certainty in their acts of war, as in ours of peace; teaching it to be both civil and rich. And they still retain that sign of a commonwealth yet uncorrupted 'Private poverty and public welath:' for no one private man there is exceeding rich, and few very poor; and no state more sumptuous in all public things. But the question is, Whether this, being a free state, will as well subsist in war? Peace leaving every one to attend his particular wealth, when fear, while the war lasts, makes them concur for their common safety: and Zealand, upon the least security, hath ever been envious at the predominancy of Holland and Utrecht, ready to mutiny for religion: and besides, it is a doubt whether the same care and sincerity would continue, if they were at their consistence, as appears yet, while they are but in rising. The revenue of this state ariseth chiefly from the earl of Holland's demesnes, and confiscated church-livings; the rising and falling of money, which they use with much advantage; their fishing upon our coasts and those of Norway; contribution out of the enemies country; taxes upon all things at home, and impositions upon all merchandises from abroad; their expences upon their ambassadors, their shippings, their ditches, their rampires, and ammunition; and commonly they have in pay, by sea and land, sixty-thousand men.

For the strength: The nature of the country makes them able to defend themselves long by land: neither could any thing have endangered them so much as the last great frost,² had not the treaty been then on foot; because, (the enemy being then master of the field,) that rendered their ditches, marshes, and rivers as firm ground. There belong to that state twenty-thousand vessels of all sorts, so that if the Spaniards were entirely beaten out of those parts, the kings of France and England would take as much pains to suppress, as ever they did to raise them: for, being our enemies, they are able to give us the law at sea, and eat us out of all trade; much more the French; having at this time three ships to our one, though none so good as our best.

Now that, whereupon the most part of their revenue and strength depends, is their traffick; in which mystery of state they are at this day the wisest: for all the commodities, that this part of the world wants, and the Indies have, (as, spice, silk, jewels, and gold,) they are become the conveyers of them for the rest of Christendom (except us), as the Venetians were of old; and all those commodities, that those northern countries abound

² [To a severe frost it was owing that the French army obtained easy access into Holland, which led to its subsequent subjugation and present annexation to France.]

with, and these southern stand in need of, they likewise convey thither; which was the ancient trade of the easterlings. And this they do, (having little to export of their own) by buying of their neighbour-countries the former, and selling them again what they bring back, at their own prices; and so, consequently, live upon the idleness of others. And to this purpose the situation serves fitly; for the rivers of the Rhine, the Maese, and Scheldt, end all in their dominions, and the Baltick-sea lies not far from them; all which afford them whatever the great continent of Germany, Russia, and Poland yields: then they, again, lying between Germany and the sea, do furnish it back with all commodities foreign.

To remember some pieces of their discipline, as patterns of the rest. The watches at night are never all of one nation, so they can hardly concur to give up any one town. The commissaries are no where so strict upon musters, and, where he finds a company, thither he reduceth them; so that, when an army marcheth, the list and the poll are never far disagreeing. Their army is ever well clothed and well armed, and had never yet occasion to mutiny for pay or victuals. The soldiers commit no where fewer insolencies upon the burghers, or fewer robberies upon the country; nor the officers fewer deceits upon the soldiers: and, lastly, they provide well, that their general shall have small means to invade their liberties. For, first, their army is composed of many nations, which have their several commanders, and the commands are disposed by the States themselves, not by the general: and, secondly, he hath never an implicit commission left to discretion; but, by reason their country hath no great bounds, receives daily commands what to do.

Their territory contains six entire provinces, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Groningen, Overysse, and Friesland; besides three parts of Guelderland, and certain towns in Brabant and Flanders; the ground of which is for the most part fruitful; the towns no where so equally beautiful, strong, and rich: which equality grows, by reason that they appropriate some one staple commodity to every town of note. Only Amsterdam not only passeth them all, but even Seville, Lisbon, or any other mart-town in Christendom; and to it is appropriated the trade of the East-Indies, where they maintain commonly forty ships; besides which there go twice a year, from it and the adjoining towns, a great fleet to the Baltick-sea. Upon the fall of Antwerp, that rose rather than Middleburgh; though it stands at the same river's mouth, and is their second mart-town, to which is appropriated our English cloth.

Concerning the people: they are neither much devout, nor much wicked; given all to drink, and eminently to no other vice; hard in bargaining, but just; surly and disrespectful, as in all democracies; thirsty, industrious, and cleanly; disheartened upon the least ill success, and insolent upon good; inventive in manufactures, and cunning in traffick: and generally, for matter of action, that natural slowness of theirs, suits better (by reason of the advisedness and perseverance it brings with it) than the rashness and changeableness of the French and Florentine wits; and the equality of spirits, which is among them and Switzers, renders them so fit for a democracy: which kind of government, nations of more stable wits, being once come to a consistent greatness, have seldom long endured.

Observations upon the State of the Archduke's Country, 1609; by Sir Thomas Overbury.

As soon as I entered into the archduke's country (which begins after Lillo), presently, I beheld works of a province, and those of a province distressed with war; the people heartless, and rather repining against their governors, than revengeful against their enemies; the bravery of that gentry which was left, and the industry of the merchant, quite decayed; the husbandman labouring only to live, without desire to be rich to another's use; the towns (whatsoever concerned not the strength of them) ruinous; and, to conclude, the people here growing poor with less taxes, than they flourish with on the States side.

This war hath kept the king of Spain busy ever since it began, which was thirty-eight years ago; and spending all the money that the Indies, and all the men that Spain and Italy could afford, hath withdrawn him from persevering in any other enterprise: neither could he give over this, without foregoing the means to undertake any thing hereafter upon France or England, and consequently the hope of the western monarchy. For, without that handle, the mines of Peru had done little hurt in these parts, in comparison of what they have. The cause of the expencefulness of it, is the remoteness of those provinces from Spain, by reason of which, every soldier of Spain or Italy, before he can arrive there, costs the king an hundred crowns; and not above one of ten that arrives proves good: besides, by reason of the distance, a great part of the money is drunk up betwixt the officers, that convey it and pay it. The cause of the continuance of it, is not only the strength of the enemy; but partly, by reason that the commanders themselves are content the war shall last, so to maintain and render themselves necessities, and partly, because the people of those countries are not so eager to have the other reduced, as willing to be in the like state themselves.

The usual revenue of those provinces which the archduke hath, amounts to twelve-hundred thousand crowns a year; besides which, there come from Spain every month (to maintain the war) a hundred and fifty-thousand crowns. It was, at the first, three-hundred thousand crowns a month; but it fell by fifties to this, at the time when the treaty began: Flanders pays more toward the war, than all the rest; as Holland doth with the States. There is no Spaniard of the council of state, nor governor of any province, but of the council of war, which is only active. There they only are, and have in their hands all the strong towns and castles of those provinces, of which the governors have but only the title.

The nations, of which their army consists, are chiefly Spaniards and Italians, emulous one of another there, as on the other side the French and English; and of the country, chiefly Burgundians and Walloons. The pope's letters and Spinola's inclination keep the Italians there almost in equality of command with the Spaniard himself. The governors for the king of Spain there successively, have been the duke of Alva, don Lewis de Requesens, don John d'Austria, the prince of Parma, the archduke Ernestus, the cardinal Andrew of Austrich, and the cardinal Albert, till he married the infanta.

Where the dominion of the archduke and the States part, there also changeth the nature of the country, that is, about Antwerp: for, all below being flat, and betwixt meadow and marsh, thence it begins to rise and become champaign, and, consequently, the people are more quick and spiritfult; as the Brabanters, Flemings, and Walloons. The most remarkable place, in that side, is Antwerp; which rose upon the fall of Bruges, equally strong and beautiful; remaining yet so, upon the strength of its former greatness; twice spoiled by the Spaniards, and the like attempted by the French. The citadel was built there, by the duke of Alva, but renewed by the prince of Parma, after his eighteen months besieging it; the town accepting a castle rather than a garrison, to mingle among them. There are yet in the town of citizens thirty-thousand fighting men, six-hundred of which kept watch nightly; but they allowed neither cannon upon the rampire, nor magazines of powder. In the castle are two-hundred pieces of ordnance, and commonly seven or eight-hundred soldiers. Flanders is the best of the seventeen provinces, but the havens thereof are naught.

Observations on the State of France, 1609, under Henry the Fourth; by Sir Thomas Overbury.

HAVING seen the form of a commonwealth and a province, with the different effects of wars in them; I entered France, flourishing with peace, and of monarchies the most absolute; because the king there not only makes peace and wars, calls and dissolves parliaments, pardoneth, naturalizeth, ennobleth, names the value of money, presseth to the war,

but even makes laws, and imposes taxes at his pleasure. And all this he doth alone; for as for that form, that his edicts must be authorized by the next court of parliament, that is, the next court of sovereign justice: first, the presidents thereof are to be chosen by him, and to be put out by him: and secondly, when they concur not with the king, he passeth any thing without them, as he did the last edict for the Protestants. And, for the assembly of the three estates, it is grown now almost as extraordinary as a general council, with the loss of which, their liberty fell; and when occasion urgeth, it is possible for the king to procure, that all those, that shall be sent thither, shall be his instruments: for the duke of Guise effected as much at the assembly of Bloys.

The occasion that first procured the king that supremacy, that his edicts should be laws, was the last invasion of the English; for, at that time, they possessing two parts of France, the three estates could not assemble; whereupon they did then grant that power unto Charles the Seventh, during the war; and that which made it easy for Lewis the Eleventh, and his successors, to continue the same, (the occasion ceasing) was, that the clergy and gentry did not run the same fortune with the people there, as in England; for, most of the taxes falling only upon the people, the clergy and gentry being forborne, were easily induced to leave them to the king's mercy. But the king, having got strength upon the peasants, hath been since the bolder to invade part of both their liberties.

For the succession of this monarchy, it hath subsisted, without intermission, these twelve-hundred years, under three races of kings. No nation hath heretofore done greater things abroad, in Palestine and Egypt, besides all parts of Europe; but, for these last four-hundred years, they have only made sallies into Italy, and often suffered at home. Three-hundred years the English afflicted them, making two firm invasions upon them, and taking their king prisoner; the second greatness of Christendom, next the emperor, being then in competition betwixt us and them; and to secure themselves against us, rather than the house of Austria, as it then stood, they chose to marry the heir of Bretagne, before that of Burgundy. And, for this last hundred years, the Spaniard, undertaking them, hath eaten them out of all but France, and endangered that too. But, for this present, France had never, as France, a more entire greatness, though it hath often been richer. For, since the war, the king is only got afore-hand, the country is but yet in recovering; the war having lasted, by spaces, thirty-two years, and so generally, that no man, but had an enemy within three miles; and so the country became frontier all over. Now, that which hath made them, at this time, so largely great at home, is their adopting into themselves the lesser adjoining nations, without destruction, or leaving any mark of strangeness upon them; as the Bretons, Gascoigns, Provencials, and others, which are not French: towards the which unions, their nature, which is easy and harbours to strangers, hath done more than any laws could have effected, but with long time.

The king (as I said) enjoying what Lewis the Eleventh did gain, hath the entire sovereignty in himself; because he can make the parliament do what he please, or else do what he please without them. For the other three estates, the church is there very rich, being estimated to enjoy the third part of the revenue of France, but otherwise nothing so potent as elsewhere; partly, because the Inquisition is not admitted in France; but principally, because, the pope's ordinary power is much restrained there, by the liberties which the French church claimeth; which liberties do not so much enfranchise the church itself, as confer the authority the pope loseth upon the king, as first-fruits, and the disposing of all spiritual preferments. And, by reason of this neutrality of authority, the church-men suffer more there, than either in England, where they wholly depend upon the king, or in Spain and Italy, where they wholly subsist by the pope; because the pope is not able totally to support them, and the king takes occasion ever to suppress them, as being not entirely his subjects; and to him they pay yearly both the tenth of all their tithe, and of all their temporal land.

The gentry are the only entire body there, which participate with the prerogatives of the crown; for from it they receive privileges above all other men, and a kind of limited regality upon their tenants, besides real supply to their estates; by governments and pen-

sions, and freedom from tallies upon their own lands ; that is, upon their demesnes, and whatsoever else they manure by their servants : but so much, as they let to tenants, is presently talliable, which causeth proportionable abatement in the rent ; and in recompence of this, they owe to the king the ban and the arriereban ; that is, to serve him and his lieutenant three months within the land, at their own charges. And as in war they undergo the greatest part of the danger, so then is their power most peremptory above the rest : whereas, in time of peace, the king is ready to support inferior persons against them, and is glad to see them to waste one another by contention in law, for fear they grow rich, because he foresees, that, as the nobility only can do him service, so they only misapplied can do him harm. The ancient gentry of France was most of it consumed in the wars of Godfrey of Bulloign, and some in those of St. Lewis ; because, upon their setting out, they pawned all their fiefs to the church, and few of them were after redeemed ; by reason whereof, the church possesseth, at this day, the third part of the best fiefs in France ; and that gentry was after made up by advocates, financiers, and merchants ennobled, which now are reputed ancient, and are daily eaten out again and repaired by the same kind of men.

For the people, all those that have any kind of profession or trade, live well ; but for the mere peasants, that labour the ground, they are only sponges to the king, to the church, and the nobility, having nothing to their own, but to the use of them ; and are scarce allowed (as beasts) enough to keep them able to do service ; for, besides their rent, they pay usually two thirds to the king.

The manner of government, in France, is mixed, betwixt peace and war ; being composed as well of military discipline, as civil justice ; because, having open frontiers and strong neighbours, and, therefore, obnoxious to sudden invasions, they cannot (as in England) join ever peace and security together.

For the military part, there is ever a constable and a marshal in being, troops of horse, and regiments of foot in pay, and in all provinces and places of strength, governors and garrisons distributed ; all which are means for the preferment of the gentry : but those, as they give security against the enemy, so, when there is none, they disturb the enjoying of peace, by making the countries taste somewhat of a province. For the gentry find a difference betwixt the governors' favour and disfavour, and the soldiers commit often insolencies upon the people.

The governments there are so well disposed by the king, as no governor hath means to give over a province into the enemy's hand, the commands thereof are so scattered ; for the governor commands the country, and for the most part the chief town ; then is there a lieutenant, to the king, not to him of the same, and betwixt these two there is ever jealousy nourished ; then hath every town and fortress particular governors, which are not subaltern to that of the province, but hold immediately from the prince, and many times the town hath one governor, and the castle another. The advantages of governors, besides their pay from the king, are presents from the country, dead pays ; making their magazines of corn, and powder, more than they need at the king's price, and, where they stand upon the sea, overseeing of unlawful goods. Thus much in peace : in war they are worth as much as they will exact. Languedoc is the best, then Bretagne. Provence is worth by all these means, to the duke of Guise, twenty-thousand crowns a year ; but Provence only he holds without a lieutenant.

Concerning the civil justice there, it is no where more corrupt nor expensive. The corruptness of it proceeds, first ; by reason that the king sells the places of justice at as high a rate, as can be honestly made of them ; so that all thriving is left to corruption, and the gain the king hath that way, tempts him to make a multitude of officers, which is another burden to the subject. Secondly ; the presidents are not bound to judge according to the written law, but according to the equity drawn out of it ; which liberty doth not so much admit conscience, as leave wit without limits. The expensiveness of it ariseth from the multitude of laws, and multiplicity of forms of processes ; the which two both beget

doubt, and make them long in resolving. And all this chicanery (as they call it) is brought into France from Rome, upon the pope's coming to reside at Avignon.

For the strength of France, it is, at this day, the greatest united force of Christendom. The particulars in which it consists are these: the shape of the country; which being round, no one part is far from succouring another; the multitude of good towns and places of strength therein are able to stay an army, if not to waste it, as Metz did the emperor's; the mass of treasure, which the king hath in the Bastile; the number of arsenals distributed upon the frontiers, besides that of Paris, all which are full of good arms and artillery: and for ready men, the five regiments bestowed up and down in garrisons, together with the two-thousand of the guard; the troops of ordinary and light horse, all ever in pay; besides their gentry, all bred soldiers, and of which they think there are, at this present, fifty-thousand, fit to bear arms. And to command all these, they have, at this day, the best generals of Christendom; which is the only commodity the civil wars did leave them.

The weakness of it are: first, the want of a sufficient infantry; which proceeds from the ill distribution of their wealth; for the peasant (which contains the greatest part of the people) having no share allowed him, is heartless, and consequently unserviceable for all military uses; by reason of which, they are, first, forced to borrow aid of the Switzs, at a great charge; and secondly, to compose their armies, for the most part of gentlemen, which makes the loss of a battle there almost irrecoverable. The second is the unproportionable part of the land, which the church holds; all which is likewise dead to military uses. For, as they say there, the church will lose nothing, nor defend nothing. The third is the want of a competent number of ships and galleys; by reason of which defect, first, the Spaniards over-master them upon the Mediterranean, and the English and Hollanders, upon the ocean; and, secondly, it renders them poor in foreign trade, so that all the great actions of Christendom, for these fifty years, having been bent upon the Indies, they only have sat idle. The fourth is the weakness of their frontiers; which is so much the more dangerous, because they are possessed, all but the ocean, by the Spaniards; for Savoy hath been always, as his own, for all uses against France. The last is the difference of religion among themselves; which will ever yield matter of civil dissension, and consequently cause the weaker to stand in need of foreign succours. The ordinary revenue of the king is (as they say now) some fourteen millions of crowns; which arise principally from the demesnes of the crown, the gabel of salt tallies upon the country, customs upon the merchandise, sale of offices, the yearly tithe of all that belongs to the church, the rising and falling of money, fines and confiscations cast upon him by the law; but as for wardships, they are only known in Normandy. His expence is chiefly ambassadors, ammunition, building, fortifying, and maintaining of galleys. As for ships, when he needs them, he makes an embarque, in pay for soldiers, wages for officers, pensions at home and abroad, upon the entertaining his house, his state, and his private pleasures. And all the first, but the demesnes, were granted, in the beginning, upon some urgent occasion, and after by kings made perpetual, the occasion ceasing; and the demesnes themselves granted, because the king should live upon their own, without oppressing their subjects. But at this day, though the revenue be thus great and the taxes unsupportable, yet do they little more than serve for necessary public uses. For the king of Spain's greatness, and neighbourhood, forceth the king there to live continually upon his guard; and the treasure, which the Spaniard receives from his Indies, constrains him to raise his revenue thus by taxes, so to be able, in some proportion, to bear up against him, for fear else he should be bought out of all his confederates and servants.

For the relation of this state to others, it is first to be considered, that this part of Christendom is balanced betwixt the three kings of Spain, France, and England; as the other part betwixt the Russian, the kings of Poland, Sweden, and Denmark. For as for Germany, which, if it were entirely subject to one monarchy, would be terrible to all the rest; so being divided betwixt so many princes, and those of so equal power, it serves

only to balance itself, and entertain easy war with the Turk; while the Persian withholds him in a greater. And every one of those first three hath his particular strength, and his particular weakness. Spain hath the advantage of both the rest in treasure, but is defective in men; his dominions are scattered, and the conveyance of his treasure from the Indies lies obnoxious to the power of any nation that is stronger by sea. France abounds with men, lies close together, and hath money sufficiently. England, being an island, is hard to be invaded, abounds with men, but wants money to employ them. For their particular weakness, Spain is to be kept busy in the Low-Countries: France is to be afflicted with Protestants, and England in Ireland. England is not able to subsist against any of the other, hand to hand; but, joined with the Low-Countries, it can give law to both by sea, and joined with either of them two, it is able to oppress the third, as Henry the Eighth did.

Now the only entire body in Christendom, that makes head against the Spanish monarchy, is France; and therefore they say in France, that the day of the ruin of France is the eve of the ruin of England. And thereupon England hath, ever since the Spanish greatness, inclined rather to maintain France, than to ruin it; as, when king Francis was taken prisoner, the king of England lent money towards the payment of his ransom: and the late queen, when the Leaguers, after the duke of Guise's death, had a design to canonize France, though offered a part, would not consent. So then, this reason of state, of mutual preservation, conjoining them, England may be accounted a sure confederate of France, and Holland, by reason it partly subsists by it; the Protestant princes of Germany, because they have countenance from it, against the house of Austria; the Protestant Switzs, for religion and money; the Venetians, for protection against the Spaniards in Italy: so that all their friends are either Protestants, or inclining, and whosoever is extreme Catholic, is their enemy, and factors for the Spanish monarch; as the pope, the cardinals for the most part, and totally the Jesuits, the Catholic princes of Germany, and the Catholics of England and Ireland. For the Jesuits, which are the ecclesiastical strength of Christendom, France, notwithstanding the many late obligations, hath cause to despair of them; for they intending, as one pope, so one king, to suppress the Protestants; and for the better support of Christendom against the Turk, and seeing Spain the likelier to bring this to pass, they follow the nearer probability of effecting their end. No addition could make France so dangerous to us as that of our Low-Countries; for so it were worse than if the Spaniard himself had them entirely. As for their hopes of regaining Italy, it concerns the Spaniard immediately rather than us.

Concerning the state of the Protestants in France, during peace they are protected by their edict: for their two agents at court defend the general from wrong; and their *chambres-imparties*, every particular person. And if troubles should arise, some scattered particulars might be in danger, but the main body is safe; safe to defend themselves, though all France join against them, and if it break out into factions, the safest, because they are both ready and united.

The particulars of their strength are; first, their towns of surety; two of which command the river of Loyre. Secondly, their situation; the greatest part of them lying near together, as Poictou, Xantoigne, High Gascoigne, Languedoc, and Dauphine, near the sea; so, consequently, fit to receive succours from abroad, and remote from Paris; so that the quality of an army is much wasted before it can approach them. The third is the sufficiency of their present governors, Bulloigne and Desdeguiers, and other second commanders. And for the princes of the blood, whom the rest may, in shew, without emulation, obey; when they come once to open action, those which want a party will quickly seek them. The last is the aid they are sure of from foreign princes; for whosoever are friends to France, in general, are more particularly their friends. And, besides, the Protestant party being grown stronger of late, as the Low-Countries, and more united, as England and Scotland, part of that strength reflects upon them; and even the king of Spain himself, who is enemy to France in general, would rather give them succour, than see them utterly extirpated. And yet no foreign prince can ever make further use of

them, than to disturb France, not to invade it himself. For, as soon as they get an edict with better conditions, they turn head against him that now succoured them, as they did against us at Newhaven.

Concerning the proportion of their number, they are not above the seventeenth or eighteenth part of the people; but of the gentlemen there are six-thousand of the religion; but, since the peace, they have increased in people, as principally in Paris, Normandy, and Dauphine, but lost in the gentry: which loss cometh to pass, by reason that the king when he finds any gentleman that will but hearken, tempts him with preferment, and those he finds utterly obstinate suppresseth; and, by such means, he hath done them more harm in peace, than both his predecessors in war. For, in all their assemblies, he corrupts some of their ministers to betray their counsel in hand; and of the hundred and six-thousand crowns a year, which he pays the Protestants to entertain their ministers, and pay their garrisons, he hath gotten the bestowing of sixteen-thousand of them upon what gentlemen of the religion he pleaseth; when, by that means, he moderates, if not gains: and besides, they were wont to impose upon him their two deputies, which are to stay at court; but now he makes them propose six, out of which he chooseth the two, and, by that, obligeth those; and yet, notwithstanding all this, in some occasions he makes good use of them too. For, as towards England he placeth none in any place of strength but firm Catholics; so, towards Spain and Savoy, he often gives charge to Protestants, as to La Force in Bern, Desdeguiers and Bois in Bresse.

Concerning the king himself, he is a person wonderful both in war and peace. For his acts in war, he hath manumised France from the Spaniard, and subdued the league, being the most dangerous plot that hath been laid; weakening it by arms, but utterly dissolving it by wit; that is, by letting the duke of Guise out of prison, and capitulating with the heads of it every one a-part; by which means he hath yet left a continual hatred amongst them, because every one sought, by preventing the other, to make his conditions the better; so that now there remains little connexion of it amongst the gentry; only there continues some dregs still amongst the priests, and consequently the people; especially, when they are angered with the increase and prosperity of the Protestants.

For his acts of peace, he hath enriched France with a greater proportion of wool and silk, erected goodly buildings, cut passages betwixt river and river, and is about to do the same betwixt sea and sea; redeemed much of the mortgaged demesnes of the crown, better husbanded the money (which was wont to be drunk up two parts of it in the officers' hands,) got aforehand in treasure, arms, and ammunition, increased the infantry, and suppressed the unproportionable cavalry, and left nothing undone but the building of a navy. And all this may be attributed to itself only; because, in a monarchy, officers are accordingly active or careless, as the prince is able to judge and distinguish of their labours, and, withal, to participate of them somewhat himself. Sure it is, that the peace of France, and somewhat that of Christendom himself, is secured by this prince's life; for all titles and discontents, all factions of religion there, suppress themselves till his death: but what will ensue after; what the rest of the house of Bourbon will enterprize upon the king's children, what the house of Guise upon the house of Bourbon, what the league, what the Protestants, what the kings of Spain and England, if they see a breach made by civil dissension, I choose rather to expect than conjecture; because God hath so many ways to turn aside from human foresight, as he gave us a testimony upon the death of our late queen.

The country of France, considering the quantity, is the fairest and richest of all Christendom, and contains in it most of the countries adjoining; for Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany resemble England; Languedoc, Spain; Provence, Italy; and the rest is France. Besides, all the rivers that pass through it, end in it. It abounds with corn, wine, and salt, and hath a competency of silk; but is defective in wool, leather, metals, and horses; and hath but very good havens, especially on the north-side.

Concerning the people: their children, at first sight, seem men, and their men children; but who so, in negotiating, presumes upon appearance, shall be deceived; com-

passionate towards their own nation and country ; loving to the prince, and so they may have liberty in ceremony, and free access to him, they will be the better content that he shall be absolute in matter of substance ; impatient of peace any longer than whilst they are in recovering the ruins of war ; the presentness of danger inflames their courage, but any expectation makes it languish : for the most, they are all imagination, and no judgment, but those that prove solid excel ; their gentlemen are all good outward men, good courtiers, good soldiers, and knowing enough in men and business, but merely ignorant in matters of letters ; because at fifteen they quit books, and begin to live in the world, when, indeed, a mediocrity betwixt their form of education and ours would do better than either. No men stand more punctually upon their honours in matters of valour, and (which is strange) in nothing else ; for, otherwise, in their conversation, the custom of shifting and overspeaking hath quite overcome the shame of it.

Reasons for settling Admiralty-Jurisdiction, and giving Encouragement to Merchants, Owners, Commanders, Masters of Ships, Material-Men, and Mariners. Humbly offered to the Consideration of his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament.

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THERE is nothing can conduce more to the peopling and enriching a kingdom, or commonwealth, than a free and open trade ; and as that by sea is the principal source of such happiness, it may very well deserve the government's most particular care and application to advance it. And since this is no other way to be done, but by enabling the king to set forth fleets for the merchants' security abroad, and establishing good laws for defending them in their rights and properties at home ; it is most humbly proposed, Whether this may not be effected with the greatest ease and advantage, by re-settling the admiralty-jurisdiction, and restoring the ancient power of enrolling mariners ?

Usage and experience were always accounted very good directors ; and therefore, the better to accomplish this design, it may not be improper, in the first place, to give a short account of the methods observed by our ancestors, in whose times our sea-dominion was at the greatest height, and trade in as flourishing condition as those ages would admit : and, in the next place, to consider of the best means to improve these methods, and adapt them to the present times.

The sea-coasts of England were anciently divided into several vice-admiralties, *viz.* 1. Northumberland, Durham, and York. 2. Lincoln. 3. Norfolk. 4. Suffolk. 5. Essex. 6. Kent. 7. Sussex. 8. Southampton. 9. Dorset. 10. Devon. 11. South Cornwall. 12. North Cornwall. 13. Somerset. 14. Gloucester. 15. South Wales. 16. North Wales. 17. Chester. 18. Lancaster. 19. Westmorland and Cumberland. Each of these places (the port of London being immediately under the admiralty-court, as to this matter) had

a particular vice-admiral, who had power to hold a sessions once in the year, or oftener, if occasion required; and to call before him, or his officer, all sea-faring men and mariners, living within his district or division; and then and there to enroll all their names and places of abode, taking account, likewise, of all ships within their jurisdiction.

This was the method used several hundreds of years since, as appears by certain maritime laws and ordinances, registered in the ancient authentic Black-book of the admiralty; four articles of which are as follows:

1. *Puisque l'homme est fait¹ admiral, premièrement luy fault ordonner & substituer dessous luy pour estre ses lieutenants, deputez, & autres officiers, des plus loyaux, sages, & discrets en la loy marine, & anciens coustumes de la mer qu'il pourra en aucune part trouver, par ainsy que par l'aide de Dieu, & leur bonne & droiture gouvernail l'office pourra estre gouverne a l'honneur & prouffit du royaume.*

2. *Item, Apres doit l'admiral en toute la haste qu'il bonnement pourra escripte a tous ses lieutenants, deputez, & autres officiers quelconques par tous les costez de la mer, parmy tout la royaume pour savoir combien de nefes, barges, balengiers, & autres vesseaulx de guerre le roy pourra avoir en son royaume, quant lui plect, ou mestier lui fera, & de quel portage ils sont, & aussi les noms des seigneurs & possesseurs d'icelles.*

3. *Item, Pour savoir aussi par bonne, & loyales enquestes pris par devant les dits lieutenants, deputez, ou autres officiers de l'admiral combien des mariniers defensibles sont ou royaume, & la cause est pourceque s'il soit de ce demande de l'admiral par le roy ou son conseil, qu'il y donques bonnement & justement a eulx monstrier le nombre tant de nefes, barges, balengiers, & d'autres vesseaulx de guerre & aussi les noms des seigneurs & possesseurs d'icelles, comme le nombre de tous mariniers defensibles parmy le royaume, & ainsy saura le roy & son conseil de certain tousjours sa force par la mer.*

4. *Et pource qu'il a ete plusieurs fois debatue en² Angleterre pour less arrers des nefes quant le roy³ a mande sergents d'armes ou autres ministres pour arrester nefes al ceps du roy, & les seigneurs des nefes sont venus devant l'admiral, & alleguent qui leur nefes n'estoyent mye arrestees, ordonne estoit 'au tems du roy Richard le premier a Trymnesby par advis de plusieurs seigneurs du royaume' que quant-nefes serent arrestees pour service du roy que le roy escripta par ses lettres patentes a l'admiral d'arrester les nefes, &c.*

If the sea-faring men were not obedient to the vice-admiral's summons and orders, made according to the maritime laws, they had a coercive power sufficient to oblige them to be enrolled, and to go into the king's service, whenever occasion required. This method of raising seamen was continued in good order, down to the end of the prosperous reign of queen Elizabeth; from which time it began to be neglected, and so dwindled by degrees, till at last the use and practice of it quite vanished, insomuch that, at this day, the very remembrance of it is almost lost: and it is not at all strange, that it should be so; if we consider the temper of king James the First, the circumstances of king Charles the First, the late troubles, the remissness of the reign of king Charles the Second, and the designs of the late king.⁴

During the two last reigns, who would not think, but the design was to transfer the sovereignty of the seas, and trade of the world, to France; since such industry was used by the kings themselves, not only to instruct the French king in the building ships of war, and setting out fleets, but also in the giving him assistance in the compiling of his sea-laws, set forth in the ordinances of that king, in the year 1681? The French had from hence also the first foot-steps of their exquisite method of enrolling mariners. And if it

¹ *Litera A. n. 1, 2, 3.*

² *Liter. C. n. 16.*

³ If ancient usage and custom be law in England, there is little doubt of their majesties' authority for pressing ships and mariners; but, for the satisfaction of the curious, they may consult the records quoted by Mr. Prynne in his *Animadversions*, fol. 127; and also consider the statutes, 2 R. II. 4. 18 H. VI. 19. 2 & 3 P. & M. 16. 5 El. 5. 43 El. 3.

⁴ [James II.]

shall be thought fit for the kingdom's service, or in any measure conducing to our happiness, why shall we not follow likewise the more glorious example of our present king, in endeavouring to retrieve it? We have certainly the greatest motives that ever Englishmen had, to excite every one in his respective station, to give his majesty those hearty assistances, as may, under the blessing of God, regain the betrayed honour of the nation; and settle the peace, plenty, and glory thereof, for which, next to the establishment of our religion, our royal leader hath hazarded more than ever any of our kings did before him. And therefore, since a ready way of raising a sufficient number of seamen to man the fleet is of the greatest concern in this affair, and the encouraging of them voluntarily to enter into their majesties' service is of no less importance, it is humbly proposed, whether this may not be done most effectually by improving the ancient methods of pressing seamen, with a bill in parliament, to this purpose, *viz.*

1. That such seamen, as shall voluntarily enroll themselves in the admiralties, or vice-admiralties, may be exempt from petty offices, in the parishes where they live; and also, from the payment of parish-duties, taxes, and the like, during their lives, or so long as they shall continue enrolled.

2. That all prizes be divided into three parts: one third to the captor, and his ship's crew; another to go to the chest at *Chatham*⁵, towards a provision for sick and wounded mariners, and the widows and children of such as are slain; the remaining third, to pay the charge of prize-officers.

3. That the act of parliament, 43 Eliz. c. 3. concerning the relief of soldiers and mariners, be amended; and the money collected, by virtue thereof, transmitted to the Chatham chest, for the uses aforesaid. That money amounts to about fourteen-thousand pounds *per annum*, and may with care be made as much more, if it shall be found requisite; and, as it is now ordered, is of little or no use to the government.

4. If it may consist with their majesties' affairs, that the wages of captains, officers, and seamen be a little advanced; they being not so good, considering the present value of money, as they were formerly.

5. That such mariners, as shall not voluntarily enroll themselves, or appear upon the vice-admiral's summons, or stand out till they are pressed, shall not have the benefit of the aforesaid privileges and exemptions.

6. That no captains, commanders, or seamen, remain in foreign service in time of war, without licence; and that they return upon their majesties' proclamation, under such a penalty as shall be thought fit.

If such a re-establishment of the admiralties and vice-admiralties were made, besides the benefit of easily supplying the fleet with mariners, these further advantages would accrue to their majesties, and such of their subjects and allies, as should be concerned in sea-affairs, which will tend very much to the advancement of trade and navigation.

1. In time of war, the officers of the several vice-admiralties might take the care and charge of all prizes brought into their respective districts, which would make the business much more easy, and also save a great part of the charge to their majesties; for it may be easily demonstrated, whenever it shall be required, that this business may be managed for one-third part of the proceed of prizes, and the other two-thirds may be applied to the chest at Chatham, and given to the captor and his crew, as is before hinted.

2. Their majesties and the lord admiral's rights and perquisites, in time of peace, as well as war, would be preserved: whereas, at present, no manner of care is taken thereof, notwithstanding that they are many times of a considerable value.

3. The customs of goods shipwrecked, as well as the lord admiral's due, will be better preserved, and their majesties will not be so easily defrauded thereof, by people that steal such goods, or by inferior officers conniving at, or combining with them; not only be-

⁵ [Now called 'the chest at Greenwich,' to which it was removed by 43 Geo. III. c. 119.]

cause the vice-admirals, who have the care thereof, are usually noblemen or gentlemen of the best qualities and estates; and so have great authority and power, in their several countries: but also, because the vice-admiral or his officer, and the customer, will each of them be obliged to set a lock on the salved goods, and one will be a check upon the other.

4. Where merchants are in distress at sea, near the shore, or run a-ground, the officers of the vice-admirals would be ready to assist; knowing, that they shall be recompensed according to their pains, and punished, if they refuse: whereas, at present, the country-people make a prey of those miserable merchants, and will afford no manner of assistance, but rather contrive all they can, that the ship may be cast away; nay, many times, are so barbarous to kill or drown people making escape to land, that thereby they might have a pretence to a wreck.

5. When ships or goods are cast away, and any part thereof driven on shore, the vice-admirals would take care to keep off the rabble, and secure all for their true proprietors, upon moderate salvage; whereas, at present, every one taketh away what he can get, and no remedy.

6. If the vice-admirals, or their officers, happened not to be present at the time, when any ship was cast away, or goods driven on shore; they would (as they did usually in that case heretofore) issue out commissions of enquiry, or procure such commissions from the high court of admiralty, and summon what persons they pleased before them; and so examine by maritime evidence, and make immediate restitution of all that was saved to the owners, upon such salvage as was meet; and punish all the offenders that stole away, or embezzled the said goods: whereas, that jurisdiction being now interrupted, there is no relief for the sufferers, but by way of trover, trespass, or other actions at common law, which must be brought separately against the several parties offending; the multiplicity of such suits will, in the end, but add to their affliction, in spending their time and money: for many times, at the last, when they have staid half a year or more for the assizes, and those things are brought on to a trial, it so happens, that the witnesses (whose whole livelihood consists in trade, and being on-board ships) are gone to sea; and so evidence cannot be brought, *piva voce*, to prove the interest in the goods, as those ways of action require.

7. Mariners will have a quick and easy dispatch in the admiralty-courts; they being always open, and ready to determine at one hearing in a week's time, or less, whenever they come on shore; and they may also join a whole crew in one action, whereas, at common law, they must be several; and must also attend the terms or assizes, which they cannot do without losing their employments.

8. Builders of ships, and material-men, (who furnish them with all sorts of provision for setting them forth to sea,) would in the admiralty-courts have likewise a quick dispatch and remedy against the ship by them built, repaired, and furnished; whereas, at present, if the party that they contracted with for the same, proves insolvent, and procures a prohibition, (which is usually done,) they have no remedy at all; which is a great discouragement to setting out of ships, and has occasioned frequent and very grievous complaints.

9. Upon the establishment of those courts, the fisheries on all the coasts and navigable rivers would be preserved; about which, no effectual care is taken at the present.

10. All annoyances in ports and navigable rivers would be presented in the admiralty-courts; and offenders punished, and made responsible for damages done thereby; which of late has been neglected, and no relief to be had for such as have suffered thereby; especially, where a ship or anchor doth damage, and the master thereof proves insolvent.

11. The re-settling of these courts would be an encouragement to men of parts, to apply themselves to the study of the law of nations, and of the sea; whereas, at this time, that profession, heretofore thought to be of some use to the government, seems to be alto-

gether discontinued and neglected. However, it is not the benefit of any profession that is to be regarded in this matter, but the general advantage of the people, for which end, all laws are made; and if those laws afford the best remedy, in all reason, they ought to take place, and be promoted.

The common law, although most excellent in its kind, yet, being framed for land-affairs only, will be found too narrow for the decision of all the differences arising among sea-faring men and merchants. Nay, the very Roman laws, acknowledged by all to be the most comprehensive, are deficient in those cases, unless they take in the maritime laws; the excellency of which doth not only consist in proper rules, made by the long observation of traders, but also, in the incomparable dispatch that is given to maritime affairs at all times and seasons: a thing absolutely necessary for the encouragement of trade and navigation, and no where else to be had but in the courts of justice established for that end and purpose. And this may be plainly demonstrated in the following cases: concerning,

1. Building, repairing, victualling, and furnishing ships to sea.
2. Contributing towards setting forth upon voyages.
3. Cases of bottomry.
4. Contracts made beyond sea.
5. Damages on the sea, and navigable rivers.
6. Mariners' wages.
7. Freight and charter-parties.
8. Misdemeanours and nuisances in navigable rivers.
9. Foreigners' debts.

1. By the sea-laws, the ship is liable to the builders, amenders, and victuallers thereof: but by the common law, the person that made the agreement, who often is an insolvent master, or part-owner, and sometimes set up for that very end, is only liable; so that if the builder, repairer, or victualler, should be constrained to sue at common law, they would not only lose their chief security, but would also be forced to bring each man his separate action; whereas they might be all joined in one action in the admiralty. Besides, the ship or vessel being proceeded against in the admiralty, every part-owner is liable for his share; whereas, if the master, or part-owner, that made the contract, be sued at common law, if he be solvent, will be constrained to pay the whole; and yet, many times, cannot recover the respective shares of his part-owners; at least, without beginning another suit in chancery.

2. If a part-owner refuses to contribute to the setting out of a ship, the admiralty-court uses to take bail of those that would set the ship forth, to return her within a competent time, or else to pay the other part-owner, that refuses, to contribute for his part, according to an appraisement then made. And if this practice of the admiralty should be interrupted, it would be in the power of one cross part-owner to keep the ship by the walls; the consequence whereof may be easily imagined; and yet the admiralty is many times obstructed in the cases following, *viz.*

1. Differences, about setting forth ships upon voyages, often happen, in regard more parts are sold than are in the ship; and then, if the admiralty goes to examine into the truth of such bills of sale, the party obtains a prohibition.

2. Sometimes a part-owner mortgages his part, and both the lender and borrower come in upon the proceedings of the admiralty to contribute; and if any party cannot obtain his end, he presently moves for a prohibition.

3. Frequently a part-owner, that is called to contribute, will first desire that the master may give his accounts, which the court cannot, in justice, deny; and yet, if it be ordered, such cross part-owner has his end, and immediately thereupon obtains a prohibition or an injunction. In all which cases it is requisite, that the admiralty that has

an undoubted jurisdiction in the principal cause of contributing to set a ship forth, should likewise have power to determine those incident questions; or else trade and navigation will be much discouraged.

3. By the common law, the master cannot pawn the ship for necessaries, although in the greatest extremity; and, therefore, a voyage is many times lost: but, by the laws of the admiralty, the ship is chargeable upon bills of bottomry; provided that the money advanced be proved to be laid out for things actually employed in and about the ship, being in absolute necessity, and, without which, she could not proceed, whereby the voyage is performed. And, if the admiralty-jurisdiction be obstructed in this, a necessary expedient of navigation would be lost; and our ships, when driven into foreign parts, must lie there, till the master can send home, and procure money to be remitted to him; whereas the ship, with other nations, is the standing credit in such cases of necessity.

4. Contracts, made beyond sea concerning maritime affairs, may more conveniently be tried in the admiralty than at the common law; because the witnesses cannot oftentimes attend at the trial, as the course of that law requires; but, in the admiralty, they may be at any time taken in writing, or, if there be occasion, examined by commission in foreign parts. Contracts beyond sea are made by the rules of the maritime laws, and by persons experienced therein; and, therefore, foreigners have reason to expect to be tried by the same laws here, as well as in their own country. For, if the validity of such contracts should be tried by the common law, which differs from the rules of the maritime laws; the contract, that was as well and firmly made by them as was possible, may, in the end, have no effect and force.

5. If damages happen by ill stowage, or insufficiency of the ship, or by reason of storms, or the like; there are known laws whereby the admiralty-court uses to proceed. If any damage be done by one ship running against another at sea, or in navigable rivers, or by anchors for want of buoys, or the like; the utmost remedy, that the common law gives, is against the master and mariners, which are, for the most part, insolvent, unknown, or absent. In all which cases, the laws used in the admiralty give remedy against the ship. In case of the loss of a ship before it comes to the port of delivery, by the maritime laws the mariners shall receive wages, and the owners' freight to the last port of delivery, and no farther: but by the common law, for so long as they have served, loss or not loss, they may recover. Likewise in case of average, or casting goods over-board in a storm, the master, mariners, and owners, shall bear their proportion of the loss: which things, although they are very just and equitable, and great obligations to use care and diligence, yet are unknown, and not observed in proceeding at common law.

6. If the mariner knows he must sue for his wages in the admiralty, and not at the common law, he will be thereby obliged to more diligence and obedience: for, if he be mutinous, disobedient, or desert the ship, he makes a total forfeiture of all his wages. If he purloin, or embezzle any of the goods, or be faulty in the due stowage thereof, or damage happens for want of pumping, or through his default; his wages will be liable to a proportionable satisfaction: whereas, at common law, the mariner will recover his wages for so long time as he has served, and leave the commander, or owner of the ship or goods, to seek his satisfaction for the damages aforesaid; and this may also be done by letter of attorney, and so there is no remedy; which is a great discouragement to foreigners to lade their goods on English vessels. And, as the mariner is punished, if he be faulty, so he has an easy relief in the admiralty, if he doth his duty. The necessity of a mariner's condition requires a quick dispatch, which is accordingly provided for by the court of admiralty, kept weekly in the vacations, as well as in the terms; and although forty mariners may be included in one action, yet the whole may be determined in a week's time; whereas, at the common law, every mariner must bring his several action; to the great charge of the several defendants, as well as themselves, and must all attend till the term or assizes for a trial; and, perhaps, at last want evidence; when in the admiralty he can have the oath of the contractor for discovering the contract, which is usually pri-

vate, and not to be proved by witnesses. Besides, by the course of common law, the remedy for the mariner is only against the contractor, who may not be found, or else insolvent: but, in case he be found, and solvent, there is another inconvenience on the other side; for the contractor will be forced to pay the whole wages, and yet many times cannot recover the shares that are due from his part-owners, without a chancery-suit; whereas, in the admiralty, the mariner may have relief against the ship or freight that is due, and the whole difference be determined at once.

7. There is so necessary a relation betwixt freight and wages, that it will be very inconvenient to try them in separate judicatures; because,

1. Usually the wages are paid out of the freight.

2. There are divers cases, wherein mariners wages are to be abated, in respect of an abatement of freight; as, in case of loss, or spoiling the merchant's goods.

3. If the master and owner are sued in the admiralty for wages, and forced to sue at common law for freight, out of which they should pay such wages; perhaps a judgment may pass against them immediately upon a summary hearing in the admiralty, and yet they shall not be able to recover their freight in three months time, or longer, at the common law.

4. There is necessity, in many cases, to depart from the letter of the charter-party; otherwise the merchant, master, and owner may be ruined. This the maritime laws and court of admiralty do permit, which the common law doth not. For instance: A contract is made for six months, payable monthly by the charter-party; yet, if within the time the ship be embargoed, no freight shall be paid for that time: likewise, if the goods perish, before a port be made, there is no freight or wages to be paid.

5. The freight of one voyage is the supply of another, and therefore requires a very quick dispatch for the advancement of trade and navigation, which is settled by the course of admiralty, and cannot be by the course of common law.

6. The freighter may be upon, or beyond the sea, and cannot be arrested, or may be insolvent, whereby the master and the owner of the ship is remediless at the common law; but by the maritime law, the goods may be arrested, and upon default condemned for the payment of the freight; and this is the great security of the master and owner.

7. If freight must be sued for at common law, the master and owners of the ship may sue for the same by letter of attorney, and the freight shall not be stopped for damage done to the goods, or embezzlements. For the course of common law is not to stop by way of compensation, but a verdict passes for the freight upon the charter-party, according to agreement; and so the owner of the goods is defeated of his satisfaction, according to the maritime law for damage or embezzlements, besides the inconveniency of multiplying actions: whereas, the whole may be more properly decided by one and the same action in the admiralty, and many times is done upon a summary hearing, in a week or fortnight's time; by which means the great expence of money and time (two of the most necessary supplies of trade) is prevented.

8. Misdemeanours and nuisances in navigable rivers were formerly, and may again, with great conveniency, be settled under the admiralty-jurisdiction: the common law doth not, and if the admiralty should not intermeddle, there will be a failure of justice in those cases. A merchant lives beyond sea, or cannot be found, but has a ship come into a port, or navigable river; or, it may be, has goods on board, and owes some of their majesties' subjects money; one of these arresteth the ship or goods by an admiralty-warrant, and thereupon bail is given to the action. Is it not reasonable, that their majesties' subjects should proceed to sentence, and have the benefit of the law of nations? Shall a prohibition be sent, to stop proceedings; when the common law can give him no remedy? Or, that one of their majesties' courts should hinder the other, when they can give no manner of relief themselves? This is certainly to be redressed, if trade is to be encouraged; since it preserves foreigners and fugitives from paying their just debts, by reason that their persons cannot be apprehended.

If these matters may be thought fit to be re-settled in the admiralty-court, it is humbly

desired, that leave may be obtained for bringing a bill into parliament for that end, so that it may be positively determined what causes shall belong to that jurisdiction: for the old statutes that restrain it, (as they have in the late reigns been put in execution,) are the terror of merchants, owners, material-men, and others that live by sea-trade; inso-much, that they dare not think of suing in the admiralty for their just damages and debts, contracted by maritime employments, but are forced contentedly to sit down with such their losses, for fear of being sued at the common law upon the action of double damages; which is very hard, when thereby they are not only deprived of the best relief, but, in many of the foregoing cases, have no ways to begin an action at common law.

This jurisdiction has been several times settled, particularly by the king in council, in the year 1632; after which it being interrupted, it was in the late times thought necessary to be re-settled by ordinances of parliament, as may be seen in Scobell's collection, c. 112. *anno* 1648. f. 147. and c. 23. *anno* 1649. f. 16. Since the Restoration, it has been again interrupted by prohibitions, which gave occasion for several petitions from many considerable merchants, masters, owners, and material-men; one of which petitions is hereunto annexed; but they could have no relief during the two last reigns. However, it is hoped that this parliament will restore so necessary an encouragement of trade and navigation, the chiefest wealth and support of the kingdom.

It must be expected, that some of the common lawyers will oppose such a bill, for the same reasons that some civilians will promote it: but either of their private advantages is not to be regarded, but only the public good. It may be easily demonstrated, that the admiralty anciently had cognizance of many more causes than are above mentioned: and on the other side it is as plain, that prohibitions have been awarded in most, if not all of them. But arguments, drawn from thence, would do no more than tell the world, that one jurisdiction oppressed the other, according as it had power, and between both did grind and harass the subject; and is a better reason for settling the jurisdiction, than for serving the private ends of either party. And there need be no more other weight laid upon what is urged from thence, but rather to pass by all disputes of that kind; and not so much examine, whether prohibitions have been duly, or unduly, sent to the admiralty, of which there will be no end; (as may appear by the several fruitless tracts that have been published to that purpose on each side;) but rather to consider, what is fit and expedient to be done for the general advantage of the kingdom; and what courts, what laws, and which profession can most easily and readily administer justice to the subject in the foregoing cases.

APPENDIX.

At Whitehall, the Eighteenth of February, 1632. Present the King's most excellent Majesty.

Lord-Keeper,
Lord-Archbishop of York,
Lord-Treasurer,
Lord-Privy-seal,
Earl-Marshal,
Lord-Chamberlain,
Earl of Dorset,
Earl of Carlisle,
Earl of Holland,
Earl of Danby,
Lord-Chancellor of Scotland,
Earl of Morton,

Lord Viscount Wimbledon,
Lord Viscount Wentworth,
Lord Viscount Falkland,
Lord Bishop of London,
Lord Cottington,
Lord Newburgh,
Mr. Treasurer,
Mr. Comptroller,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Mr. Secretary Coke,
Mr. Secretary Windebancke.

THIS day, his majesty being present in council, the articles and propositions following, for the accommodating and settling the differences concerning prohibitions arising between his majesty's courts at Westminster, and his court of admiralty, were fully debated, and resolved by the board. And were then likewise, upon reading the same, (as well before the judges of his highness's said courts at Westminster, as before the judge of his said court of admiralty, and his attorney-general,) agreed unto, and subsigned by them all in his majesty's presence. And the transcript thereof ordered to be entered into the register of council-causes : and the original to remain in the council-chest.

1. If suit shall be commenced in the court of admiralty, upon contracts made, or other things personally done beyond the sea, or upon the sea ; no prohibition is to be awarded.
2. If suit be before the admiral for freight or mariners' wages, or for the breach of charter-parties, for voyages to be made beyond the sea, though the charter-parties happen to be made within the realm, and although the money be payable within the realm, so as the penalty be not demanded ; a prohibition is not to be granted. But if suits be for the penalty, or if the question be made, whether the charter-party were made or not, or whether the plaintiff did release, or otherwise discharge the same within the realm ? That is to be tried in the king's court at Westminster, and not in the king's court of the admiralty ; so that first it be denied upon oath, that a charter-party was made, or a denial upon an oath tendered.
3. If suit shall be in the court of admiralty, for building, amending, saving, or necessary victualling of a ship against the ship itself, and not against any party by name, but such as for his interest makes himself a party ; no prohibition is to be granted, though this be done within the realm.
4. Likewise the admiral may inquire of, and redress all annoyances and obstructions in all navigable rivers, beneath the first bridges that are any impediments to navigation, or passage to, or from the sea ; and also try personal contracts, and injuries done there, which concern navigation upon the sea : and no prohibition is to be granted in such cases.
5. If any be imprisoned, and upon *Habeas Corpus*, if any of these be the cause of the imprisonment, and that be so certified, the party shall be remanded.

Signed,

Thomas Richardson,	Humphry Davenport,	George Croke,	Henry Marten,
Robert Heath,	John Denham,	James Weston,	William Noye.
Thomas Trevor,	Richard Hutton,	Robert Barkley,	
George Vernon,	William Jones,	Francis Crawley,	

Examinat. T. Meautys.

At Whitehall, the Twenty-second of February, 1632.

PRESENT,

Lord-Keeper,
Lord-Archbishop of York,
Lord-Privy-Seal,
Earl-Marshal,
Lord-Chamberlain,
Earl of Salisbury,
Lord Viscount Wentworth,

Lord Viscount Falkland,
Lord Cottington,
Lord Newburgh,
Mr. Treasurer,
Mr. Comptroller,
Mr. Secretary Coke,
Mr. Secretary Windebanck.

IT was this day thought fit and ordered, that such prohibitions as have been sent into the admiralty-court, from any of his majesty's courts at Westminster, falling under the rules contained in the articles agreed on, and signed in his majesty's presence, the eighteenth

of this instant, (as well by all the judges of his majesty's said courts at Westminster, as by his judge of the admiralty, and his attorney-general,) should be withdrawn, and superseded; whereof the judges of the said courts, from whence such prohibitions have issued, are hereby prayed and required to take knowledge, and to give order therein accordingly.

Examinat. Meautys.

The Jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty settled.

THE lords and commons assembled in parliament, finding many inconveniences daily to arise, in relation both to the trade of this kingdom, and to the commerce with foreign parts, through the uncertainty of jurisdiction, in the trial of maritime causes; do ordain, and be it ordained, by authority of parliament, That the court of admiralty shall have cognizance and jurisdiction against the ship or vessel, with the tackle, apparel, and furniture thereof, in all causes, which concern the repairing, victualling, and furnishing provisions, for the setting of such ships or vessels to sea, and in all cases of bottomry; and likewise, in all cases of contracts made beyond the sea, concerning shipping or navigation, or damages happening thereon, or arising at sea in any voyage; and likewise, in all cases of charter-parties, or contracts for freight, bills of lading, mariners' wages, or damages on goods laden on-board ships, or other damages done by one ship or vessel to another, or by anchors, or want of laying of buoys; except, always, that the said court of admiralty shall not hold pleas, or admit actions upon any bills of exchange, or accounts betwixt merchant and merchant, or their factors.

And be it ordained, That in all and every the matters aforesaid, the said admiralty-court shall and may proceed, and take recognizances in due form, and hear, examine, and finally end, decree, sentence, and determine the same, according to the laws and customs of the sea, and put the same decrees and sentences in execution, without any let, trouble, or impeachment whatsoever; any law, statute, or usage to the contrary heretofore made, in any wise notwithstanding; saving always, and reserving to all and every person and persons, that shall find or think themselves aggrieved by any sentence definitive or decree, having the force of a definitive sentence, or importing a damage not to be repaired in the definitive sentence, given or interposed in the court of admiralty, in all or any of the cases aforesaid, their right of appeal, in such form as hath heretofore been used, from such decrees or sentences in the said court of admiralty.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of several Merchants, Owners, and Masters of Ships, Victuallers, and Material-men, belonging to the City and Port of London.

Sheweth,

THAT it has been anciently the wisdom of the kings of England, your majesty's most royal progenitors, so to provide for the wealth and good of commerce, and navigation, as to give it all encouragement, and to remove all obstructions from it; your wealth, happiness, and honour much consisting in it.

And more particularly, your majesty's most royal father of blessed memory, in the year 1632, taking notice of some differences, concerning prohibitions then arisen, betwixt his majesty's then courts at Westminster, and his majesty's court of admiralty, was graciously pleased to hear them himself in full council, and upon full debate thereof had, the eighteenth of February, 1632, propositions for accommodating thereof were by his majesty and the board resolved upon, and upon reading thereof, (as well before the judges of his majesty's court at Westminster-hall, as before the judge of his highness's said court of admiralty, and his attorney-general,) agreed unto, and subsigned by them all, in his majesty's presence, and entered in the council-book, and the original to remain in the council-chest; a copy of which order, agreement, and propositions, is hereunto annexed.

That the same order, so made by your majesties' said royal father, and the board, and agreed unto, and subscribed by all the then judges of England, did very much tend to the advancement of the navigation and commerce of this nation, to the encouragement both of the merchants and seamen, to the credit of shipping, with the material-men, to the furtherance of ship-masters, and building of ships (the wooden walls of the kingdom), and to the keeping a right understanding abroad; for that the foreign contracts made beyond the sea, and the matter of charter-parties for voyages, all ship-building, repairing, victualling of ships, mariners' wages, and other matters of mere admiralty, did from thenceforth proceed in their due course in the said court of admiralty, by the rule of the civil and maritime laws, well known abroad as well as here, and that without either being prohibited or interrupted. By which encouragement, and for that as well the people here, as foreigners, had speedy justice in the admiralty, by one common rule, well known to them all, more ships were builded, freighted, set out to sea, more voyages and returns made, commerce flourished, the wealth of the kingdom increased, and his late majesty's customs and revenues were advanced.

But forasmuch as there have been of late obstructions arisen by the grant of prohibitions, in causes of charter-parties, repairing and building of ships, mariners' wages, and other the causes and cases so settled as aforesaid, by his late majesty and the board, with the consent and agreement of all the then judges; your petitioners do sensibly perceive, that unless, by the piety and wisdom of your majesty, your majesty's court of admiralty be established in its jurisdiction, that it may minister due justice, in all these and other cases of admiralty, without being prohibited, or obstructed; the building of ships will be discouraged, the material-men will not trust upon the credit of the ship, fewer voyages to sea and returns from thence will be made, trade and a right understanding abroad, (especially since all such causes and matters are abroad referred to the admiralty,) will decrease, and your majesty's customs be lessened, and ship masters and seamen, as well as merchants be damaged, and much more inconveniences ensue also.

THE petitioners, who do heartily, upon their bended knees, bless God for your majesty's most happy and glorious restoration to your crowns and kingdoms, and do humbly and devotedly pray, that the same may flourish, and that your majesty may enjoy a long, peaceable, and prosperous reign, do humbly submit it to your majesty's most wise and prudent consideration, whether your majesty, in a matter of this universal concernment, will not be pleased, upon the perusal of the said order annexed, to tread in your majesty's most royal father's steps, and to call your majesty's judges, or such others as your majesty shall hold requisite to be present, at your majesty's council-board, and cause the said former order to be renewed and confirmed, and to be inviolably observed, that your majesty will in your own great wisdom do therein, for the good of your kingdoms, commerce, shipping, and navigation, as to your majesty shall seem requisite.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

William Batten	William Wilde	Thomas Gates	Lawrence Blancart
William Penn	James Modyford	Joshua Waters	Thomas Bantry
William Rider	Robert Lant	William Clarke	Godfrey Lee
Nicholas Harlestone	Gregory Wescomb	Robert Wood	John Page
Lawrence Moyer	William Wescomb	George Percy	Christopher Boone
Brian Harrison	Nicholas Warren	John Frederick	Peter Vandeput
Edward Jonson	Richard Lant	Thomas Bludworth	John Moone
Daniel Gates	James St. Hill	Thomas Brodrick	Alexander Bence
John Lainbery	John Marshal	John Bull	John Soame
Thomas White	John Harbin	Richard Wescomb	Charles Michel
Thomas Harman	Philip Paine	John Mascal	Nathaniel Houldings
John Casse	William Wood	David Skinner	Peter Leare
John Prowd	Nicholas Bradley	Thomas Andrews	Richard Ford
John Swanley	William Green	John Lemkuele	John Jollife

Robert Canning	Nicholas Meade	John Dickens	Richard Church, jun.
John Harris	Samuel Put	William Parker	Nathaniel Townsend
Thomas Warren	Thomas Canham	John Heath	Jacob Wachter
Joseph Debins	Timothy Alsop	Edward Wambwel	Peter Heninghook
Joseph Campbel	Thomas Tyte	Anthony Nicholetts	Robert Gale
Thomas Davies	Daniel Ford	Edward Lewes	Gerard Weyman
William Walker	Robert Hooker	Thomas Culling	Nicholas Skinner
Rich. Adams	Nicholas Corsellis	Richard David	Edward Bouvery
Robert Ellis	Peter Proby	James Young	Michael Godfrey
Charles Bennet	Andrew King	Nathaniel Tenche	Andrew West.
Edward Lopegood	George Smith	George Maryet	

Theeves falling out, True-men come by their Goods: Or, The Bel-man wanted a Clapper. A Peale of new Villanies rung out: being musically to all Gentlemen, Lawyers, Farmers, and all Sorts of People that come up to the Tearme: Shewing, that the Villanies of lewd Women doe, by many Degrees, excell those of Men. By Robert Greene.¹

Goe not by me, but buy me, and get by me.

London: printed for Henry and Moses Bell, 1637.²

[In Black Letter. Quarto; containing forty-eight pages.]

To all Gentlemen, Merchants, Apprentices, and Country Farmers, Health.

News and green bushes at taverns new set up: every man hath his penny to spend at a pinte in the one, and every man his eare open to receive the sound of the other. It is the

¹ [Some account of Robert Greene has already been given, in a note appended to page 393 of the fifth Volume. Those, however, who are any ways interested in "the notable work of conny-catching," may be gratified to know, that, besides the piece here printed, he is the reputed author of the following:—

‘A notable Discovery of Coosenage; now daily practised by sundry lewd Persons, called Connie-catchers, and Crosse-biters. With a delightful Discourse of the Coosnage of Colliers.’ 1591, 1592, 4to.

‘The Ground-work of Conny-catching; the Manner of their Pedler’s French, and the Meanes to understand the same,’ &c. 1591, 4to.

‘The second and last Part of Conny-catching,’ 1591, 1592, 4to.

‘The Third and last Part of Conny-catching; with the new-devised knavish Arte of Foole-taking.’ 1592. 4to.

‘Disputacion between a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher.’ 1592, 4to.

‘Mihil Mum-chance, his Discoverie of the Art of Cheating in false Dyce-Play.’

‘Greene’s Ghost-haunting Coney-catchers.’ 1602, 1606, 1626, 4to.

In a tract called ‘The Repentance of Robert Greene,’ 1592,—he thanks God for putting it into his head to lay open the ‘most horrible coosenages of the common conny-catchers, cooseners, and crosse-biters;’ and flatters himself that, by so doing, he performed a very beneficial service to the commonwealth of England.]

² [Before in 1615.]

language, at first meetings, used in all countries, 'What news?' In court, it is the morning's salutation, and noone's table-talk; by night it is stale. In citty, it is more common then 'What doe you lack?' And, in the countrey, whistling at plough is not of greater antiquity. Walke in the middle of Paul's, and gentlemen's teeth walke not faster at ordinaries, then there a whole day together about enquiry after 'news.'

News, then, being a fish that's caught ev'ry day, and yet a meate for every man's table; I thinke it not amisse to invite all men to a feast of such news, as hath of late, in shoales, come into my net. I will not hold a byrd in a cage to sing strange notes to my selfe, but let her forth to delight others; and albeit, about two or three yeers past, the ugly faces of divers damned abuses were set naked upon every post, their vizards being flaid off, both by 'Lanthorne and Candle-light,' and by the 'Belman of London;' yet villany, when it runnes to seed, being of all other graines the most fruitfull and luxuriant, the candle-light was burnt to a snuf, and the belman fast a-sleepe, before these monsters, which now are hatcht forth, crept out of their dennes.

In Westminster, the Strand, Holborn, and the chiefe places of resort about London, doe they every day build their nests, every houre flidge, and in tearme-time especially, flutter they abroad in flocks. You shall know them by their feathers; and, because, for the most part, they flie in payres, a cock and a hen together; behold a couple newly alighted on the perch, and a he-foyst and a she-foyst! What they chyrp out, their own voyces can best deliver; and therefore listen to them. Suppose you heare the first set out a throat thus. Farewell.

ROBERT GREENE.

A Disputation between a He-Foyst and a She-Foyst; Stephen and Kate.

Stephen.

FAIRE Kate, well met; what news about your Westminster building, that you look so blithe? Your cherry-cheekes discover your good face, and your brave apparell bewrayes a fat purse. Is fortune now a late grown so favorable to foysts, that your husband hath lighted on some large purchase? Or have your smooth lookes link't in some young novice, to sweat for a favor all the byte in his boun; and to leave himselfe as many crownes, as thou hast good conditions, and then he shall be one of Pierce Pennilesse fraternitie? How is it, sweet wench; goes the world on wheelles, that you tread so daintily on your typ-toes?

Kate. Why, Stephen, are you pleasant or peevish, that you quip with suche briefe girds? Thinke you, a quartern winde will not make a quick sayle? That easy lifts cannot make heavy burthens? That women have not wiles to compasse crownes, as well as men? Yes, and more: for, though they be not so strong in the fists, they be more ripe in their wits; and it is by wit, that I live and will live, in despite of that peevish scholler, that thought with his conny-catching bookes to have cros-bit our trade. Dost thou marvell to see me thus briske? Faire wenches cannot want favors, while the world is full of amorous fooles. Where can such gyrls as my selfe be blemish't with a thred bare coat, as long as country farmers have full purses, and wanton citizens pockets full of pence?

Steph. Truth, if fortune so favor thy husband, that he be neither smoakt nor cloyde; for I am sure, all the bravery comes by nipping, foysting, and lifting.

Kate. In faith, sir, no. Did I get no more by mine own wit, then I reape by his purchase, I might both goe bare and pennilesse the whole yeere; but mine eyes are staules, and my hands lime-twigs (else, were I not worthy the name of a she conny-catcher) Cyr-cés had never more charmes, Calipso more inchantments, the Syrens more subtile tunes, then I have crafty sleights, to inveigle a cony, and fetch in a country farmer. Stephen, beleve me, you men are but fooles; your gettings are uncertain, and yet you still fish for the gallows; though, by some great chance, you light upon a good boun, yet you fast a

³ [Two tracts by Derber so intituled. *Vide Censura Literaria*, x. 337.]

great while after ; whereas we mad wenches have our tenants (for so I call every simple letcher and amorous fox) as well out of tearme, as in tearme, to bring us our rents. Alas ! were not my wits and my wanton pranks more profitable then my husband's foysting, we might often goe to bed supperles, in stead of surfeting ; and yet, I dare sweare, my husband gets a hundreth pounds a yeere, by bouns.

Steph. Why, Kate, are you grown so stiff, to thinke, that your faire lookes can get as much as our nimble fingers : or, that your sacking can gaine as much as our foysting ? No, no, Kate ; you are two bowes down the wind : our foyst will get more then twenty the proudest wenches in all London.

Kate. Lie a little farther, and give me some roome : what, Stephen, your tongue is too lavish, all stands upon prooffe ; and since I have leasure, and no great businesse, (as being now when Paul's is shut up, and all purchases and connies in their burrowes,) let us to the taverne, and take a roome to our selves, and there, for the price of our suppers, I will prove that women (I meane of our facultie, traffique ; or, as base knaves tearme us, strumpets) are more subtile, more dangerous in the common-wealth, and more full of wiles to get crownes, then the cunningest foyst, nip, lift, prigs, or whatsoever that lives at this day.

Steph. Content : but who shall be moderator in our controversies, sith, in disputing *pro & contra* betwixt our selves, it is but your yea, and my nay ; and so neither of us will yeeld to others victories ?

Kate. Trust me, Stephen, I am so assured of the conquest, offering so the strength of mine own arguments, that when I have reasoned, I will referre it to your judgement and censure.

Steph. And trust me, as I am an honest man, I will be indifferent.

Kate. O sweare not so deeply : but let me first hear, what you can say for your selfe ?

Steph. What ; why more, Kate, then can be painted out in a great volume, but briefly this. I neede not describe the lawes of villanie, because the bel-man hath so amply pend them down in the first part of Conny-catching, that, though I be one of the faculty, yet I cannot discover more then he hath laid open. Therefore, first, to the gentleman-foyst ; I pray you what finer quality ? What art is more excellent, either to try the ripenesse of the wit, or the agility of the hand then that ; for he that will be master of his trade, must passe the proudest juggler alive, the points of *leger de maine* ; he must have an eye to spy the boung or purse, and then a heart to dare to attempt it ; (for this by the way, he that feares the gallows shall never be a good thiefe, while he lives ;) he must, as the cat, watch for a mouse, and walke Paule's, Westminster, the Exchange, and such common haunted places, and there have a curious eye to the person, whether he be gentleman, citizen, or farmer, and note, either where his boung lies, (whether in his hose or pockets,) and then dog the party into a prease, where his staule, with heaving and shoving, shall so molest him, that he shall not feele, when we strip him of his boung, although it be never so fast or cunningly couched about him. What poore farmer, almost, can come to plead his case at the bar, to attend upon his lawyers at the bench, but (looke he never so narrowly to it) we have his purse, wherein sometime, there is fat purchase, twenty or thirty pounds ; and, I pray, how long would one of your traffiquers be earning so much with your chamber-work ? Besides, in fayres and markets, and in the circuits after judges, what infinite mony is gotten from honest meaning men, that either busie about their necessary affaires, or carelesly looking to their crownes, light among us that be foysts ! Tush, we dissemble in shew, we goe so neate in aparrell, so orderly in outward appearance, some like lawyers' clarks, others like servingmen, that attend there about their masters' businesse, that we are hardly smoakt ; versing upon all men with kinde courtesies and faire words, and yet being so warily watchfull, that a good purse cannot be put up in a faire, but we sigh, if we share it not amongst us. And though the books of Conny-catching hath somewhat hindred us, and brought many brave foysts to the halter ; yet some of our country farmers, nay of our gentlemen and citizens, are so carelesse in a throng of people, that they shew us the prey, and so draw on a thiefe, and bequeath us their purses, whither we will or no. For,

who loves wine so ill, that he will not eate grapes if they fall into his mouth? And who is so base, that if he see a pocket fayre before him, will not foyst in, if he may; or, if foysting will not serve, use his knife and nip? For, although there be some foysts, that will not use their knives, yet I hold him not a perfect workman or master of his mistery, that will not cut a purse, as well as foyst a pocket, and hazard any limbe for so sweet a gain as gold. How answere you me this briefe objection, Kate? Can you compare with either our cunning, to get our gains in purchase?

Kate. And have you no stronger arguments, good man, Stephen, to argue your excellency in villany, but this? Then, in faith, put up your pipes, and give me leave to speake. Your chop-logike hath no great subtilty: for simply you reason of foysting, and appropriate that to your selves, (to you men I mean) as though there were not women-foysts and nips, as neate in that trade as you; of as good an eye, as fine and nimble a hand, and of as resolute a heart. Yes, Stephen, and your good mistresses in that mistery: for we, without like suspition, can passe in your walkes, under the colour of simplicitie, to Westminster; with a paper in our hand, as if we were distressed women, that had som supplication to put up to the judges, or some bill of information to deliver to our lawyers, when surely we shuffle in for a bounge as well as the best of you all; yea, as your selfe, Stephen, though you be called King of Cut-purses: for, though they smoake you, they will hardly mistrust us; and suppose your stomach stand against it, to foyst, yet who can better play the staule or the shadow then we? For in a thrust or throng, if we shove hard, who is he that will not favour a woman; and, in giving place to us, give you free passage for his purse? Againe, in the market, when every wife hath almost her hand on her bounge, and that they cry, "Beware the cutpurses and conny-catchers." Then I, as fast as the best, with my hand-basket, as mannerly, as if I were to buy great store of butter and eggs, for provision of my house, doe exclaime against them, with my hand on my purse, and say, "The world is so bad, that a woman cannot walke safely to market, for feare of these villanous cutpurses:" when as, the first bounge I come to, I either nip or foyst; or else staule another, while he hath stricken, dispatcht, and gone.

Now, I pray you, gentle sir, wherein are we inferiour to you in foysting? And yet this is nothing to the purpose: for it is one of our most simple shifts. But yet, I pray you, What thinke you when a farmer, gentleman, or citizen come to the tearme, perhaps he is wary of his purse, and watch him never so warily, yet he will never be brought to the blow; is it not possible for us to pinch him, ere he passe? He that is most chary of his crownes abroad, and will cry, "Aware the conny-catchers;" will not be afraid to drink a pinte of wine with a pretty wench, and, perhaps, go to a trugging-house to ferry one out for his purpose: then with what cunning we can feede the simple fopp, with what faire words, sweete kisses, fained sighs; as if, at that instant, we fell in love with him, that we never saw before? If we meet him in the evening in the streete, if the farmer, or other whatsoever, be not so forward as to motion some courtesie to us; we straight insinuate into his company, and claime acquaintance of him, by some meanes or other; and if his mind be set for lust, and the divell drive him on to match himselfe with some dishonest wanton, then let him looke to his purse: for, if he do but kisse me in the streete, Ile have his purse for a farewell, although he never commit any other act at all. I speake not this onely by my selfe, Stephen; for there be a hundred, in London, more cunning then my selfe in conny-catching. But, if he come into a house, then let our trade alone to verse upon him, for first we faine our selves hungry for the benefit of the house, although our bellies were never so full; and, no doubt, the pander or bawde, she comes forth like a sober matron, and sets store of cates on the table, and then I fall a boord on them: and though I can eate little, yet I make havock of all; and let him be sure every dish is well sauced, for he shall pay for a pippin-pie, that cost in the market four-pence, at one of the trugging-houses, eight-pence. Tush, what is dainty, if it be not deare bought? And yet, he must come off for crownes besides; and when I see him draw to his purse, I note the putting up of it well, and, ere we part, the world goes hard, if I foyst him not of all that he hath: and then suppose the worst, that he misse it; am I so simply acquainted or

badly provided, that I have not a friend, which with a few terrible oathes and countenance set, (as if he were the proudest souldado that ever bare armes in the Low-Country warres,) will face him out of his money, and make him walke like a woodcocke homeward by weeping crosse, and so by repentance, with all the crownes in his purse. How say you to this, Stephen; Whether are women-foysts inferiour to you, in ordinary coozenage, or no?

Steph. Excellently well reasoned; thou hast told me wonders. But, wench, though you be wily and strike often, your blowes are not so big as ours.

Kate. Oh, but note the subject of our disputation, and that is this; Which are more subtile and dangerous in the common-wealth? and to that I argue.

Steph. I, and beshrow me, but you reason quaintly: yet, will I proove your wits are not so ripe as ours, nor so ready to reach into the subtilties of kinde coozenage; and though you appropriate to your selfe the excellency of conny-catching, and that you doe it with more art, then we men doe, (because of your painted flatteries and sugred words, that you flourish rethorically, like nets to catch fooles,) yet, will I manifest, with a merry instance, a feate done by a foyst, that exceeded any that ever was don by any mad wench in England.

A pleasant Tale of a Country-Farmer, that tooke it in Scorne to have his Purse cut or drawne from him; and how a Foyst served him.

IT was told me of a truth, that not long since, here in London, there lay a country farmer, with divers of his neighbours, about law matters; amongst whom, one of them, going to Westminster-hall, was by a foyst stripped of all the pence in his purse; and coming home, made great complaint of his misfortune: some lamented his losse, and others exclaimed against the cutpurse; but this farmer he laught loudly at the matter, and sayde, "Such fooles, as could not keepe their purses no surer, were well served: and, for my part, (quoth he) I so much scorne the cutpurses, that I would thanke him heartily that would take paines to foyst mine." "Well, (sayes his neighbour,) then you may thanke me, sith my harmes learne you to beware: but if it be true, that many things fall out betweene the cup and the lip, you know not what hands fortune may put in your owne lap." "Tush, (quoth the farmer,) heers forty pounds in this purse in gold; the proudest cutpurse in England win it and weare it." Thus he bosted. There stood a subtile foyst by, and heard all; smiling to himselfe at the folly of the proud farmer, and vowed to have his purse, or venture his neck for it; and so went home, and bewrayed it to a crue of his companions, who tooke it in dudgion, that they should be put downe by a pesant. But, wheresoever they met, they held a convocation, and both consulted, and concluded all, by a generall consent, to bend all their wits to be possessors of this farmer's bounge: and, for the execution of this their vow, they haunted about the inne where he lay, and dogged him into divers places, both to Westminster-hall, and other places, and yet could never light upon it: he was so watchfull, and smoakt them so narrowly, that all their travell was in vain. At last, one of them fled to a more cunning policie, and went and learned the man's name, and where he dwelt; and then he hyed him to the Counter, and entred an action against him of trespasse, dammages two-hundreth pounds. When he had thus done, he fee'd two serjeants, and carried them downe with him to the man's lodging, wishing them not to arrest him till he commanded them. Well; agreed they were, and downe to the farmer's lodging they came; where were a crue of foysts, whom he had made privie to the end of his practise, stood waiting; but he tooke no knowledge at all of them, but walked up and downe. The farmer came out, and went to Paule's; the cutpurse bad stay, and would not yet suffer the officers to meddle with him, till he came into the west end of Paul's church-yard, and there he willed them to doe their office; and they, stepping to the farmer, arrested him. The farmer amazed, being amongst his neighbours, asked the serjeant at whose suite he was troubled? "At whose suite soever it be, (said one of the cutpurses that stood by) you are wronged, honest man; for he hath arrested

you here in a place of priviledge, where the sheriffes nor officers have nothing to doe with you, and therefore you are unwise, if you obey him." "Tush, (sayes another cutpurse,) though the man were so simple of himselfe, yet shall he not offer the church so much wrong, as, by yeelding to the mace, to imbolish Paul's libertie; and therefore I will take his part;" and with that he drew his sword: another tooke the man and haled him away: the officer he stuck hard to him, and said he was his true prisoner, and cryed "Clubbes." The prentises arose, and there was a great hurly-burly, for they tooke the officer's part; so that the poore farmer was mightily turmoyld amongst them, and almost haled in peeces. Whilest thus the strife was, one of the foysts had taken his purse away, and was gone; and the officer carried the man away to a taverne; for he swore he knew no such man, nor any man that he was indebted to as then. They sat drinking of a quart of wine: the foyst that had caused him to be arrested, sent a note by a porter to the officer that he should release the farmer, for he had mistaken the man; which note the officers shewed him, and bad him pay his fees and goe his wayes. The poore countryman was content with it, and put his hand in his pocket to feel for his purse, but there was none; which made his heart farre more cold then the arrest did; and with that, fetching a great sigh, he said, "Alas! masters, I am undone; my purse in this fray is taken out of my pocket, and ten pounds in gold in it, besides white money." "Indeed, (said the serjeant,) commonly in such brawles, the cutpurses be busie; and I feare the quarrell was made upon purpose by the pickpockets." "Well, (sayes his neighbour,) who shall smile at you now? The other day, when I lost my purse, you laught at me." The farmer brookt all, and sat male-content, and borrowed money of his neighbours to pay the serjeant; and had a learning, I beleeve, ever after, to brave the cutpurse. How say you to this, mistresse Kate? Was it not well done? What choise witted wench of your faculty, or she-foyst, hath ever done the like? Tush, Kate; if we begin once to apply our wits, all your inventions are folly towards ours.

Kate. You say good, goodman Stephen, as though your subtilties were sodaine as women's are; come but to the old proverbe, and I put you downe: 'Tis as hard to find a hare without a muse, as a woman without a scuse; and that wit, that can devise a cunning lye, can plot the intent of deep villanies. I grant the fetch of this foyst was pretty, but nothing in respect of that we wantons can compasse: and, therefore, to quit your tale with another, heare what a mad wench of my profession did relate to one of your faculty.

A pleasant Tale how a Whore conny-catcht a Foyst.

THERE came out of the country a foyst, to try his experience here, in Westminster-hall, and strooke a hand or two; but the divell a snap he would give to our citizen-foysts, but wrought warily, and could not be fetcht off by no meanes: and yet it was knowne he had some twenty pounds about him, but he planted it so cunningly in his doublet, that it was sure enough for finding, although the city-foysts laid all the plots they could, as well by discovering him to the gylors, as otherways; yet he was so politicke, that they could not verse upon him by any meanes; which grieved them so, that, one day at dinner, they held a counsaile amongst themselves how to coozen him, but in vaine: till at last a wench that sate by, undertooke it, so they would sweare to let her have all that he had. They confirmed it solemnly, and she put it in practise thus: She subtilly insinuated her selfe into the foysts company, who (seeing her a pretty wench) began, after twice meeting, to waxe familiar with her, and to question about a night's lodging. After a little nice loving and biding, she was content for her supper, and what else he would bestow upon her; for she held it scorne, she said, to set a salary price on her body. The foyst was glad of this, and yet he would not trust her; so that he put no more but ten shillings in his pocket, but he had above twenty pounds quilted in his doublet. Well, to be short, supper-time came, and thither comes my gentle foyst; who, making good cheere, was so eager of his game, that he would straight to bed by the leave of his dame bawd, who had her fee too; and there he lay till about midnight, where three or four old hacksters, whom

she had provided upon purpose, came to the doore and rapt lustily. "Who is there?" says the bawd, looking out of the window. "Marry, (say they,) such a justice, (and named one about the citty that was a mortall enemy to cutpurses) who is now come to search your house for a jesuite, and other suspected persons." "Alas, sir, (sayde she,) I have none here." "Well, (quoth they) ope the doore?" "I will;" sayes she. With that she came into the foyst's chamber, who heard all this, and was afraid it was some search for him; so that he desired the bawd to helpe him, that he might not be seene. "Why then, (quoth she,) step into the closet." He whipt in hastily, and never remembered his cloaths. She lockt him in safe, and then let in the crue of rake-hels; who, making as though they searcht every chamber, came at last into that where this lemman lay, and asked her what she was? She, as if she had been afraid, desired their worships to be good to her, she was a poore country maid come up to the tearme. "And who is that, (quoth they) that was in bed with you?" "None, forsooth;" sayes she. "No, (sayes one,) that is a lye; here is the print of two; and besides, wheresoever the foxe is, here is his skinne, for this is his doublet and hose." Then downe she falls upon her knees, and sayes, Indeede it was her husband. "Your husband, (quoth they;) Nay, that cannot be, minion; for why then would you have denyed him at the first?" With that, one of them turn'd to the bawd, and did question with her what he was, and where he was? "Truely, sir, (sayes she,) they came to my house, and said they were man and wife; and, for my part, I knew them for no other; and he, being afraid, is, indeede, to confess the troth, shut up in the closet." "No doubt, if it please your worship, (sayes one rake-hell,) I warrant you he is some notable cutpurse or pickpocket, that is afraid to shew his face. Come and open the closet, and let us looke on him?" "Nay, sir, (sayes she,) not for to-night; I beseech your worship carry no man out of my house; I will give my word he shall be forth comming to morrow morning." "Your word, dame bawd, (sayes one,) 'tis not worth a straw. You, huswife, that says you are his wife, you shall goe with us; and for him, that we may be sure he may not start, Ile take his doublet, hose, and cloake, and to-morrow Ile send them to him by one of my men: were there a thousand pounds in them, there shall not be a penny diminisht." The whore kneeled down on her knees, and fained to cry pittifully; and desired the justice, which was one of her companions, not to carry her to prison. "Yes, huswife, (quoth he,) your mate and you shall not tarry together in one house, that you may make your tales all one; and, therefore, bring her away: and as for ye, dame bawd, see ye lend him no other cloathes, for I will send his in the morning betimes, and come you with him to answeere for lodging him." "I will, sir," sayes she; and so away goes the wench, and her companions, laughing, and left the bawd and the foyst. As soone as the bawd thought good, she unlockt the closet, and curst the time that ever they came in her house. "Now, (quoth she,) here will be a faire adoe; how will you answeere for your selfe? I feare me I shall be in danger of the cart." "Well, (quoth he,) to be short, I would not for forty pounds come afore the justice." "Marry, no more would I, (quoth she;) let me shift, if you were conveyed hence, but I have not a rag of man's apparell in the house." "Why, (quoth he,) seeing it is early morning, lend me a blanket to put about me, and I will scape to a friend's house of mine." "Then leave me a pawne?" quoth the bawd. "Alas, I have none, (sayes he,) but this ring on my finger." "Why, that, (quoth she,) or tarry while the justice comes." So he gave it her, tooke the blanket, and went his ways; whether, I know not, but to some friend's house of his. Thus was this wily foyst, by the wit of a subtile wench, cunningly stript of all that he had, and turned to grasse to get more fat.

Kate. How say you to this devise, Stephen? Was it not excellent? What thinke you of a woman's wit, if it can worke such wonders?

Steph. Marry, I thinke my mother was wiser than all the honest women of the parish besides.

Kate. Why, then belike, she was of my faculty, and a matrone of my profession; nimble of her hands, quick of her tongue, and light of her taylor: I should have put in sir reverence, but a foule word is good enough for a filthy knave.

Steph. I am glad you are so pleasant, Kate : you were not so merry when you went to Dunstable. But, indeede, I must needs confesse, that women-foysts, if they be carefull in their trades, are, though not so common, yet more dangerous then men-foysts. Women have quick wits, as they have short heels, and they can get with pleasure what we fish for with danger : but now giving you the bucklers at this weapon, let me have a blow at you with another.

Kate. But, before you induce any more arguments, by your leave in a little by talke. You know, Stephen, that though you can foyst, nip, prig, lift, curbe, and use the black art, yet you cannot crosbite without the helpe of a woman ; which crosbiting, now adayes, is growne to a marvelous profitable exercise : for some cowardly knaves that, for feare of the gallows, leave nipping and foysting, become crosbites ; knowing there is no danger therein but a little punishment, at the most the pillorie, and that is saved with a little *unguentum aureum* ; as for example. W. C. is now a reformed man : whatsoever he hath been in his youth, now in his latter dayes he is growne a corrector of vice ; for who soever he takes suspicious with his wife, I warrant you he sets a sure fine on his head, though he hath nothing for his mony but a bare kisse ; and, in this art, we poore wenches are your sure props and stay. If you will not beleeve me, aske poore A. B. in Turnemill-streete. What a saucy signior there is, whose purblinde eyes can scarcely discerne a lowse from a flea, and yet he hath such insight into the mistical trade of crosbiting, that he can furnish his boord with a hundred-pounds-worth of plate. I doubt the sand-eyde asse will kicke like a westerne pugge, if I rubbe him on the gall ; but 'tis no matter, if he finde him selfe toucht and stirre ; although he boasts of the chiefe of the cleargies favor, yet Ile so set his name out, that the boyes at Smithfield-bars shall chalke him on the back for a crosbite. Tush, you men are foppes in fetching novices over the coles. Hearken to me, Stephen ; Ile tell thee a wonder. There dwelt here sometimes a good ancient matron, that had a fayre wench to her daughter, as young and tender as a morrow masse priest's lemman : her she set up to sale in her youth, and drew on sundry to be suters to her daughter, some wooers, and some speeders ; yet none married her, but of her beauty they made profit, and inveagled all, till they had spent upon her what they had ; and then, forsooth, she and her young pigion turned them out of doores, like prodigall children. She was acquainted with Dutch, French, Italian, and Spaniard, as well as English ; and at last, so often as the pitcher goes to the brooke, that it comes broken home, my fayre daughter was hit on the master veine, and gotten with child ; and the mother to colour this matter, to save her daughter's marriage, begins to weare a cushion under her owne kirtle, and to faine her selfe with child, but let her daughter passe as though she aild nothing. When the fortie weekes were come, and my young mistresse must needes cry out, forsooth ; this old B. had gotten huswives answerable unto her selfe, and so brought her daughter to bed, and let her goe up and downe the house, and the old crone lay in childbed as though she had beene delivered, and said the child was hers ; and so saved her daughter's scape. Was not this a witty wonder, M. Stephen, wrought by an old witch ; to have a child in her age, and make a young whore seeme an honest virgin ? Tush, this is a little to the purpose, if I should recite all, how many she had coozened under the pretence of marriage. Well, poore plaine signior, see, you were not stiffe enough for her, although it cost you many crownes, and the losse of your service : Ile say no more ; perhaps she will amend her manners. Ah, Stephen, how like you this geare ? In crosbiting we put you downe : for, God wot, it is little lookt to in and about London ; and yet I will say to thee, many a good citizen is crosbit in the yeere by odde walkers abroad.

Steph. I cannot deny, Kate, but you have set downe strange presidents of women's prejudiciall wits ; but yet, though you be crosbytes, foys, and nips, yet you are not good lifts : which is a great helpe to your faculty, to filch a boult of satten or velvet.

Kate. Stay thee a word, I thought thou hadst spoken of I. P. C. his wife ; take heede, they be parlous folkes, and greatly acquainted with keepers and jaylors ; therefore, meddle not you with them : for, I heard say, the belman hath sworne in dispight of the

brasil-staffe, to tell such a foule tale of him, in his second part, that it will cost him a dangerous joynt.

Steph. Kate, Kate, let I. P. beware; for, had not an ill fortune falne to the bel-man, he could take little harme.

Kate. Who is that, Stephen, D. W.

Steph. Nay, I will not name him.

Kate. Why then I pray thee, what misfortune befell him?

Steph. Marry, Kate, he was strangely washt alate by a French barber, and had all the haire of his face most miraculously shaven off by the sythe of God's vengeance, in so much that some said, he had that he had not: but, as hap was, howsoever his haire fell off, it stood him in some stead, when that brawle was alate; for, if he had not cast off his beard, and so beene unknowne, it had cost him some knockes; but it fell out to the best.

Kate. The more hard fortune that he had such ill hap; but hasty journeyes breede dangerous sweates, and the phisicians call it, '*the ale peria*:' yet, omitting all this, againe to where you left.

Steph. You have almost brought me out of my matter, but I was talking about the lift; commending what a good quality it was, and how hurtfull it was, seeing we practise it in mercers shops, with haberdashers of small wares, haberdashers of hats and caps, amongst merchant taylors, for hose and doublets; and in such places getting much gaines by lifting, when there is no good purchase abroad by foysting.

Kate. Suppose you are good at the lift; who be more cunning then we women, in that we are more trusted? For they little suspect us, and we have as close conveyance as you men: though you have cloakes, we have skirts of gownes, handbaskets, the crownes of our hats, our plackards, and (for a neede) false bags under our smockes, wherein we may convey more closely then you.

Steph. I know not where to touch you, you are so witty in your answers, and have so many starting holes, but let me be pleasant with you a little: what say you to prigging or horsestealing? I hope you never had experience in that faculty.

Kate. Alas! simple sot, yes; and more shift to shunne the gallowes then you.

Steph. Why 'tis impossible.

Kate. In faith, sir, no; and for prooffe, I will put you downe with a story of a mad, merry, little, dapper, fine wench, who at Spilsby faire had three horses of her own, or another man's, to sell: as she, her husband, and another good fellow, walked them up and downe the faire, the owner came and apprehended them all, and clapt them in prison; the jaylor not keeping them close prisoners, but letting them lye all in a chamber, by her wit she instructed them in a formall tale, that she saved all their lives thus. Being brought the next morrow after their apprehension, before the justices, they examined the men how they came by the horses, and they confest they met her with them, but where she had them, they knew not: then was my pretty peat brought in, who (being a handsome trull) blusht as if she had beene full of grace; and being demanded where she had the horses, made this answere: "May it please your worships, this man my husband, playing the unthrift, as many more have done, was absent from me for a quarter of a yeere, which grieved me not a little; insomuch, that desirous to see him, and having intelligence he would be at Spilsby faire, I went thither, even for pure love of him, on foote; and being within some ten miles off the towne, I waxed passing weary, and rested me often, and grew very faint: at last there came riding by me a servingman, in a blew coat, with three horses, tide at one anothers taile, which he led (as I gest) to sell at the faire; the servingman, seeing me so tyred, tooke pittie on me, and askt me if I would ride on one of his empty horses, for his owne would not beare double. I thankt him hartily, and at the next hill got up, and rode till we came to a towne within three miles of Spilsby, where the servingman alighted at a house, and bade me ride on a-fore, and he would presently overtake me. Well; forward I rode halfe a mile, and, looking behind me, could see nobody: so being alone, my heart began to rise, and I to thinke on my husband. As I had rid a

little further, looking down a lane, I saw two lusty men comming up, as if they were weary; and, marking them earnestly, I saw one of them was my husband, which made my heart as light as before it was sad: so staying for them, after a little unkind greeting betwixt us, (for I chid him for his unthriftinesse,) he asked me where I had the horse; and I told him how courteously the servingman had used me: why then sayes he, Stay for him. "Nay, (quoth I,) let's ride on, and get you two upon the empty horses, for he will overtake us, ere we come at the town; he rides on a stout, lusty, young gelding." So forward we went, and lookt often behinde us, but our servingman came not. At last we, comming to Spilsby, alighted and broke our fast, and tyed our horses at the doore, that, if he past by, seeing them, he might call in: after we had broke our fast, thinking he had gone some other way, we went into the horse faire, and there walkt our horses up and downe to meet with the servingman, not for the entent to sell them. Now may it please your worships, whether he had stoln the horses from this honest man, or no, I know not: but alas, simply I brought them to the horse faire, to let him that delivered me them, have them againe; for I hope your worships do imagine, if he had stole them, as it is suspected, I would never have brought them into so publike a place to sell: yet, if law be any way dangerous for the foolish deed, because I know not the servingman, it is I must bide the punishment, and as guiltles as any here:" and making a low cursie, she ended: the justice holding up his hand, and wondring at the woman's wit, that had cleerd her husband, and his friend, and saved herself without compasse of the law. How like you this, Stephen; cannot we wenches prigge well?

Steph. I thinke, Kate, I shall be faine to give you the bucklars.

Kate. Alas! good Stephen, thou art no logitian; thou canst not reason for thy selfe, nor hast no witty argument to draw me to an exigent; and therefore give me leave at large to reason for this supper. Remember, the subject of our disputation is the positive question, whether whores, or thieves, are most prejudiciall to the common-wealth? Alas, you poore thieves doe only steale and purloine from men, and the harme you doe is to imbolish men's goods, and bring them to poverty: this is the only end of men's thevery, and the greatest prejudice that growes from robbing and filching. So much doe we by our theft, and more by our lechery: for, what is the end of whoredom, but consuming of goods and beggery; and, besides, perpetuall infamy? We bring young youthes to ruine and utter destruction. I pray you, Stephen, whether had a merchant's sonne, having wealthy parents, better light upon a whore, then a cutpurse? The one onely taking his money, the other bringing him to utter confusion. For, if the foyst light upon him, or the conny-catcher, he loseth, at the most, some hundreth pounds; but, if he fall into the company of a whore, she flatters him, she inveagles him, she bewitcheth him, that he spareth neither goods nor lands to content her, that is onely in love with his coyne. If he be married, he forsakes his wife, leaves his children, despiseth his friends, onely to satisfie his lust with the love of a base whore; who, when he hath spent all upon her, and he brought to beggery, beateth him out like the prodigall child, and for a finall reward brings him, if to the fairest end, to begge; if to the second, to the gallows; or, at the last and worst, to the pox, or as prejudiciall diseases. I pray you, Stephen, when any of you come to your confession at Tyborne, what is your last sermon that you make? That you were brought to that wicked and shamefull end by following of harlots: for to that end do you steale, to maintaine whores, and to content their badde humours. Oh Stephen, enter your owne thoughts, and thinke what the faire words of a wanton will do; what the smiles of a strumpet will drive a man to act; into what jeopardie a man will thrust himselfe for her that he loves, although for his sweete villany he be brought to a loathsome leprosie.

Tush, Stephen, they say the poxe came from Naples, some from Spaine, some from France; but, wheresoever it first grew, it is so surely now rooted in England, that by S. Syth, it may better be called a *morbus Anglicus*, then *Gallicus*; and I hope you will grant all these French favours grew from whores. Besides, in my high loving, or rather

creeping, (I meane, where men and women do rob together,) there alwayes the woman is most bloody; for she alwayes urgeth unto death: and though the men would only satisfie themselves with the parties coyne, yet she endeth her theft in blood; murdering parties so deeply as she is malicious. I hope, gentle Stephen, you cannot contradict these reasons, they be so open and manyfestly probable. For mine owne part, I hope you do not imagine but I have had some friends, besides poore George my husband. Alas, he knowes it, and is content, like an honest, simple suffragan, to be corrivall with a number of other good companions; and I have made many a good man, (I meane a man that hath a houshold,) for the love of me, to goe home and beate his poore wife; when, for repentance, I mock him for the money he spent, and he had nothing for his pence, but the wast beleavings of others beastly labours.

Stephen, Stephen, if concubines could inveagle Solomon, if Dalilah could betray Sampson, then wonder not if we, more nice in our wickednesse then a thousand Dalilahs, can seduce poore young novices to their utter destructions. Search the gayles, there you shall heare complaints of whores; looke into the spittle and hospitalls, there you shall see men diseased of the French marbles giving instruction to others, that they are said to beware of whores. Be an auditor, or eare-witnesse, of the death of any theefe, and his last testament is, 'Take heede of a whore.'

I dare scarce speake of Bridewell, because my shoulders tremble at the name of it, I have so often deserved it; yet looke but in there, and you shall heare poore men, with their hands in their pigeon-holes, crie, 'Oh, fie upon whores;' when Fowler gives them the terrible lash. Examine beggers that lye lame by the high way, and they say they came to that misery by whores. Some threedbare citizens, that from merchants and other good trades, grow to be base informers and knights of the post, cry out, when they dyne with duke Humfery, 'O what wickednesse comes from whores!' Prentises, that runne from their masters, cry out upon whores. Tush, Stephen, what enormities proceed more in the common-wealth, then from whoredome? But, sith it is almost supper-time, and mirth is the friend to digestion, I meane a little to be pleasant. I pray you, how many bad profits againe growes from whores? Bridewell would have very few tenants, the hospitall would want patients, the surgeons much worke; the apothecaries would have surphaling water, and potato rootes, lye dead on their hands; the painters could not dispatch and make away their virmillion, if tallow-faced whores used it not for their cheekes? What should I say more, Stephen? The suburbs should have a great misse of us; and Shoreditch would complaine to dame Anne a Cleare, if we of the sisterhood should not uphold her jollity. Who is that, Stephen, comes in to heare our talke?

Oh, 'tis the boy, Kate, that tells us, supper is ready.

Why then, Stephen, what say you to me? Have not I proved, that in foysting and nipping, we excell you? That there is none so great inconvenience in the common-wealth, as growes from whores? First, for the corrupting of youth, infecting of age, and for breeding of brawles, whereof ensues murther; insomuch that the ruine of many men comes from us, and the fall of many youths of good hope, if they were not seduced by us, do proclaime at Tyborne, that we be the means of their misery. You men-theeves touch the body and wealth, but we ruine the soule, and endanger that which is more precious then the world's treasure; you make worke only for the gallows, we both for the gallows and the divell; I, and for the surgeon too, that some live like lothsome lazars, and dye with the French marbles: whereupon I conclude, that I have wonne the supper.

Steph. I confesse it, Kate; for thou hast told me such wondrous villanies, as I thought never could have beene in women, I meane of your profession; who are crocodiles when you weep, basilisks when you smile, serpents when you devise, and the divell's chiefe brokers to bring the world to destruction. And so, Kate, lets sit downe to our meate, and be merry.

Thus, countrymen, you have heard the disputation betweene these two coozening companions, wherein I have shak't out the notable villanie of whores; although mistresse Kate, this good oratresse, hath sworn to weare a long Hambrough knife to stab me, and all the crue have protested my death; and, to prove they meant good earnest, they beleagred me being at supper. There were some foureteene or fiteene of them met, and thought to have made that the fatall night of my overthrow, but that the courteous citizens and apprentices tooke my part; and so two or three of them were carried to the Counter, although a gentleman in my company was sore hurt. I cannot deny but they began to waste away about London, and Tyborn hath eaten up many of them; and I will plague them to the extremity: let them doe what they dare with their bil-bow blades, I feare them not. And to give them their last adue, looke shortly, countrymen, for a pamphlet against them, called, 'The Creeping Law' of petty theeves, that rob about the suburbs: 'The Limiting Law,' discoursing the orders of such as follow judges in their circuits, and go about from faire to faire: 'The Juggling Law,' wherein I will set out the disorders at nineholes and wrestling, how they are only for the benefit of the cutpurses: 'The Stripping Law,' wherein I will lay open the lewd abuses of sundry gaylors in England. Beside, you shall see there what houses there be about the suburbs and town's end, that are receivers of cutpurses, stolne goods, lifts, and such like. And, lastly, looke for the bed-roll catalogue of all the names of the foysts, nips, lifts, and priggers, in & about London: and although some say I dare not do it, yet I will shortly set it abroch; and whosoever I name or touch, if he thinke himselfe grieved, I will answer him.

The Conversion of an English Curtezan.

SITH to discover my parentage would double the greife of my living parents, and revive in them the memory of great amisse, and that my untoward fall would be a dishonour to the house from whence I came: sith to manifest the place of my birth would be a blemish, through my beastly life so badly misled, to the shire where I was borne: sith to discover my name might be holden a blot in my kindred's brow, to have a sinew in their stocke of so little grace; I will conceale my parents, kin, and country, and shrowd my name with silence, lest envie might taunt others for my wantonnesse. Know therefore, I was borne about threescore miles from London, of honest and wealthy parents, who had many children; but I their only daughter, and therefore the jewell wherein they most delighted, and more, the youngest of all, and therefore the more favoured; for, being gotten in the wayning of my parents age, they doted on me above the rest, and so set their hearts the more on fire. I was the fairest of all, and yet not more beautiful then I was witty; in-somuch that, being a pretty parrat, I had such quaint conceits, and wittie words in my mouth, that the neighbours said, 'I was too soon wise, to be long old.' Would to God either the proverbe had beene authentically, or their sayings prophecies! then had I, by death in my nonage, buried many blemishes that my riper yeeres brought me to. For the extreme love of my parents was the efficient cause of my follies; resembling herein the nature of the ape, that ever killeth that young one which he loveth most, with embracing it too fervently. So my father and mother, (but she most of all, although he too much,) so cockered me up in my wantonnesse, that my wit grew to the worst; and I waxed upwards with the ill weedes. Whatsoever I did, were it never so bad, might not be found fault withall; my father would smile at it, and say, "'twas but the trick of a childe;" and my mother allowed of my unhappy parts, alluding to this prophane and old proverbe, 'An untoward girle makes a good woman.'

But now I find, in sparing the rod they hated the child; that over kind fathers make unruly daughters. Had they bent the wand while it had been greene, it would have beene pliant; but I, ill growne in my yeeres, am almost remedillesse. The hawke that is most perfect for the flight, will seldome prove a hagard; and children, that are vertuously nurtured in youth, will be honestly natured in age: fie upon such as say, 'Yong saints,

old divells.' It is, no doubt, a divellish and damnable saying; for what is not bent, in the cradle, will hardly be bowed in the saddle. My selfe am an instance; who, after I grew to be sixe yeeres old, was set to schoole, where I profited so much, that I writ and read exceeding well, plaid upon the virginals, lute, and citron, and could sing prick-song at the first sight: insomuch as, by that time I was twelve yeeres old, I was holden for the most faire and best qualited young girle in all that country: but, with this, bewailed of my well-wishers, in that my parents suffered me to be so wanton.

But they so tenderly affected me, and were so blinded with my excellent qualities, that they had no insight into my ensuing follies: for, I growing to be 13 yeeres old, feeling the yoke of liberty to be loose on mine owne neck, began (with the wanton heyfer) to aime at mine owne will, and to measure content by the sweetnesse of mine owne thoughts; insomuch that, pride creeping on, I beganne to pranke my selfe with the proudest, and to hold it in disdaine, that any in the parish should exceede me in bravery. As my apparell was costly, so I grew to be licentious, and to delight to be lookt on; so that I haunted and frequented all feasts and weddings, and other places of merry meetings; where, as I was gazed on of many, so I spared no glances to survey all with a curious eye-favour; I observed Ovid's rule right:

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ.

I went to see, and be seene; and deckt my selfe in the highest degree of bravery: holding it a glory, when I was waited on with many eies, to make censure of my birth. Beside, I was an ordinary dancer, and grew in that quality so famous, that I was noted as the chieftest thereat in all the country; yea, and to sooth me up in these follies, my parents tooke a pride in my dancing, which afterwards proved my overthrow, and their hearts-breaking.

Thus, as an unbridled colt, I carelessly led forth my youth, and wantonly spent the flower of my yeares, holding such maydens, as were modest, fooles; and such, as were not as wilfully wanton as my selfe, puppies ill brought up, and without manners: growing on in yeeres, (as tide nor time tarieth for no man,) I began to waxe passion proud, and to think her not worthy to live, that was not a little in love; that, as divers young men beganne to favour me for my beauty, so I beganne to censure of some of them partially, and to delight in the multitude of many wooers; being ready to fall from the tree, before I was com to the perfection of a blossom; which an uncle of mine seeing, who was my mother's brother, as carefull of my welfare, as nie to me in kin, finding fit opportunity to talke with me, gave me this wholesome exhortation:

A Watch-Word to wanton Maydens.

"COUSIN, I see the fairest hawke hath often times the sickest feathers; that the hottest day hath the most sharpe thunders; the brightest sun, the most sodaine showre; and the youngest virgins, the most dangerous fortunes; I speake as a kinsman, and wish as a friend; the blossome of a mayden's youth (such as your selfe) hath attending upon it many frosts to nip it, and many cares to consume it, so that if it be not carefully look't unto, it will perish before it come to any perfection. A virgin's honour consisteth not only in the gifts of nature, as to be faire and beautifull; though they be favours, that grace maydens much; for, as they be glistring, so they be momentary, ready to be worne with every winter's blast, and parched with every summer's sunne: there is no face so faire, but the least moale, the slenderest scarre, the smalest brunt of sicknesse, will quickly blemish.

"Beauty (cousin) as it flourisheth in youth, so fadeth in age; it is but a folly that feedeth man's eye, a painting that nature lends for a time, and men allow on for a while; insomuch, that such as onely aime at your faire lookes, tye but their loves to an apprenticeship of beauty, which broken either with cares, misfortune, or yeeres, their destinies are at liberty, and they begin to loath you, and like of others. For she, that is looked on by many, cannot choose but be hardly spoken of by some; for report hath a blister on her

tongue, and maydens actions are narrowly measured. Therefore would not the ancient Romans suffer their daughters to goe any further, then their mothers' lookes guided them. And, therefore, Diana is painted with a tortoise under her feet, meaning, that a mayd should not be a stragler, but, like the snaile, carry her house upon her head, and keep at home at her worke; so to keep her name without blemish, and her vertues from the slander of envy.

"Cousin, I speake this generally, which if you apply particularly to your selfe, you shall find in time, my words were well said."

I gave him slender thankses; but with such a frumpe, that he perceived how light I made of his counsell; which he perceiving, shak't his head, and with teares in his eyes, departed. But I, whom wanton desires had drawne in delight, still presuming in my former follies, gave my selfe either to gad abroad, or else at home to reade dissolute pamphlets, which bred in me many ill-affected wishes; so that I gave leave to love and lust to enter into the center of my heart, where they harboured, till they wrought my finall and fatall prejudice.

Thus, leading my life loosly, and being soothed up with the applause of my too kinde and loving parents, I had many of every degree that made love unto me, as well for my beauty as for the hope of wealth, that my father would bestow upon me: sundry sutors I had, and allowed of all, though I particularly granted love to none; yeelding them friendly favours, as being proud I had more wooers, then any mayd in the parish beside. Amongst the rest, there was a wealthy farmer, that wished me well, (a man of some forty yeeres of age,) one too worthy for one of so little worth as my selfe, and him my father and mother, and other friends, would have had me match my selfe with all: but I had the reines of liberty too long in mine own handes, refused him, and would not be ruled by their perswasions: and though my mother with teares intreated me to consider of mine owne estate, and how well I sped, if I wedded with him; yet carelesly I despised her counsell, and flatly made answer, that I would none of him: which, though it pinched my parents at the quick, yet rather then they would displease me, they left me in mine owne liberty to love. Many there were beside him, men's sonnes of no meane worth, that were wooers unto me, but in vaine; either my fortune or destiny drove me to a worse end, for I refused them all; and with the beetle, refusing to light on the sweetest flowres all day, nestled all night in a cowsheard.

It fortun'd, that as many sought to win me, so, amongst the rest, there was an od companion that dwelt with a gentleman hard by, a fellow of smal reputation, and of no living, neither had he any excellent qualities, but thrumming on the gittron; but of pleasant disposition he was, and could gawll out many quaint and ribaldrous jigs and songs, and so was favoured of the foolish sort for his foppery. This shifting companion, sutable to my selfe in vanity, would oft times be jesting with me, and I so long dallying with him, that I began deeply (oh, let me blush at this confession) to fall in love with him; and so construed all his actions, that I consented to mine owne overthrow. For, as smoake will hardly be concealed, so love will not be long smothered, but will bewray her owne secrets; which was manifest in me; who, in my sporting with him, so bewrayed my affection, that he, spying I favoured him, began to strike when the iron was hot, and to take opportunity by the forehead; and, one day finding me in a merry vaine, beganne to question with me of love: which, although at the first I slenderly denied him, yet, at last, I granted; so that, not only I agreed to plight him my faith; but that night, meeting to have further talke, I lasciviously consented, that he cropt the flowre of my virginity. When thus I was spoyled, by such a base companion, I gave my selfe to content his humour, and to satisfie the sweet of mine owne wanton desire. Oh, here let me breath, and with teares bewaile the beginning of my miseries, and to exclaime against the folly of my parents; who, by too much favouring me in my vanity in my tender youth, laid the first plot of my ensuing repentance. Had they, with due correction, chastised my wantonnesse, and suppress my foolish will, with their grave advice; they had made me

more vertuous, and themselves lesse sorrowfull. A father's frowne is a bridle to the child, and a mother's check is a stay to a stubborne daughter. Oh, had my parents, in over-loving me, not hated me; I had not, at this time, cause to complaine.

But, leaving this digression, againe to the loosnesse of mine owne life; who now having lost the glory of my youth, and suffred such a base slave to possesse it, which many men of worth had desired to enjoy; I waxed bold in sinne, and grewe shamelesse; in so much he could not desire so much as I did grant him. Whereupon, seeing he durst not reveale it to my father to demand me in marriage, he resolved to carry me away secretly; and therefore wisht me to provide for my selfe, and to furnish me every way both with mony and apparell; hoping, as he said, that, after we were departed, and my father saw we were married, and that no meanes was to amend it, he would give his free consent; and use us kindly, and deale with us as liberally, as if we had matcht with his good will. I, that was apt to any ill, agreed to this; and so wrought the matter, that he carried me away into a strange place, and then using me a while, as his wife, when our mony began to wax low, he resolved secretly to go into the country, where my father dwelt, to heare not only how my father tooke my departure, but what hope we had of his ensuing favour. Although I was loth to be left in a strange place, yet I was willing to heare from my friends, who, no doubt, conceived much heart-sorrow for my unhappy fortunes: so that I parted with a few teares, and enjoyned him, to make all the haste he might to returne. He being gone, as the eagles alway resort where the carrion is; so, my beauty being bruited abroad, and that at such an inne lay such a faire young gentle-woman; there resorted thither many brave young gentlemen and cutting companions, that, tickled with lust, aimed at the possession of my favour, and, by sundry meanes, sought to have a sight of me; which I easily granted to all, as a woman that counted it a glory to be wondred at by many men's eyes: insomuch that, comming amongst them, I set their hearts more and more on fire, that there arose divers brawles who should be most in my company.

Being thus haunted by such a troope of lusty rufflers, I began to find mine owne folly, that had placed my first affection so loosly; and therefore began as deeply to loath him that was departed, as erst I liked him when he was present; vowing in my selfe, though he had the spoile of my virginity, yet never after should he triumph in the possession of my favour: and therefore began I to affect these new come guests, and one above the rest, who was a brave young gentleman, and no lesse addicted unto me, then I devoted unto him; for daily he courted me with amorous sonnets, and curious pen'd letters, and sent me jewels, and all that I might grace him with the name of 'my servant.' I returned him as loving lines at last, and so contented his lusting desire, that secretly, and unknowne to all the rest, I made him sundry nights my bed-fellow; where I so bewicht him with sweet words, that the man began deeply to dote upon me; insomuch that, selling some portion of land that he had, he put it into ready mony, and providing horse, and all things convenient, carried me secretly away almost as far as the Bath. This was my second choice, and my second shame. Thus I went forward in wickednesse, and delighted in change; having left my old love to looke after some other mate more fit my purpose. How he tooke my departure, when he returned, I little cared, for now I had my content; a gentleman, young, lusty, and endued with good qualities, and one that loved me more tenderly then himselfe.

Thus lived this new entertained friend and I together unmarried, yet as man and wife, for a while so lovingly, as was to his content and my credit: but as the tyger, though for a while she hide her clawes, yet, at last, she will reveal her cruelty; and as the *agnus castus* leafe, when it lookes most dry, is then most full of moisture; so women's wantonnesse is not qualified by their warines, nor doth their charines for a moneth warrant their chastity for ever; which I proved true: for my supposed husband, being every way a man of worth, could not so covertly hide himselfe in the country, though a stranger, but that he fell in acquaintance with many brave gentlemen, whom he brought home to his lodging; not only to honour them with his liberall courtisie, but also to see me; being proud if any man of worth applauded my beauty. Alas! poore gentleman, too much

bewicht by the wilnesse of a woman; had he deemed mine heart to be an harbor for every new desire, or mine eyes a sutor to every face, he would not have beene so fond as to have brought his companions into my company; but rather would have mewed me up as a hen, to have kept that severall to himselfe by force, which he could not retaine by kindnes. But the honest minded novice little suspected my change, although I (God wot) placed my delight in nothing more then the desire of new choice, which fell out thus. Amongst the rest of the gentlemen that kept him company, there was one that was his most familiar, and he reposed more trust and confidence in him then in all the rest. This gentleman began to be deeply inamored of me, and shewed by many signes, which I easily perceived; and I, whose eare was pliant to every sweet word, and who so allowed of all that were beautifull, affectioned him no lesse: so that love prevailed above friendship, he brake the matter with me, and made not many suites in vaine, before he had obtained his purpose; for he had what he wisht, and I had what contented me.

I will not confesse, that any of the rest had some seldome favours; but this gentleman was my second selfe, and I loved him more, for the time, at the heele, than the other at the heart; so that, though the other youth bare the charges, and was 'Sir pay for all,' yet this new friend was he that was master of my affections: which kindnesse betwixt us was so unwisly cloked, that, in short time, it was manifest to all our familiars, which made my supposed husband to sigh, and others to smile; but he that was hit with the horne was pincht at the heart: yet so extreme was the affection he bare me, that he had rather conceale his grieve, than any way make me discontent; so that he smothered his sorrow with patience, and brookt the injury with silence, till our loves grew so broad before, that it was a wonder to the world. Whereupon, one day at dinner, I being very pleasant with his chosen friend and my choise lover, I know not how, but either by fortune, or (it may be) some set match, there was a gentleman there present, popt a question in about women's passions, and their mutability in affection; so that the controversie was defended, *pro & contra*, with arguments, Whether a woman might have a second friend or no? At last, it was concluded, that love and lordship brookes no fellowship; and, therefore, none so base minded to beare a rivall. Hereupon, arose a question about friends that were put in trust, how it was a high point of treason for one to betray another, especially in love; insomuch that one gentleman at the boord protested by a solemne oath, that if any friend of his, made privy and favoured with the sight of his mistresse whom he loved, (whether it was his wife, or no,) should secretly seeke to incroach into his roome, and offer him that dishonour to partake his love; he would not use any other revenge, but, at the next greeting, stab him with his poinado, though he were condemned to death for the action. All this fitted for the humour of my supposed husband, and struck both me and my friend into a quandarie: but I scornfully jested at it; when as my husband, taking the ball before it came to the ground, began to make a long discourse, what faithlesse friends they were that would faile in love, especially where a resolved trust of the party beloved was committed unto them; and, hereupon, to make the matter more credulous, and to quip my folly, and to taunt the basenesse of my friend's mind, (that so he might, with courtesie, both warne us of our wantonnesse, and reclaime us from ill,) he promised to tell a pleasant story, performed, as he said, not long since in England, and it was to this effect.

A pleasant Discourse, how a wise Wanton, by her Husband's gentle Warning, became a modest Matron.

THERE was a gentleman (to give him his due, an esquire) here in England, that was married to a young gentlewoman, faire and of modest behavior, vertuous in her lookes, howsoever she was in her thoughts, and one that every way, with her dutifull endeavour and outward appearance of honesty, did breed her husband's content; insomuch, that the gentleman so deeply affected her, as he counted all those houres ill spent, which he past not away in her company; besotting so himselfe in the beauty of his wife, that his only

care was to have her every way delighted. Living thus pleasantly together, he had one speciall friend amongst the rest, whom he so deerely affected, as he unfolded all his secrets in his bosome : and what passion he had in his mind, that either joyed him or perplexed him, he revealed unto his friend, and directed his actions according to the sequel of his counsell; so that they were two bodies and one soule. This gentleman, for all the inward favour shewed him by his faithfull friend, could not so withstand the force of fancy, but he grew enamoured of his friend's wife, whom he courted with many sweete words and faire promises; (charmes that are able to inchant almost the chastest eares,) and so subtilly couched his arguments, discovered such love in his eyes, and such sorrow in his lookes, that dispaire seemed to sit in his face, and swore, that if she granted not him the end of a lover's sighs, he would present his heart, as a tragicke sacrifice, to the sight of his cruell mistresse. The gentlewoman waxed pittifull, (as women are kind hearted, and are loath gentlemen should dye for love,) after a few excuses, let him dub her husband knight of the forked order; and so, to satisfie his humour, made forfeit of her owne honour. Thus these two lovers continued, for a great space, in such places as unchast wantons count their felicity; having continually fit opportunity to exercise their wicked purpose, sith the gentleman himselfe did give them free liberty to love, neither suspecting his wife, nor his friend. At last, (as such trayterous abuses will burst forth,) it fell out, that a mayd, who had beene an old servant in the house, beganne to grow suspicious, that there was too much familiarity betweene her mistresse and her master's friend; and, upon this, watcht them divers times so narrowly, that at last she found them more private then either agreed with her master's honour, or her owne honesty, and thereupon revealed it one day unto her master. He, little credulous of the light behaviour of his wife, blamed the mayd; and bid her take heed, least she sought to blemish her vertues with slander, whom he loved more tenderly then his owne life. The mayd replied, "That she spake not of envy to him, but of meere love she bare unto him; and the rather, that he might shadow such a fault in time, and by some meanes prevent it; least, if others should note it as well as she, his wives good name, and his friend's, should be called in question." At these wise words, spoken by so base a drudge as his mayd, the gentleman waxed astonished, and listened to her discourse; wishing her to discover how she knew, or was so privie to that folly of her mistresse, or by what meanes he might have assured prooffe of it. She told him, that, to her, her owne eyes were witnesses, for she saw them unlawfully together; and "please it you, sir, (quoth she) to faine your selfe to goe from home, and then in the back-house to keepe you secret, I will let you see as much as I have manifested unto you." Upon this her master agreed, and warned his mayd not so much as to make it knowne to any of her fellowes. Within a day or two after, the gentleman said he would goe a hunting; and so rose very early, and causing his men to couple up his houndes, left his wife in bed, and went abroad. As soone as he was gone a mile from the house, he commanded his men to ride afore, and to start the hare, and follow the chase, and he would come faire and softly after. They, obeying their master's charge, went their wayes, and he returned by a back way to his house, and went secretly to the place where his mayd and he had appointed. In the meane time, the mistresse, thinking her husband safe with his houndes, sent for her friend to her bed-chamber, by a trusty servant of hers, in whom she assured that he was a secret pander in such affaires; and the gentleman was not slack to come, but (making all the haste he could) came and went into the chamber, asking for the master of the house very familiarly. The old mayd, noting all this, as soone as she knew them together, went and called her master, and carried him up by a secret paire of staires to her mistresse chamber-doores; where, peeping in a place that the mayd before had made for the purpose, he saw more then he lookt for, and so much as pincht him at the very heart, causing him to accuse his wife for a strumpet, and his friend for a traitor. Yet, for all this, (valluing his owne honour more then their dishonesty, thinking, if he should make an uprore, he should but aime at his owne discredite, and cause himselfe to be a laughing game to his enemies,) he concealed his sorrow with silence, and, taking the mayd a-part, charged her to keepe all secret, whatsoever she had seene, even as she

esteemed of her own life: for, if she did bewray it to any, he himselfe would, with his sword, make an ende of her dayes; and with that, putting his hand in his sleve, gave the poore mayd six angels to buy her a new gown. The wench, glad of this gift, swore solemnly to tread it under foot, and sith it pleased him to conceale it, never to reveale it, so long as she lived. Upon this they parted; she to her drudgery, and he to the field to his men, where after he had kild the hare, he returned home; and finding his friend in the garden, that in his absence had been grafting hornes in the chimnies, he entertained him with his wonted familiaritie, and shewed no bad countenance to his wife, but dissembled all his thoughts to the full. As soone as dinner was done, and that he was gotten solitary by himselfe, he beganne to determine of revenge; but not, as every man would have done, how to have brought his wife to shame, and her love to confusion: but he busied his braine, how he might reserve his honour inviolate, reclaime his wife, and keepe his friend. Meditating a long time how he might bring all this to passe, at last a humour fel into his head, how cunningly to compasse all three: and therefore he went and got him certain slips; (which are counterfeit peeces of mony, being brasse and covered over with silver, which the common people call Slips.) Having furnished himselfe with these, he put them in his purse, and at night went to bed, as he was wont to do, yet not using the kind familiarity that he accustomed: notwithstanding, he abstained not from the use of her body, but knew his wife, as asofores; and, every time he committed the act with her, he laid the next morning in the window a slip, where he was sure she might find it; and so many times as it pleased him to be carnally pleasant with his wife, so many slips he still laid down upon her cushionet. This he used for the space of a fortnight; till at last his wife, finding every day a slip, or sometimes more or lesse, wondred how they came there; and, examining her waiting mayds, none of them could tell her any thing touching them; whereupon she thought to question with her husband about it, but being out of remembrance; the next morning, as she lay dallying in bed, it came into her minde, and she asked her husband, if he laid those slips on her cushionet, that she of late found there; having never seen any before? "I, marry did I, (quoth he,) and have laid them there upon speciall reason; and it is this: Ever since I was married to thee, I have deemed thee honest, and therefore used and honored thee as my wife; parting coequall favours betwixt us, as true lovers; but late finding the contrary, and with these eyes seeing thee play the whore with my friend, (in whom I did repose all my trust,) I sought not, as many would have done, to have revenged in bloud; but for the safety of mine own honor, which otherwise would have been blemished by thy dishonesty, I have beene silent, and have neither wronged my quondam friend, nor abused thee, but still do hold bed with thee: the world shall not suspect any thing, and to quench the desire of lust, I do use thy body, but not so lovingly as I would a wife, but carelesly as I would use the body of a false harlot or strumpet; and therefore, even as a whore, so I give thee hire, which is for every time a slip, a counterfeit coyne, which is good enough for a slipperly wanton, that will wrong her husband that loved her so tenderly; and thus will I use thee for the safety of mine owne honor, till I have assured prooffe that thou becomest honest:" and thus with teares in his eyes, and his heart ready to burst with sighs, he was silent; when his wife, stricken with remorse of conscience, leaping out of her bed in her smocke, humbly confessing all, begged pardon; promising, if he should pardon this offence, which was new begun in her, she would become a new reformed woman, and never after (so much as in thought) give him any occasion of suspition or jealousy. The patient husband, not willing to urge his wife, tooke her at her word; and told her, that when he found her so reclaimed, he would, as afore he had done, use her lovingly, and as his wife; but, till he was so perswaded of her honesty, he would pay her still slips for his pleasure; charging her not to reveale any thing to his friend, or to make it knowne to him, that he was privy to their loves. Thus the debate ended, I guesse, in some kind greeting; and the gentleman went abroad to see his pastures, leaving his wife in bed full of sorrow, and almost renting her heart assunder with sighs. As soon as he walked abroad, the gentleman his friend came to the house, and asked for the good man: the pander, that was privy to all their practises, said,

that his master was gone abroad, to see his pastures, but his mistresse was in bed. Why then, sayes he, I will goe and raise her up : so comming into the chamber, and kissing her, meaning (as he wont) to have used his accustomed dalliance ; she desired him to abstaine, with broken sighs, and her eyes full of tears. He wondring what should make her thus discontent, asked her what was the cause of her sorrow ; protesting with a solemne oath, that if any had done her injury, he would revenge it, were it with hazard of his life. She then told him, scarce being able to speake for weeping, that she had a sute to move him in, which if he granted unto her, she would hold him in love and affection, without change, next her husband for ever. He promised to do whatsoever it were. " Then (sayes she,) sweare upon a Bible, you will do it without exception." With that he tooke a Bible, that lay in the window, and swore, that whatsoever she requested him to do, were it to the losse of his life, he would, without exception, performe it. Then she holding downe her head, and blushing, began thus : " I neede not (quoth she) make manifest, how grossely and grievously you and I have both offended God, and wronged the honest gentleman my husband, and your friend ; he putting a speciall trust in us both, and assuring such earnest affiance in your unfained friendship, that he even committed me his wife, his love, his second life, into your bosome : this love have I requited with inconstancy, in playing the harlot ; that faith, that he reposed in you, have you returne with treachery and falshood, in abusing mine honesty and his honor. Now, a remorse of conscience toucheth me for my sins, that I heartily repent, and vow ever hereafter to live only to my husband ; and therefore my sute is to you that from hence forth you shall never so much as motion any dishonest question unto me, nor seeke any unlawfull pleasure or conversing at my hands : this is my sute, and hereunto I have sworne you ; which oath if you observe as a faithfull gentleman, I will conceale from my husband what is past, and rest, in honest sort, your faithfull friend for ever." At this, she burst a-fresh into teares, and uttered such sighs, that he thought, for very griefe, her heart would have cleaved asunder. The gentleman, astonied at this strange metamorphosis of his mistris, sate a good while in a maze ; and at last, taking her by the hand, made this reply : " So God helpe me, faire sweeting, I am glad of this motion ; and wondrous joyfull that God hath put such honest thoughts into your mind, and hath made you the meanes to-reclaime me from my folly. I feele no lesse remorse then you doe in wronging so honest a friend as your husband, but this is the frailnesse of man ; and therefore, to make a mends, I protest a-new, never hereafter, so much as in thought, to motion you of dishonesty ; only I crave you be silent." She promised that, and so they ended ; and for that time they parted. At noone the gentleman came home, and cheerefully saluted his wife, and asked if dinner were ready, and sent for his friend ; using him wonderfull familiarly, giving him no occasion of mistrust, and so pleasantly they past away the day together. At night when his wife and he went to bed, she told him all, what had past betwene her and his friend ; and how she had bound him with an oath, and that he voluntarily of himselfe swore as much ; being hartily sorrie, that he had so deeply offended so kind a friend. The gentleman commended her wit, and found her afterward a reclaimed woman ; she living so honestly, that she never gave him any occasion of mistrust. Thus the wise gentleman reclaimed, with silence, a wanton wife, and retained an assured friend.

At this pleasant tale all the boord was at a mutiny ; and they said, the gentleman did passing wisely that wrought so cunningly, for the safety of his owne honour ; but exclaimed against such a friend, as would to his friend offer such villany : all condemning her, that would be so false to so loving a husband. Thus they did diversly descant, and past away dinner : but this tale wrought little effect in me, for, as one past grace, I delighted in change. But the gentleman that was his familiar, and my paramour, was so touched, that never after he would touch me dishonestly ; but reclaimed himselfe, abstained from me, and became true to his friend. I wondring, that, according to his wonted custome, he did not seeke my company ; he and I being one day in the chamber alone, and he in his dumps, I began to dally with him, and to aske him, why he was so

strange, and used not his accustomed favours to me? He solemnly made answer, that though he had played the foole, in settling his fancy upon another man's wife, and in wronging his friend, yet his conscience was now touched with remorse: and ever since he heard the tale afore rehearsed, he had vowed in himselfe, never to do my husband the like wrong againe. "My husband, (quoth I,) he is none of mine; he hath brought me here from my friends, and keepes me here unmarried, and therefore am I as free for you, as for him:" and thus began to grow clamorous, because I was debard of my lust. The gentleman, seeing me shamlesse, wisht me to be silent, and sayde, "Although you be but his friend, yet he holds you as deare as his wife; and, therefore, I will not abuse him, neither would I wish you to be familiar with any other, seeing you have a friend that loves you so tenderly." Much good counsell he gave me, but all in vaine; for I scorned it, and began to hate him, and resolved both to be rid of him, and my supposed husband: for, falling in with another familiar of my husband's, I so inveagled him with sweete words, that I caused him to make a peece of mony to steale me away, and so carry me to London; where I had not lived long with him, but he, seeing my light behaviour, left me to the wide world, to shift for my selfe.

I now being brought to London, and left there at random, was not such a house-dove, while my friend stayd with me, but that I had visited some houses in London, that could harbour as honest a woman as my selfe: when as therefore I was left to my selfe, I removed my lodging, and gate me into one of those houses of good hospitallity, whereunto persons resort, commonly called a trugging-house, (or, to be plaine, a whore-house,) where I gave my selfe to entertaine all companions; sitting or standing at the doore like a staule, to allure or draw in wanton passengers; refusing none that would, with his purse, purchase me to be his, to satisfie the disordinate desire of his filthie lust. Now I began not to respect personage, good qualities, or the gracious favour of the man, when I had no respect of person; for the oldest lecher was as welcome as the youngest lover, so he brought meate in his mouth. Thus, to the grieve of my friends, hazard of my soule, and consuming of my body, I spent a yeare or two, in this base or bad kind of life, subject to the whistle of every desperate ruffian; till, on a time, there resorted to our house a cloathier, a proper young man, who, by fortune, comming first to drinke, espying me, asked me, If I would drinke with him? There needed no great entreaty, for, as then, I wanted company; and so clapt me downe by him, and began very pleasantly to welcome him. The man, being of himselfe modest and honest, noted my personage, and juditially reasoned of my strumpet-like behaviour; and inwardly (as after he reported unto me) grieved, that so foule properties were hidden in so good a proportion, and that such rare wit and excellent beauty were blemisht with whoredomes base deformity; in so much that he began to thinke well of me, and to wish that I were as honest as I was beautifull. Againe, (see how God wrought for my conversion) since I gave my selfe to my loose kind of life, I never liked any so well as him; in so much that I began to judge of every part, and me thought, he was the properest man that ever I saw. Thus we sate, both amorous of other; I lasciviously, and he honestly: at last, he questioned with me, What country woman I was; and why, being so proper a woman, I would beseeme to dwell or lye in a base alehouse; especially, in one that had a bad name? I warrant you, I wanted no knavish reply to fit him; for I told him, the house was as honest as his mother's. "Marry, if there were in it a good wench or two, that would pleasure their friends at a neede; I guessed by his nose, what porridge he loved, and that he hated none such." Well, seeing me in that voyce, he said little, but shooke his head, paid for the beere, and went his way; onely taking his leave of me, with a kisse, which, me thought, was the sweetest that ever was given me. As soone as he was gone, I began to thinke what a handsome man he was, and wisht, that he would come and take a night's lodging with me; sitting in a dumpe to thinke of the quaintnesse of his personage; till other companions came in, and shaked me out of that melancholly: but, as soone againe as I was secret to my selfe, he came into my remembrance. Passing over this a day or two, this cloathier came againe to our house, whose sight cheered me up; for that, spying him out of a casement, I ranne downe the staires, and met him at the doore, and heartily welcom'd him, and asked him,

If he would drink? "I come for that purpose, (sayes he) but I will drinke no more below, but in a chamber." "Marry, sir, (quoth I,) you shall;" and so brought him into the fairest roome. In our sitting there together drinking, at last, the cloathier fell to kissing, and other dalliance, wherein he found me not coy: at last told me, that he would willingly have his pleasure of me, but the room was too lightsome; for, of all things in the world, he could not in such actions away with a light chamber. I consented unto him, and brought him into a roome more darke: but still he sayde it was too light. Then I carried him into a further chamber, where drawing a curtaine before the window, and closing the curtaines of the bed, I asked, smiling, If that were close enough? "No, sweete love, (sayes he,) that curtaine is not broad enough for the window; some watching eye may espy us, my heart misdoubts, and my credit is my life: love, if thou hast a closer roome then this, bring me to it." "Why then, (quoth I) follow me;" and, with that, I brought him into a backe loft, where stood a little bed, only appointed to lodge suspicious persons; so darke, that at noone day it was impossible for any man to see his owne hands. "How now, sir, (quoth I,) is not this darke enough?" He sitting him downe, on the bed-side, fetcht a deepe sigh, and said, "Indifferent; so, so: but there is a glimpse of light in at the tiles; some body may, by fortune, see it." "In faith, No; (quoth I,) none but God." "God, (sayes he,) I why, Can God see us here?" "Good sir, (quoth I,) why I hope you are not so simple, but you know, God's eyes are so cleere and penetrating, that they can pierce through walls of brasse." "And alas! (quoth he,) sweete love, if God see us, shall we not be more ashamed to do such a filthy act before him, then before men? I am sure, thou art not so shamlesse, but thou wouldst blush to have the meanest commoner in London see thee, in the action of thy filthy lust; and dost thou not shame more to have God, the maker of all things, see thee, who revengeth sinne with death: he whose eyes are cleerer then the sunne, who is the searcher of the heart, and holdeth vengeance in his hands, to punish sinners? Oh, let us tremble, that we but once durst have such a wanton communication, in the hearing of his Divine Majesty, who pronounceth damnation for such as give themselves over to adultery. It is not possible (saith the Lord) for any whoremaster, or lascivious wanton, to enter into the kingdome of God: for such sinnes, whole cities have sunke, kingdomes have beene destroyed; and, though God suffer such wicked livers to escape for a while, yet, at length, he payeth home in this world, with beggary, shame, diseases, infamy; and in the other life, perpetuall damnation. Weigh but the inconvenience that growes through thy loose life: thou art hated of all that are good, despised of the vertuous, and only well thought of, of reprobates, rascals, ruffians, and such as the world hates; subject to their lust, and gaining thy living, at the hands of every diseased leacher. O! what a miserable trade of life is thine, that livest of the vomit of sin, in hunting after maladies. But suppose, while thou art young, thou art favoured of thy companions; when thou waxest old, and that thy beauty is faded, then thou shalt be lothed and despised, even of them that profest most love unto thee. Then, good sister, call to mind the basenesse of thy life, the hainous outrage of thy sin, that God doth punish it with the rigour of his justice. Oh, thou art made beautifull, faire, and well formed: and wilt thou then, by thy filthy lust, make thy body, which, if thou be honest, is the temple of God, the habitation of the divell? Consider this, and call to God for mercy, and amend thy life. Leave this house, and I will become thy faithfull friend in all honesty, and use thee as mine owne sister." At this, such a remorse of conscience, such a fearefull terror of my sin strook into my mind, that I kneeled down at his feet, and with teares besought him, that he would helpe me out of that misery; for his exhortation had caused in me a lothing of my wicked life, and I would not only become a reformed woman, but hold him as deare as my father that gave me life. Whereupon, he kist me with teares, and so we went downe together, where we had further communication: and presently he provided me another lodging, where I not only used my selfe honestly, but also was so penitent, every day in teares for my former folly, that he tooke me to his wife: and how I have lived since, and lothed filthy lust, I referre my selfe to the Majesty of God, who knoweth the secrets of all hearts.

Thus, country-men, I have publisht the conversion of an English curtezan; which, if, any way, it be profitable, either to forwarne youth, or with-draw bad persons to goodnesse, I have the whole end of my desire: only craving, every father would bring up his children with carefull nurture, and every young woman respect the honour of her virginitie.

A true Declaration of the Arrival of Cornelius Haga (with others that accompanied him) Ambassador for the General States of the United Netherlands, at the great City of Constantinople. Together with the Entertainment unto them given by the Turk¹, when they came to his Palace; and what Privileges were, by him, granted unto the said United Provinces. And, also, the Copy of certain Letters, sent unto the said States of the Netherlands, from Constantinople. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch Copy.

London, printed for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his Shop in Pope's-Head Palace, 1613.

[Quarto; containing thirty-two pages.]

A true Declaration of the Arrival of Cornelius Haga, (with others that accompanied him,) Ambassador for the General-States of the United Netherlands, at the great City of Constantinople.

THE ambassador of the States-General of the United Netherland Provinces, being sent out of Holland unto Constantinople; for his nearest and readiest way, determined to have travelled thither by land, through the kingdom of Hungary: but, when he should enter into it, the pensioners of the pope and the king of Spain, who at Vienna in Austria are chiefest commanders, were so hateful and spiteful against him, that they would not suffer him to pass along that way; so that by force he was constrained to travel through an unaccustomed way, and therein fell into the hands of the archduke Ferdinandus of Gratz; by whom he was strictly examined, and (if it had been possible) would have stopped his passage. From thence he passed along by water, from one island to another, in great danger, and many perils, for that in those parts it was then a very hard and an ex-

¹ [Achmet I. third son and successor of Mahomet III. who ascended the throne before he was fifteen. His reign was attended with various circumstances, both prosperous and adverse to the Turkish empire. His time, however, was chiefly devoted to the gratifications of the field and the haram. He died at the age of 29, in 1617. *Vide* Mod. Un. Hist. and Gen. Biog.]

traordinary winter; and having passed them, at last, after he had travelled six months together, he arrived safely at Constantinople; where, upon the first day of May, 1612, he had audience given him by the great emperor of the Turks, to the great honour and reputation of the Netherland Provinces, and of the States-General of the same: the solemnity whereof was in this manner performed.

The ambassador was conveyed unto the Great-Turk's court by Saphiler Aga (the chief commander of all the Turk's horsemen), and Siaus Bashaw (principal of all the gentlemen in the Turk's court), accompanied with an hundred Siausers, all on horseback; in such and the same manner as they use to fetch and convey the ambassadors of the greatest monarchs and kings that are, unto his court. The ambassador having increased his train with some Netherlanders, as then resident in Constantinople; by reason that at the same time there lay divers Netherland ships before the town; and besides them, with some that were his good friends, both inhabitants, and others of other nations, whom he before had known: whereby the honour of the Netherlands was preserved, to the great contentment not only of the Turk himself, but also of all the bashaws of his court.

The old captain bashaw, for a sign and token of great affection and honour, caused the ambassador to ride upon his own best horse, which was most sumptuously saddled and bridled; wherein the Turks, above all other nations, do specially shew their pride and power. And so, in great solemnity, the aforesaid Siausers (or the Great-Turk's gentlemen), richly clad and apparelled in cassocks of cloth of gold, velvet, and sattin, rode two and two before him. After them followed their servants, and some janisaries on foot; with two druggermen, or interpreters, on horseback. After them followed the ambassador, accompanied on each side by the aforesaid Saphiler Aga, and Siaus Bashaw, and his own followers; who, as gentlemen, after the manner there, do also kiss the Great-Turk's hand; and, in that manner, rode with a great applause and concourse of people to the Seraglio, or palace of the Great-Turk.

In this manner entering into the first gate of the seraglio, Siaus Bashaw left the ambassador, and rode forward before him, to certify the bashaws of his coming. In this first gate there stood about sixty Capitser (or Great-Turk's porters), with their captain, for a watch. Then approaching to the second gate of the seraglio, the ambassador lighted from his horse, and was led in thereat by the arm, by Peichiis Bashaw (principal of the pages), apparelled all in gold; whose office it is to conduct all ambassadors unto the presence of the Great-Turk. Before this gate there stood about one-hundred capitser, with four captains for a guard; and within the gate were about three-hundred sub-bashaws, (which are captains of the janisaries,) each having a long white feather, like a peacock's feather, on their heads. There all the bashaws lighted off from their horses, and went on foot to the Divan (which is the council-chamber), wherein all the bashaws, with the principal Visier (representing the Great-Turk's person), four days every week give open audience to all suitors, and determine all causes of the whole empire.

Having passed through this gate on the one side of two long galleries, supported with marble pillars, there stood janisary Aga (the chief commander of all the janisaries, and of all the footmen of Turkey), with ten-thousand janisaries; and, on the other side, Saphiler Aga (the chief commander of the horsemen), with two thousand Saphers, or horsemen; who altogether, bowing down their heads, after the Turkish manner, with great reverence, saluted the ambassador; he doing the like unto them. There met him the Kihiaia (or commander of all the capitser), and Siaus Bashaw; both of them being great personages: they two led him into the divan, going before him with two long staves, or wands of silver, and gilt over, richly apparelled in cloth of gold; which is the greatest honour that can there be done in the Great-Turk's court.

In the divan sat the Cahimachan, with all the visier-bashaws; who are chief and principal counsellors to the Great-Turk. Opposite, over-against the cahimachan, there was a stool set for the ambassador. On his right side (which, by the Turks, is held to be the unwor-thiest, as being under the sword of another) sat Mahomet Bashaw, admiral of Turkey,

betrothed to the Great-Turk's eldest daughter; Dahut Bashaw, married to the Great-Turk's aunt; Joseph Bashaw, Chelil Bashaw, and Nischanzi Bashaw, married to the Great-Turk's niece; whose office is to set the Great-Turk's name to all letters-patent, and public instruments, that are granted and sent out by him. On the other side of Cahimachan, a reasonable or indifferent space being left, sat the two Cadileschers (or chief judges of the whole realm of Turkey), and on a seat alone the great treasurer, being a visier also. Over-against him, in a chamber a-part, there sat about three-thousand secretaries or clerks of the treasury; each of them being auditors of a several province, and under them their clerks.

The ambassador having, for a while, spoken and conferred with the bashaws; there were four round silver tables brought in, whereof one was set between the ambassador and the cahimachan, the second before the other bashaws, the third before the cadileschers and the treasurer, and the fourth before the Nischanzi Bashaw and his company: and there they were feasted in sumptuous manner, with many sorts of meat, served in great porcelane dishes; setting but one dish down at once after the Dutch manner: the ambassador eating with the cahimachan, captain bashaw, and Dahut bashaw. In the middle of dinner, each of the bashaws, and the ambassador, drank sorbetta, in dishes of gold; (which is a kind of drink made of water, sugar, and juice of lemons, mixed with amber and musk;) whereof they drank but once and no more: for the Turks are very sober drinkers, and the great lords use to drink no wine. The Mutpac Emini (or the Great-Turk's chief cook, having under him above two-thousand cooks and officers in the kitchen,) stood to serve at the table; and, below him, stood about one-hundred Teschnegers (or waiters), all with cassocks of cloth of gold; setting the meat upon the tables, and serving at them. Of them the Beyes (that is, the governors of towns), and barons, are made.

The cahimachan gave the ambassador the first cut of every dish of meat: in the mean time the gentlemen and their servants were entertained in a gallery a-part, with about three-hundred sorts and dishes of meat; in like sort the janisaries and saphers, and the rest that are in ordinary under the Great-Turk, were served.—This dinner cost about six-thousand gilders (which is six hundred pounds sterling), as the treasurer brought in his account.

Dinner, which lasted about an hour, being done; a little while after the ambassador rose up, and, after their manner, having saluted the bashaws, he went out of the divan to have audience, which, with this solemnity, was performed: When he was gone out of the divan, on the right hand there stood the aforesaid kishaia of the capitsers, with Siaus Bashaw, accompanied with three-hundred capitsers, and five-hundred siausers, attending the ambassador's coming. On the left-hand sat the chancellor of the land, with about one-hundred secretaries, who all rose up on their feet to salute the ambassador. And there the aforesaid peichiis sub-bashaw met him, and led him to a seat hanged with tapestry, where being set down with the gentlemen that accompanied him, to kiss the Great-Turk's hand; Casnader Bashaw (great treasurer of the common treasury) presented him with fourteen cassocks of cloth of gold; but the ambassador's cassock was brought out of the chief treasury, as of special favour. Those cassocks, which they wore under their cloaks, were put upon the ambassador and the gentlemen, by the chief officer of the treasury; who, by the Italians is called, *Capo della guardarobba*. Then the cahimachan, and all the visier-bashaws, one after another, went into the privy-chamber, wherein the Great-Turk himself sat: the ambassador rising up to salute them, and he by them being likewise saluted, he followed presently after them; led, as aforesaid, to the gate thereof. Before the chamber, (in a gallery supported with pillars of marble, and paved with the like, richly furnished,) on the one side there stood two-hundred teschnegers, with Teschneger Bashaw (who are they that carry up the meat to the Great-Turk's table); on the other side one-hundred eunuchs, or gentlemen of the chamber, who always serve the Great-Turk, and are of great authority, all apparelled in cloth of silver.

In a great gallery on the right-hand, the capitsers held up the presents openly for all

men to see ; every one, both great and little, by a several capitser, according to the manner of the land, thereby to make the greater show : and so it was held to be a greater honour for many capitsers to carry the presents ; who, in that sort, orderly, one after another, passed along before the Great-Turk. Before the presence-chamber there stood twelve capitsers bashaws, with silver and gilt wands ; whereof two of them, by couples, first led the ambassador, then his druggerman, or interpreter ; and then all the gentlemen by the arms, before the Great Turk, to kiss his hand ; who, at that time, sat under a most rich and sumptuous cloth of state, supported by four pillars of marble, somewhat elevated from the ground in manner of a bed, and serving for a seat ; covered over with most rich and costly cloth of gold, which was set so full of diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious stones, that it shewed like the sky bedecked with a multitude of stars. Before him there stood a standish of ink beautified with many precious stones ; all the chamber being hanged about with most costly hangings, embroidered and embossed with gold ; the ground being crimson velvet, the top thereof framed like a round tabernacle all covered over with gold, with divers kinds of works therein. This chamber, being not very great, (when it is decked and hanged richly for to give audience to any ambassador,) is esteemed and valued to be worth ten-hundred-thousand Hungarian ducats ; in English money, at seven shillings a ducat, three-hundred-fifty-thousand pounds.

When the ambassador came before the Great-Turk, one of the capitser bashaws took up the skirt of the Turk's gown, which the ambassador, stooping down, kissed ; and then, having done the accustomed reverence unto his majesty, two of the capitser bashaws led him backward to the side of the chamber, where, in the side of the wall there, there is a seat furnished with rich hangings and cushions ; but it is not the manner that any ambassador doth sit down in the Turk's presence. The two capitser bashaws stood still by the ambassador ; then the druggerman was led before the Great-Turk, and brought backward again by the ambassador ; and after them, the twelve gentlemen orderly one after another : that done, the first visier, or cahimachan, read a petition before the Great-Turk ; thereby briefly beseeching his majesty, graciously to vouchsafe audience unto the ambassador.

After that the ambassador made an oration in Latin, which by the druggerman was presently interpreted in Turkish speech ; and so, when the ambassador had delivered his letters of credit, together with the propositions aforesaid, in writing, in a bag of gold cloth, (according to their accustomed manner,) by his interpreter, to the cahimachan, he was led out of the chamber again ; doing the accustomed honour and reverence unto the Great-Turk, going backwards as aforesaid ; without any answer from the Turk himself, or any of his bashaws ; it being not their manner nor custom to do it : and so went out with a great number of courtiers and officers, until he came out of the gate aforeaid ; on both sides saluting Janisary Aga, and Saphiler Aga ; being by them, and the janisaries and saphilers, likewise saluted as before. It is to be wondered at, that in the Turk's court, when they sit in council, (which is ordinarily four days in a week,) there assemble at the least, thirty-thousand men ; all in pay, and wages under the Great-Turk ; besides the bashaws, who stand there so quietly, and with so great silence, that in a manner they shew to be so many images, without life or soul.

The ambassador, with his train, being on horseback again, they were led a little aside, (as the manner in that country is,) to see the court and train of the Great-Turk pass along before them ; partly to honour the ambassadors, and partly to shew the Great-Turk's power. And, first, all the janisaries, about ten-thousand in number, with a great noise came out of the gate, and marched before him, well apparelled, but without weapons. Then followed five-hundred Solachiis, or Buluc-bashaw, (which are corporals,) and other officers of the janisaries ; then about five-hundred sub-bashaws, with long white feathers upon their heads, which are captains among others. Then on horseback followed Stampol Aga, being the chief of all the Samoglanes ; which are certain young men and children, which are given to the Great-Turk as tribute : then the Peichimalgis, Janigseris, Jagischiis, the

clerk of the janisaries; Solach Bashaw, commander of the solachiis; Tagerschii Bashaw, chief hunter to the Great-Turk; the Chahagraby, or lieutenant to Janisary Aga, and his substitute. Then on foot followed two-hundred sub-bashaws, and then Janisary Aga himself, commander over all the janisaries: after him followed one-hundred Menegesiens, all with girdles of silver about one of their hands, which also are janisaries,) and each of them carry a torch before the Aga, when he goeth the rounds by nights, through Constantinople; as all the great visiers and bashaws, night by night, are bound in person to go the rounds, to prevent all such as seek to do any hurt or mischief; each of them having an executioner with them, to punish all those that they find doing any hurt or wickedness, or that are in the streets; according to the desert and merit of their offences, either by present death, or otherwise. All the Great-Turk's court having in this manner passed along before the ambassador, he was again conducted unto his lodging as aforesaid; and, for a further honour, there were by the bashaws sent unto him two peichiis or pages, belonging to the Great-Turk, wearing silver and gilt hats; whereof there are always a great many going about the Great-Turk's horse; who although they are not accustomed to wait upon any other man, no not upon the great visier bashaw; yet they followed the ambassador, on either side of him, as he was on horseback, till he came to his lodging. For this amity and friendship, made between the Great-Turk and the United Netherlands, all the Turks in general much rejoiced; so that, as then, it seemed to be a day of triumph, and from that time forward, when the said league was first begun to be made, they began to treat about the releasing of the Netherlanders out of captivity, as also touching negotiation and traffick: to the which end, now already commandment is sent by the Great-Turk into Barbary, and other places, to declare the peace made between the Netherlanders and the said Great-Turk; and to command them that from thenceforth the Netherlanders shall by them be holden and esteemed to be his friends. This treaty with the Great-Turk, (for the which, the Lord be praised!) concluded and agreed upon, with the greatest honour and reputation of the Netherlands that may be devised, being made and signed with the Great-Turk's own hand, and with his oath thereunto annexed, was delivered unto the ambassador, upon the sixteenth day of July, last past; being by him before, for the space of six days, perused, read, and in all defective places, corrected and amended, in the presence of certain men, that understood the Turkish language, and were requested thereunto by the said ambassador.

By which means the Netherlanders have obtained the best and surest privileges in Turkey, that ever heretofore have to any nation been granted; for whatsoever the Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Venetians in general, or any of them in particular, by the Turk's special favour and grace, have obtained of him; it is all specially set down in their recapitulation, and withal many other privileges more granted unto them. Their prisoners and slaves are by the Great-Turk, (both in the treaty, as also in his letters sent unto the States of the United Provinces,) declared to be free, and set at liberty, in such manner, that of all those that have by the Turks been bought as slaves with money, they may not ask a penny of any man for their ransom, but must get their money again, if they can, of him of whom they bought them. Which the ambassador by special favour hath procured to be granted, and so good order appointed and ordained for the same, that (by God's grace) in time, no Netherlander shall hereafter be made a slave among the Turks.

The Copy of the Great-Turk's Letter, sent to the General-States of the
United Netherland Provinces.

Sultan Achmet Cham, the Son of Sultan Mahomet Cham, always happy.

The SUPERScription.

To the Honour and Greatness of Christendom, Chief of the Excellency and Greatness of the Law of Christ, Commanders in the Government of the common People of Christendom, Protectors of Honour and Humanity, Lords of Power and Honour, and Superiors of the Provinces subject unto them in the Netherlands; that is, of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overysse, Groning, and Groninguen; Lords over many Places in the East and West Indies; and sole Commanders of all the Places abovesaid; happy and prosperous Success.

THERE came unto our imperial court, (which is the ground of all other kingdoms, in the sight of all the world, and the defence and preservation of lords and princes,) the worthy person, chosen by you, the noble lords of the law of Christ, Cornelius Haga; to whom we wish increase of honour, by whom your letters of amity and friendship were presented unto us. The contents and substance whereof were, that understanding the majesticalness of our royal and princely state, you were moved and incited to seek for our entire friendship and good-will; and to shew your great desires thereunto, have endeavoured yourselves to the same end, to write unto us, and to make an accord and friendship with us, which might always be holden and observed; declaring that your wills and desires have always been good and great in that respect, to seek and crave friendship at our imperial hands; and to shew and declare your good affections unto us in like sort, and in the same manner as other kings have done, which with us have entered into league and friendship; desiring to be holden and accounted among the number of those kings that are our friends, and that we would grant unto you our letters of agreement and consent therein, in such manner as we have given the same to other kings of Christendom. Which, that it may be done with sincerity and truth, together with other things which you further desire and require at our hands; whereof the contents being imparted unto our royal council, and having fully and wholly understood your wills and meaning; we of our imperial grace and favour have abundantly granted and given unto you by our letters patents, not only the same privileges and liberties, which we have in times past imparted to the kings aforesaid, (according to your own desires,) but over and besides the same, much more than you either have sought or desired by your letters of us; which, with our own hands, we have by our letters-patents confirmed, and given commandment from our majesty, that in all places and countries of our empire, wherein any of your countrymen and subjects shall be known and found to be slaves, they shall be freely set at liberty; according to the contents of our said letters patents of amity, peace, and friendship.

Further, we give you to understand, that your aforesaid ambassador hath, with great honour and modesty, as also with great care and diligence, performed and done his duty and service in his said embassy, whereon he was sent by you, in all things; having obtained the benefit of our friendship, and, in good manner and fashion, hath performed the same; and when he came before us, was permitted, by word of mouth, to speak and pronounce the message and commission by you given unto him, to be delivered unto us: which we having understood, as also well liked, allowed, and accepted of, together with the presents by you sent, and delivered by him unto us, (and which we will keep in our own presence and continual sight) having received the same, as also the said ambassador, with great love and friendship: the ancient custom of our majesty is, that all our gates of grace, favour, and good-will, shall stand continually open for all, and unto all men, and at all times; but especially, to those that come unto us, with so great a desire of faithful friendship, to whom it is requisite to shew and impart all honour and goodwill that possibly may be.

Therefore we say, that you having received these our letters, from thenceforth (as it is requisite) we look and desire, that you shall hold and observe the treaty and friendship, made by you with us, perpetually; according to your own letters and offers sent unto us, and in the like manner and form, as the kings of England and France, our friends, long time unto this day, have held and maintained the like friendship and amity. Which, we hope, you will do in all points, according to your promises: and that our friendship may continue, and hold firm and stable, our desire is, that you should, from time to time, certify us, by letters, of your estates and healths; and we, for our part, will not fail to fulfil and accomplish all whatsoever shall tend unto your good and welfare, with all favour and grace, as near as we can; and promise you further, that our good-will and friendship shall not cease continually to increase towards you, for your good, and from good to better; whereof we would not have you to doubt.

Written in the middle of the month of Gematil Elebla, in the year 1021, in the imperial city of Constantinople; which God preserve from all hurt and misfortune.

The Copy of a Letter, sent by the noble Lord Cahimachan, called Mahomet Bashaw, Commissary-General of Turkey, dated (according to the Calculation of Christendom) in the Beginning of the Month of July, 1612.

The SUPERScription.

To the Honour and Greatness of Christendom, Princes of the great Government of the Law of the Messias, Governors of the State of the People of Christendom, Patrons of Courtesy, and of the Honour and Power of Princes; the Lords and States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and of all other Places subject unto them; a good End, and the Grace and Favour of God.

ACCORDING to the friendship which is convenient to be shewed unto lords of your degree, and the accustomed favour and amity of the great and mighty emperor of Turkey, which, at this time, is given and granted unto your honours: in sign of love, and assurance of friendship, I give you to understand, by the grace and help of God Almighty, whom I beseech to preserve and defend the king; and by the favour and power of our holy prophet, who is in glory, and resteth in peace with God, protect and save the king of all lands and seas, dominator from the East unto the West, commander over Meccha and Jerusalem, the most noble prince of the whole commonwealth of the inhabitants of the world, with grace and favour; the most righteous king, whom God long prosper and preserve upon earth, his kingdom and greatness with honour, who therein is an upholder in poverty and misery of all creatures, the refuge of all poor oppressed people, an advancer of the banner of the holy law; king of Arabia and Asia; dominator over the most mighty monarchy in the world; upholder by the power of God, wherein he is king of all kings, and who hath his trust and confidence in the favour and promise of the true and only God: the great and most puissant emperor, our gracious and mighty king, Sultan Achmet Cham, protector of the Alcoran, whom God Almighty preserve and maintain in all power and imperial majesty, and suffer him to command over the whole world, for his welfare and good, &c. that there was brought unto his imperial palace, which is the upholding and preservation of honour, and the light of the world, shining above all the powers and majesties of kings, a letter, signifying your great and kind friendship and good-wills, by your ambassador, Cornelius Haga, one of the chief commanders amongst you, in the law of Christendom, and of noble blood, (whose honour God long preserve!) who, being arrived in this imperial palace, hath declared and fully signified your honours' great good-wills and meanings; as also the entire affections, which your said honours bear unto his majesty. Which done, your said ambassador took his rest for certain days, after his long, weary, and troublesome journey, as being not well at ease; and, after certain days of rest, communicated his intent unto me; thereby to give me to understand the effect and meaning

of your affairs, according to your commission. To whom, in the behalf of our great emperor, we shewed that favour, respect, and honour, which he well merited and deserved; and therewithal took a true copy of your honours' letters, and having imparted the same unto the lords-visiers of this council, such as deal in matters of state, as also unto those that are wise and learned in the holy law; and having conferred and considered about the contents, and of the hearty and good affection by you therein shewed unto his imperial majesty, being the mirror and clear light of the world, (whose noble person, and puissant dominions, God preserve and keep from all troubles and adversities, which daily happen throughout the world!) And finding your request, to be good and very reasonable; as soon as we were informed of your meanings and desires, we delayed no time to impart the same unto his imperial majesty; who liking well, and allowing thereof, gave commandment, that all due and respective order should speedily be taken about the same, and that it should be brought to good effect, with all diligence and care; and therewithal order was presently taken, *ex motu proprio*, from the emperor's mouth, and by his own consent, that your ambassador should come unto his princely palace and presence, to salute his majesty; and, thereupon, your honours' said ambassador, accompanied and attended upon in such order, as was fitting and convenient for his honour, having humbly saluted his majesty, and being apparelled, both himself and his train, with honourable suits, according to the manner and custom of this country; and that honour and due respect shewed unto him, which to his place and person was requisite to be done: his imperial majesty gave licence and free permission unto him, to have access unto his court, for the execution of his ambassage, as other ambassadors and governors of the empire use to do; as also to consult with the lords visiers, the protectors of the law, and especially the chief judge of Turkey, which is a lord of the holy Mufti Effendi, together with the lords Cadi Esquieri (so the great men of the land are named), and with all other his governors about the same; and with his majesty's advice and consent, your motion of amity and friendship, sought and propounded unto him, being well considered and advised of by them, and they having fully and wholly declared the same unto the great monarch of the world, and the most mighty and uprightest king thereof (whom God preserve!) by the help and assistance of God: his majesty freely and thankfully accepted of your good-wills and friendships, and hath placed the same among the number of those that are united unto him, in perfect amity and friendship; and hath determined and ordained, that the same shall for ever be respected and maintained by him. And therewithal his imperial majesty hath commanded that we should set down and record the articles of agreement and unity on both parts, according to your desires; and also to make and send you a letter in his own name.

And I also, for my part, as your good friend, have written this letter, which (with his majesty's) we send unto your honours, wishing that, by God's grace, and in an happy and prosperous hour, the perfect amity and friendship knit between us may in like sort long continue; which with all my heart I desire: for it is most sure and certain, that the supreme lord of the noble house of Ottomans, and the imperator of all other rulers and lords in the world, our most puissant lord and king, is so truly united in fast and firm friendship with your honours, that from henceforth all the favours and honours, that may proceed and be imparted from his imperial hands unto his friends and well-willers, shall be given and shewed unto you, (as by the capitulation and agreement set down and recorded, he hath fully manifested and recorded,) in such manner, that all promises and conditions, made and specified to be granted unto you on his behalf, within his kingdoms and dominions, shall be truly and faithfully observed, fulfilled, and kept. And myself, your good friend, in like manner, will not fail to shew you all the honour and respect that may be, and will by no means endure, that the least hurt or wrong whatsoever shall be done to your honours (in your subjects or vassals) within these our countries: for that the word and promise of our most righteous and honourable king (whom God preserve!) is for ever firm and stable, and most powerful; in regard that his majesty's mind hath been and is always addicted unto peace and quietness, and specially desireth that his people should live in unity and peace, that under the shadow of his imperial majesty they may so live happily and at

heart's ease. And seeing that the Lord of all the world hath granted you so great favours and happy fortune to be united and joined in friendship, love, and amity with so puissant, great, and magnanimous a king, replenished with benignity, grace, mercy, and compassion, as our emperor is; it is most certain, (and you may assure yourselves thereof) that his commandments and promises are firm and most sure, and that there shall be no contrariety found therein; and assure yourselves for certain, that it shall not fail in any manner, in regard that his majesty's word and promises are grounded upon truth, without any pretence of contrariety, for his judgments are given with uprightness and sincerity; and, by the help of God, as long as your friendship and promises made shall be truly observed and kept, this inward and entire friendship, on his part and behalf, shall for ever be firm and stable; which is ordained and appointed to be observed among the nations that are in these parts of the world: and throughout all the dominions and states of princes and kings subject to his imperial majesty, your honour shall by his majesty be advanced, notwithstanding all their malices; and also among all other crowned kings, and mighty princes of the world, shall be esteemed with great affection. And be assured hereof, that I myself, in all your needful and necessary businesses, and serious affairs, will be and remain your secret friend and furtherer; and, in all other your important suits, will not fail, in any point, to do that for you therein, which I may or can do, as in a case of great equity; that the friendship begun (which, by my means, hath to my power been hitherto effected, inasmuch as by my office it hath passed through my hands, and by my furtherance and advice might be brought to pass) may continue firm and stable for ever: and by the aid and grace of God, together with the favour of our great prophet, now remaining in the kingdom and grace of God, (as it hath fortunately fallen out, and as we have had the good hap to bring the same unto an end,) so we shall from henceforth, with all our power and will, procure, further, and be a means, that the articles of amity and friendship, already made between us, may always be observed and kept. And hereof be well assured, that as long as there is no default on your behalfs found, concerning the breach of this peace and amity, I will be and remain your friend; and also all the rest of the lords-vissiers, together with the judges of the law, and the vassals or slaves belonging to his imperial chamber of divan, and also those that are in pay within the great empire of our most puissant lord and prince the king (whom God preserve!) by the help of God, do together faithfully promise and take upon us (both great and mean of degree as we are) that on our side, no one point of the princely treaty, made by our king's majesty, shall in any wise be broken or infringed, nor any thing done to the contrary thereof.

It is also necessary, convenient, right, and great reason, that on your side, strict commandment be given to all captains, sailors, and merchants, as also to your admirals, that no hurt or hinderance be done in any wise to our nation and people upon the seas, in their ships; neither to their men and sailors, throughout our dominions; neither to any the castles or villages under the command of his imperial majesty; nor unto any one of his subjects in any wise whatsoever. And, to that end, the friendship, peace, and great honour, which by you is shewed unto the majesty of kings, and to the crown of the prince, and great dominator and dispenser of all good and favour, the great and mighty emperor, our sovereign lord, is most acceptable unto him in such manner, that your honour shall, by his imperial majesty, be furthered and advanced before all other things which concern your affairs, and shall still be specially recommended unto his said majesty. And forasmuch as his said majesty's pleasure is, to have his subjects and friends maintained and governed in peace and quietness, and that whatsoever may further the same, and be a means to procure the welfare of all God's creatures to their everlasting benefit and good. We, for a conclusion, say; that if, on our side, all the articles of agreement and amity, set down and specified in the treaty concerning us, and also all that, which, on your sides, is promised concerning the peace in your letters, be well performed, maintained, and kept, according to the inward and affectionate friendship shewed and proffered by you with heart and good-will; that so, in time to come, all our affairs may the longer and the better have good and happy success, we hope and trust in God that in all the parts of the

world where kings and princes reign, and shall hear and understand of the friendship and peace made between us, those that are our friends will rejoice thereat; and such as withstand the same shall feel the smart thereof. God bring this our proceeding to a good end, and for your good and prosperity!

Concerning your ambassador aforesaid, (whom we must commend,) we say, that not only touching his ambassage, but also in all the rest of the things belonging to matter of state, both in general and particular, he hath done and performed the same with as much care and diligence as in him possible was; sparing no labour, travel, nor care, neither in place nor matter, nor in any of his proceedings omitted any thing whatsoever which he knew, or by any means perceived, to be needful or necessary to be propounded or moved, to bring these affairs to a good end. And especially, coming into the presence of our most puissant emperor (whom God preserve!) he appeared there before him with such honourable behaviour, grace, and courtesy, that it pleased his majesty exceeding well, and moved him, thereby, to take great pleasure and contentment in him; and in all his actions hath so behaved himself, that more could not have been done, nor required at his hands, concerning his charge. And, to conclude, such a personage as he, in the superlative degree, is fit to be an ambassador: in such sort, that all the lord visiers, my fellows, and the rest of the lords of the emperor's court, wondered thereat; and said, that a man that should deal in public affairs, ought to be such a one as he shewed himself unto us to be; being altogether in great admiration to see his manner of proceedings in all his affairs; and, for that cause, being so well pleased and contented with his behaviour, were well content that he should have daily access unto his majesty's court. Your honours shall do well to esteem much of him; for that a man of his deserts and qualities meriteth to be preferred.

Thus having, at this time, no more to say, (having made a true relation of all that hath here been done and past) but only to wish health and long prosperity unto your honours, we leave to trouble you.

Written in the beginning of the month Giamari Elebla, in the year 1021, in the city of Constantinople; which God preserve.

The Copy of a Letter written by the Lord Mufti Effendi, chief Judge of the Turkish Empire, unto the General States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

Puissant Lords of the Christian Law, and the Honour of the Nations under the Messias; my Lords, the General States of the United Netherland Provinces, and most noble Lord Prince Maurice:

MAY it please you to understand, that this year was sent unto the imperial palace of the most puissant king, highly magnified and exalted; the executioner of the commandments given to the world in the temples, the furtherer of justice, and the upholder or restorer of towns and cities, the greatest and mightiest king and monarch of the world, (whose honour I beseech God always to continue, and that his kingdom may flourish until the day of doom!) your honours' letters and ambassador, to treat of amity and peace, with great reverence and respect unto the high court of his majesty's dominions; wherein your honours have done a thing worthy commendations, and exceeding well accepted of, for that all those that desire to make friendship, and to have peace with the king of the noble house of Ottomans (whom God increase in honour, power, and majesty unto the world's end!) until this day, have not, by any means, endured any loss or hindrance whatsoever; but have, thereby, attained to great profit and advantage, which is manifestly known unto all the world, and amongst all nations; and all those unto whom, or with whom, the most puissant king (whom God preserve!) doth make peace, and contracteth amity, or that, for their parts, do endeavour themselves to observe and hold peace and friendship with him, have well experienced and tried his great favours; to whom his majesty hath continually doubled, and shewed his special grace and benignity: which is a certain sign and

token, that, in time to come, your friendship proffered and obtained shall more and more increase; and be so well ratified and established, that nothing whatsoever shall be cause to break or infringe the same. For that the Great-Turk will shew your honours such friendship, that, in his empire of Turkey, neither you, nor any of your ships, shall need to fear any hurt or harm to be done unto you in any thing whatsoever. To conclude, we all together will continue your perfect friends, and be friends to your friends, and foes to your foes; and the further that you proceed therein, so much the more shall the benefit of his majesty's favours be seen, and your advantage procured thereby; and in this matter which by you hath been sought, all favour and friendship afford unto you; although that, in this point, it is not unknown to you, how many adversaries you have had, who (by all means and ways possible) have sought to hinder your proceedings herein; and to divert it, that it might take no effect.

Therefore, as I have said, seeing that your enemies have wrought thus secretly against you, it is great reason, that this league and contract should be surely made; and, according to your letters, the articles have been set down, certifying you, that all shall be done as you desire: and withal, we think that it was great reason that this peace should be established; and, therefore, our most puissant emperor hath been content graciously to accept of your friendship, and according to your letters, the aforesaid privileges have been granted unto you; and that in all things whatsoever, past concerning them, there hath nothing been omitted that was requisite to be put in according to your desires. And, for your ambassador, Cornelius Haga, whom your honours sent hither, he hath performed his charge in that respect, in the superlative degree, and with great grace and honour gone through therewith; and hath executed the same, with as much diligence as possible he might. Wherefore I must needs say, that such a man as he is deserveth as well to be made an ambassador, as any one whatsoever of his degree, being of that judgment that he is. The reason is, for that whatsoever he hath done concerning this business of yours, he hath done it effectually; and, therefore, it is requisite that you take care, that no scandal may, hereafter, be procured thereby unto you; and, before all things, to do your endeavours, that this peace may continue firm and stable; for that it is every way profitable and good for your honours, and your towns. And upon condition that your honours shall keep and firmly hold this treaty, we also will endeavour ourselves to maintain and uphold the same for ever: for our great and most puissant emperor (whom God preserve!) is a courteous prince, and exceeding gracious, and sheweth all the grace and favour that he can unto his friends; being an emperor of great honour and majesty, whose custom is always to do well.

The conclusion, therefore, of our letter is; that whatsoever hath been concluded touching this peace, you will take care to perform it to your powers. Moses Jerusalmi, a Jew, hath been a great furtherer of your affairs as much as in him lay; and hath made me acquainted with all your proceedings.

Peace be with you all.

The Subscription.

By him that executeth the commandments that are sent forth to be done for the honour and authority of the puissant and most princely house of Ottomans, Mahomet, the son of G. Saalteldin.

God have mercy upon us all!

Reasons humbly offered to both Houses of Parliament, for
passing a Bill for preventing Delays and Expences, in Suits
in Law and Equity.

London, printed; and are to be sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-
Hall; 1707.

[Quarto; containing twenty-two pages.]

THE unavoidable expence, as well as unnecessary delay, in the prosecution of suits in the courts of law and equity, (especially in the latter,) are become so exorbitantly great and burthensome to the subject; that they may justly be ranged among our first-rate grievances. It must be granted by every man of common observation, that the methods of proceeding in our courts, designed for speedy justice, are fully ripe for a regulation; when a passive submission to injuries, unless of a very high nature, is much more for the advantage of the injured person, than an application to our courts for redress. A man's prudence may very rationally be called in question, who brings an action at law for a slender debt; but he must be perfectly senseless, who seeks for redress for a debt of fifty or sixty pounds in a court of equity; since, as the practice now stands, his adversary may make him spend twice his debt before he can recover it. The case therefore being thus, there is no room to doubt, but that a bill that will effectually redress some of these grievances, will meet with all imaginable encouragement.

I. As to a clause to enact, That any plaintiff, at his election, may deliver a declaration to any defendant, or his wife cohabiting with him, or to the servant of any corporation capable of being sued, and take judgment for want of an appearance and a plea.

The way, now used, is to sue out a writ directed to the sheriff of the county where the defendant lives, which, with the attorney's fee that sues the same out, comes to eight or nine shillings; on which the sheriff makes out his warrant to his bailiff; which in some counties costs one shilling, in some two shillings, and in others less. On this the bailiff may insist on a bond of forty pounds penalty, with sureties from the defendant to appear, though the action be but for words, trespass, or assault, or in debt, or case under ten pounds; but it is most usual to take a warrant from such defendant, directed to some attorney to appear for him; and on the bailiff's obtaining such bond or warrant, the lowest sum that is paid for his pains by the plaintiff's attorney, is five shillings, and sometimes more; besides which, the bailiff demands two shillings and four-pence of the defendant at the time he arrests him, as the sheriff's fee; and always takes much more for waiting and civility-money. So that the least that is spent by both sides, on the first beginning of the smallest action, is twenty shillings. But, if the writ be for more than ten pounds, the bailiff demands of the plaintiff's attorney always ten shillings at least, on bringing him a bail-bond; and often extorts twenty shillings or more from the defendant, whilst in his custody; besides his sheriff's fee, and that he calls ¹ Civility-Money, and is extorted from the prisoner, to prevent his being carried directly to the county gaol, and for being admitted to continue in the bailiff's house, commonly called the Spunging-house, till he can send to his friends to bail him; and there the bailiff's followers drink plentifully on his score: and if any scruple be made of paying all the unreasonable demands that are made

¹ Note; The plaintiff, or his attorney, is very often forced to be as the bailiff's follower; otherwise the defendant would either not be arrested, or else privately discharged, on payment of civility-money.

for the reckoning, then the best bail, that can be found out, is rejected; and perhaps the person is hurried into gaol, where he is loaded with new fees for commitment, discharge, &c. before he can obtain his liberty; so that it very often costs a person arrested for a small debt of thirty or forty pounds, who lies in a spunging-house but one night, three pounds and upwards; besides which, if he be able, he must at last pay the plaintiff his charges of the writ and the arrest. However, to make the lowest computation possible, it costs both sides, where an arrest is made for ten pounds or upwards, and a bail-bond taken, thirty-five shillings: by this expensive way, to all sides, a plaintiff obtains either special bail, or a common appearance at the return of the writ; and where a defendant is minded to delay, he often suffers the bail-bond to be sued, to the great delay of the plaintiff, and keeping him out of his just debt. And, in some counties, though a man appears publicly, yet if he be protected by the sheriff, or by the bailiff of the liberty or hundred, where he lives, a plaintiff shall lose a year's time, or more, before he can get even a common appearance; and without that, as the law now stands, no man can proceed to declare. But if what is now proposed, has the desired success, most causes will be shorter by a term; and persons, who are necessitated to bring actions, will sooner recover their just rights: and when judgment is obtained, a defendant will be in a better condition to pay, than when he has been pillaged by the bailiffs and their followers. And, in short, upon a modest computation, it will save the subjects of England thirty-thousand pounds *per annum*, and upwards; the greatest part whereof is, at present, distributed amongst the bailiffs and their followers; the rest of it comes in very small sums to the cursitors, who make out original writs; to the philizers of the Common-pleas, who make out all writs of *Capias*; to the attorneys of the queen's bench, who make out all bills of Middlesex and *latitats*; to the *custos-brevium*, belonging to the Common-pleas, who has four-pence for filing every original writ²; to the under-sheriffs, who make out the warrants; and indeed to all attorneys that love to make causes long and chargeable to their clients. And farther, this clause will advance public credit, by framing a better method of suing corporations, than any yet known; and providing a way to sue persons, in trade and credit, without sending bailiffs after them; and will also prevent many clandestine outlawries. And if the people of England will be sooner helped to their rights, and so great a sum saved in their purses, as is above-mentioned; it is hoped, there will be no regard had to any particular body, or number of men (especially of this sort) who enrich themselves by doing that, which there is no occasion for.

Note, This is agreeable to the method now used in the bringing of an ejectment,³ which turns a man out of possession, and is of as tender a consideration, as any thing can be; and any plaintiff may now obtain judgment as quick as he can, by this clause, by being at the charge of suing a special writ, which contains the declaration.

II. As to a clause, for giving bail in all cases where a writ of error is brought to reverse a judgment before verdict, as it is now used on writs of error after verdict.

This clause will prevent persons from keeping their creditors at bail, with a writ of error for twelve months, during which time, they get in their effects; and when the writ of error is nigh spent, they run away with them.

And the very same reason holds, for giving bail, on bringing writs of error to reverse a judgment, when damages are found on a writ of inquiry, as after trial.

² The cursitor, philizer, and *custos-brevium* have but two shillings and two-pence for every original and *capias*; but the bailiff gets twenty or thirty shillings, and very often a great deal more, by making the arrest. And, if a writ be sued out, and a copy thereof annexed to each declaration delivered, and the writ itself annexed to the affidavit of service; then, all the objections of the cursitors, philizers, or *custos-brevium*, &c. will be fully answered; and the attorney will also have his fee for suing the same out. The postage will be likewise increased by sending the declaration down with the writ, and returning them both back with the affidavit; the stamp-duty will be advanced also by the affidavits, rules to plead, &c.

³ The method, here proposed, is also agreeable to the common-law, whereby a summons was the first process, the *capias* being given by acts of parliament.

III. As to the regulating sheriffs fees on *elegits* and *extents*, &c.

As the law now stands, if a sheriff takes an inquisition on an *elegit*, and delivers a moiety to the plaintiff, by virtue of such writ; or makes a return that he has delivered possession, pursuant to any writ of *Liberate*; he usually takes twelve-pence *per* pound, for the first hundred pounds, and six-pence *per* pound afterwards, for all the money due by the statute or judgment: and this he takes under colour of an act of parliament, made in 29 Eliz. cap. v, which certainly intended, that the sheriff should deliver actual possession; but he really does no more than take an inquisition, or return his writ: for the plaintiff, notwithstanding such fictitious delivery by the sheriff, must bring his ejectment, and recover a verdict at law; and if, on the trial, any prior settlement, or other incumbrance, is trumped up (as too often happens), the plaintiff is nonsuited; and has only the mortification to find himself so much more money out of purse; perhaps, two or three hundred pounds for sheriff's fees in particular, without knowing how to remedy himself: or if he recovers, he must pay the sheriff over again, for his delivering him the actual possession, on a writ of *Habere facias possessionem*; and therefore, it is hoped, that it will not be thought reasonable, that a sheriff should take such large fees, only for taking an inquisition, or returning a writ.

IV. As to a remedy for all persons, in the recovery of their debts by judgments.

As the law now stands, if an *elegit* be returned and filed, or entered on record, though the plaintiff never recovers six-pence by it; yet such returning and filing, or entering on record, is a bar upon such plaintiff, that he cannot take out any other *elegit*, or execution against the body or goods of the defendant, though he be able to pay the debt; which is, surely, such a grievance, as is fit to be remedied.

V. As to a clause to prevent the subjects paying double for the ingrossing records of *Nisi prius*.

The proper officer did anciently ingross all records of *Nisi prius*; but as business increased, he did not increase his number of clerks, and those he had, not being able to dispatch all the business, the attorneys (to prevent multiplicity of attendances, and giving expedition-money) did, and for many years last past have ingrossed all their records themselves, for which they charge four-pence *per* sheet, to their clients, and pay the proper officer all his fees also; so that, at present, the client pays double, and therefore, by this clause, it is intended the subject should be eased; and the attorney, who does all the business, should have four-pence *per* sheet, for doing something; and that the officer should be content with four-pence *per* sheet more, for doing nothing.

VI. As to a clause, touching the filing of affidavits, and to prevent the unnecessary expence thereof.

At law, it is now customary to read affidavits, before filed, if sworn in town; but otherwise, if sworn in the country; though there appears no material difference: for he that forswears himself, either before a judge in town or commissioner in the country, is equally guilty of perjury; and if they are filed, as soon as used, that will hereafter prevent all opportunities of altering, as much as the method now used; since the attorney, in both cases, must have the custody of the affidavit, from swearing till filing it; and since at law there is no fee due, on filing an affidavit, after read in court (for which this clause allows a fee): the officer will gain by filing, though he loses by copies; and it seems as unreasonable as it is useless, to make a person take and pay for a copy of an affidavit, which he had once in his hands, and, consequently, a power of copying it himself; and yet, as the course and practise of the courts of law and equity now stand, the party who would use any affidavit, must leave his original with the officer, and pay him large fees for a copy: so that in matters where many long affidavits are required, it often costs a man ten or fifteen pounds, for copies of his own affidavits, on one single motion; whereby the charge

of a motion very often exceeds the whole expence of a trial at law⁴: which unnecessary charge this clause will effectually prevent.

VII. As to a clause, for taking away all copies of interrogatories, and for the filing reports and certificates, without being obliged to take copies thereof.

It seems very ridiculous, that any one should be obliged to take and pay for copies of what he before had, or has no occasion for at all; and yet this is the case here: for every one must take copies of interrogatories (which are of themselves of no use) if he will have copies of the depositions for which he has occasion. Nay, every person is now obliged to take copies of the interrogatories exhibited by himself, (and often twice over, both from the examiners and Six-Clerks' Office,) although he had the original before, if he will have a copy of depositions taken thereon. The same reasons hold against being obliged to take and pay for copies of reports and certificates, for the filing whereof, there is a fee of four-pence due; and yet the officer makes every person, who files a report of certificate to pay for a copy; which is just as reasonable as if every person, who files a bill or answer in Chancery, should be obliged to take and pay for a copy thereof.—Note, the fees of this office are very extravagant.

VIII. As to a clause for taking away all recitals in decrees and orders in courts of equity.

The deputy-registers in Chancery draw up and pass all orders, and take three shillings for each side, containing about an hundred and seventy words; and if the order be by consent, six shillings *per* side: and in all orders on hearing, they recite the bills and answers and, in other orders, the allegations of the council *pro* and *con*. And, as instructions for them to act by, they require one of the council's briefs, which necessarily contains the whole state of the case, by which they furnish themselves with matter for lengthening the orders (of which their own interest prompts them to make use): by which means the recitals and allegations are spun out to a tedious length, and oftentimes the whole brief inserted, so that orders on hearing many times come to ten or fifteen pounds, and other orders to twenty or thirty shillings; whereas the charge of the ordering part of the former seldom exceeds thirty shillings, and, of the latter, scarce ever more than three shillings. And as the length of the orders increases the charge, so it does the delay; which gives birth to the new perquisite of expedition-money: and a suitor must either attend two or three months for an order on hearing, and proportionably for another order, or be in the case of a criminal, who pays for dispatching a business, he had rather should be left undone: and yet all these recitals and allegations are perfectly useless and insignificant to the party; for neither side is concluded thereby, and the⁵ bills and answers recited are on record in the proper office, and each party has a copy of them too; and yet by these recitals he must be told what he knew before, and pay dear too for being thus teased. And the allegations are, for the same reasons, as useless as the recitals; and yet it is become a rule now, with the deputy-registers, that one side shall not alter the allegations of the other, though false, but must alledge the contrary, by way of answer thereto; which still serves to lengthen them: whence it happens, that the orders often carry in them contradictory, and sometimes very idle and impertinent allegations, for which the order itself has been afterwards discharged. And the court is so sensible of these matters, that they seldom permit any thing more than the ordering part to be read; and there are no such recitals or allegations in orders on appeals in parliament, nor in rules at law.

The objections to this clause, therefore, if any, will arise from interest, not from reason;

⁴ The Affidavit-office in Chancery, which was said to be formerly sold for two-hundred and fifty pounds, is now computed to bring in a thousand pounds *per annum*.

⁵ For the bills and answers, the party pays eight-pence a sheet for copies from the Six-Clerks' Office; three shillings a side for the recitals thereof from the Registers-Office; and about two shillings a side for the like recitals from the Six-Clerks' Office, in case the decree be enrolled, and a writ of execution thereof made; so that the suitor pays three times for the same thing.

and, it is true, it will take away some of the perquisites enjoyed by the register or his deputy.

In answer to which, it is to be observed, that the deputy-registers cannot pretend the common plea of purchasing their places; and the register himself has his place by gift from the crown, and receives a yearly sum from his deputies, who have lately so exorbitantly abused this method of recitals and allegations, that though it is apparent that business has decreased, yet their profits have advanced. And this abuse of the practice is a full answer to the reason that may be drawn from the ancient use of the recitals in orders, since they were formerly very short and concise, and though useless, yet being short, did but little hurt; but their exorbitancy now seems to require such a remedy, as may take away all future temptations to the like excess.

If it be objected, that the recitals of bills and answers shew the reason of the decree; that is a vain pretence: for most of the suggestions of the bill are fictitious, and the answer frequently falsified by depositions (which are the real foundation of the decree, but are never recited therein) so that the recitals of a fictitious bill and untrue answer, rather give the decree an aspect of injustice, than shew the true reason of it; and oftentimes draw the parties into re-hearings and appeals, upon a mistaken notion of the hardship of their case, so seemingly just as the present recitals represent it.

So that it is hoped the interest of the deputy-registers (most of whom have already well filled their pockets, by emptying those of the suitors) will not prevail against the public good; and the deputy-registers will still have profit enough to encourage their diligence, and to pay the register what they formerly did; and none, therefore, it is hoped, will oppose this clause. And though the excess of the other courts of equity are not so great, yet the reason of the clause will hold the same in all.

IX. As to the clause for making subpoenas to answer returnable *immediate* of course.

The subpoena to appear to the bill, which is the first process, is at present made returnable in term, unless affidavit be made, that the defendant resides within ten miles of London: whereupon the court, upon petition, grants a subpoena returnable *immediate* of course, and, on a second petition, all other process returnable *immediate*: which subpoena being only for an appearance (for entering whereof the defendant has four days allowed after service of the subpoena) it is unnecessary to apply to the court to make the subpoena, or any other process, returnable *immediate*, those two orders of court (against which the defendant has now no liberty to make a defence, nor is it needful) putting the subject to twenty-seven or twenty-eight shillings unnecessary charges.

X. As to a clause touching subpoenas to rejoin, and that service thereof on the clerk in court be good service of the defendant.

It is what the court always orders of course; but the obtaining it costs the subjects fifteen or twenty shillings, which may as well be saved.

XI. As to a clause to make a sequestration, the second process.

The present practice is, that after the defendant is served with a subpoena, and will not appear or answer; first, an attachment issues against him; and on return of that (which is often a quarter of a year before it can be obtained) a second attachment, called a proclamation, issues much the same with the first. On both which the sheriff will return *Non est inventus*, without giving the defendant any notice of such writs; and on return of the proclamation, a commission of rebellion issues directed to commissioners to take the defendant; and upon their return of *Non est inventus*, the serjeant at arms is sent in quest of him, who puts the plaintiff to a great charge, whether he finds the defendant or not; for his usual daily fee is thirteen shillings and four-pence (besides six-pence *per* mile, or more, for travelling charges while abroad), and he is also paid, whether he takes the defendant or not, three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence for returning his warrant; and insists on three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence for every defendant

named in such warrant; (which warrant, and the order of court, cost above forty shillings besides, if but one defendant; but, if against more, then fifteen shillings is demanded for every other defendant's name therein) and then a sequestration issues, and cannot be obtained sooner: so that the charge, for getting only an appearance, is often near as great as a decree; and then, for an answer, the same circle is to be run again, and so, *totiès quotiès*, for every better answer; and the same all over again, to oblige the performance of any order; whereby one party is totally ruined before he gets half way to the hearing, or can have even a sequestration.

I. *Objection.* That to make a sequestration, the second process, is too quick a proceeding.

Answer. It is what both houses of parliament have subjected themselves to: and why should those, who are engaged in no national affairs, have more time or favour allowed than they? And the way of proceeding against members is, upon due notice and reasonable time given, to shew cause before the sequestration issues, so as the defendant may avoid it, if he pleases. And it not only avoids the circuitry and delays abovementioned, but the mischiefs of a process being clandestinely returned by the sheriffs and commissioners; and the excessive charge of being taken by a serjeant at arms (which ruins any person of mean condition); his fees, if he takes the defendant, being frequently fifty, sixty, or an hundred pounds. And, sometimes, the defendant never hears of any process of contempt till the serjeant takes him, all the process being returned privately; and the court has still power, on the defendant's application, to indulge him with what time shall appear necessary, in case his delays are not wilful.

II. *Objection.* That the defendants are, for the most part, arrested upon the attachment or proclamation, which are but a small charge to either plaintiff or defendant in respect of a sequestration.

Answer. If a defendant happens to be taken without a serjeant-at-arms, if in London, he enters his appearance with the register, and then often runs away; or, if in the country, the sheriff takes a forty-pounds bail-bond for his appearance at the return of the writ (when, perhaps, the matter in question is many thousand pounds value,) and the plaintiff must sue this bond at law; and when the forty-pounds penalty is recovered, the plaintiff must take out another attachment for his answer, and so again, *totiès quotiès*; whereas the interest of the matter in question will pay that penalty, and costs of trial, ten times over; and yet the sheriff is obliged to accept of forty-pounds' bail, and is, thereupon, discharged from bringing in his prisoner; and the court will not grant a messenger to bring the defendant into the court, unless the attachment be made in London or Middlesex, or where the amerciements of sheriffs are granted to a subject, as few are: all which inconveniences will be remedied by a sequestration, if the defendant hath any estate, real or personal, to sequester; and if he has not, the prosecutor may take the usual process against his body, notwithstanding this clause.

XII. As to a clause for taking the bill in equity, *pro confesso*, for not appearing and answering in six months after the sequestration issues.

The present practice is, that although the defendant is duly served with a subpoena to appear, yet if he does not enter his appearance, the court cannot decree the bill to be taken *pro confesso*; whereby it is in the defendant's power to elude justice, and baffle the plaintiff at pleasure, and is often of dangerous consequence; as where there are co-partners, co-executors, or trustees, and great sums received or wasted by them, one of them is kept out of the way and will not appear, therefore the plaintiff cannot go to hearing, nor have any decree against the rest: so the whole demand is often spent, or lost by insolvency or by death, and representatives know nothing of the management, or pretend the person (who would not appear) if dead, had all the estate, in demand, in his hands. This clause also establishes a better method against corporations than any yet known.

XIII. As to the delivery of a copy of the bill to prisoners.

It is upon the same reason as delivery of declarations at law, whereon, at the expiration of a rule, the plaintiff signs judgment, and is so established by act of parliament lately made. But the present practice in equity is, that the prisoner must be brought up to town by *Habeas Corpus*, and into court; and if he will not answer, he is brought up thrice before the court by so many several writs of *Habeas Corpus*, viz. the first *habeas corpus*, an *alias*, & *plures habeas corpus*, at fifteen or twenty pounds expence to the plaintiff; and if he will not answer on the third writ, the court decrees the bill *pro confesso*. But if he puts in either answer, plea, or demurrer, on the third writ, although never so insufficient or trifling, the plaintiff is then to begin again *de novo*, as if no such delay or expence had been; and so run the gauntlope through the whole course of delays in arguing the plea or demurrer, and in master's reports and arguings and re-arguings of exceptions to insufficient answers and reports as aforesaid, before he can join issue for hearing.

XIV. That every person to be sworn an attorney, or admitted a solicitor, should serve five years; and none but such be allowed to practise.

It is certainly most reasonable and necessary that they should be well instructed and qualified who are to be attorneys and solicitors, whose office and business requires so much skill and judgment, that upon their good or bad conduct, the whole fortunes of men very often depend; and this will also prevent the frauds, as well as the great mischiefs, which are occasioned by those who practise in other persons' names, and have had no other instruction than what the experience of their own misfortunes has furnished them with; who, being become bankrupts in trade, do then frequently set up for skilful practitioners in the law; and the notorious mischiefs, that are daily occasioned by them in practice, are become so intolerable, that they may justly be reckoned among the greatest grievances of the nation.

XV. That no attorneys or solicitors should have more than two clerks at one time.

This will prevent the too great increase of the number of attorneys and solicitors, which, without doubt, very often occasions great delays and expences; for when the professors grow very numerous, business must necessarily be divided into a great many hands, so that a great many persons will have but a small share of business, and very often not so much as will maintain them; and they, having nothing else to depend on for subsistence, must necessarily be exposed to the temptation of doing little and poor actions, and the creating and promoting of business, in order to get their livelihood by it; or, at least, they will be tempted, under such circumstances, to keep business in their hands as long as they can; the consequence whereof is not only a delay, but a great charge to the subject, which, it is hoped, this clause will, in some measure, redress.

These lines, being designed to shew the reason of some of the delays and expences in suits in law and equity, have therefore been confined to the particulars before-mentioned: and, though it is too true, that there are many other dilatory, useless, and expensive proceedings, which have almost repealed Magna Charta; as to the clause thereof, which says, *Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus aut differemus justitiam vel rectum*. Yet it is hoped the example of a bill now proposed, if made a law, would influence the courts themselves to regulate several more of the abuses, or give foundation to a further regulation by the legislature. But, till the parliament has begun, till some good law is made to redress the present extravagant charges in suits, little or nothing is to be expected from the inferior courts, which have hitherto done nothing, or very little for a reformation; notwithstanding the many attempts in parliament on this subject, and the many instances of families, ruined by those expences and delays. The reason of all is this, that the officers, who get by these proceedings, buy their places; (and, no doubt, but that the bill now depending will be opposed by them,) and, if by this buying, the unnecessary charges, in the methods of proceedings, are become much the property of the officers, as not to be abro-

gated or altered, without their consent, then, indeed, all attempts of this nature are vain. But the courts having in some instances altered the manner of proceeding, and several acts of parliament having done the like, and many of these purchases being contrary to an express act of parliament; it is humbly hoped, that it will be well remarked, who they are that oppose this bill, and that no opposition, arising from principles of profit, and not of reason, of private not public good, will prevail, so as to continue the nation under these delays, and unnecessary expences of suits; which even render right and property precarious, and make wise men compound, rather than contend for them.

Besides, these officers ought, in common civility, quietly to part with the profits arising by these dilatory and useless proceedings, since they have gained many fees and perquisites created by several acts of parliament, and rules of their respective courts. Thus the Chancery gained by the laws, concerning bankrupts, and the courts of law, by the *Habeas Corpus* and Escape-acts; by writs of error into the Exchequer-chamber; by common recoveries; by entering and dog-getting judgments; and by the new method of proceedings on ejectments, and in many other instances.

The late act, for the amendment of the law, expressly takes away the *Dedimus* bill from courts of equity, as being useless; though belonging to such who had purchased their places; and that act also, in consequence, took away above one half of the fees of the clerks of the papers of the Queen's-bench, in requiring an oath to the truth of all dilatory pleas: and yet neither the clerks of the Exchequer, for the loss of their *Dedimus* bill, nor the clerks of the papers, for the loss of their fees, had any recompence; and the recompence to the clerks in chancery was out of ancient fees of the Six-clerks, who insisted on a right by purchase: so that the reason of this, as well as many other acts of parliament, made for preventing vexatious and dilatory proceedings, will hold the same in the clauses above.

The delays and unnecessary expences, in suits, having been universally agreed to be so exorbitant, as to want redress: and, as the case now stands, the practisers being accused for the officers' faults, this occasioned the offering of these reasons for the bill now depending; whereby it will appear, no other interest has been consulted, than that of the publick: for, as the philizers and cursitors lose their writs, so the attorney loses much more than both; viz. his fee of three shillings and four pence, for suing out each writ. This act likewise subjects all solicitors in Chancery, to be admitted as such, which no law or custom now in being obliges them to; and compels all persons who practise as attorneys, to be entered and sworn; which will bring in several thousands to be sworn, and each attorney or solicitor being to pay four pounds to the stamp-duty. That will abundantly recompense the publick, for any small loss that may happen to that part of the revenue, by the making of such a law, as is now desired.

The Pretences of the French Invasion examined,¹ for the Information of the People of England.

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THAT the sword hath thus long been kept from destroying among us, is a blessing which we cannot sufficiently understand, unless we consider the woeful desolation it hath made in all neighbouring nations. Nor are they at all sensible how much they owe to God, and their majesties, for keeping us in peace, who give the least encouragement to this intended descent, which must turn our land into an Aceldama; and will make such woeful havock of our lives and fortunes, (while one party fights for safety, and the other for revenge,) that no age can parallel the horrid consequences of such a civil-war as this will prove. And if papists only (blinded by zeal for their religion, and blown up with hopes of absolute empire) encouraged this bloody design, it would be no wonder, and could have no success, considering the general aversion of the people to them, and the fresh instances of their insolence and cruelty.

But, alas! it appears that many, who call themselves Protestants, are engaged in this fatal conspiracy against their religion, and their native country; which is so prodigious and amazing, that a man would wonder who hath bewitched these foolish Galatians to push on their own and the church's ruin: and every one must be inquisitive into the specious pretences by which these men are induced to become their own executioners.

Now the pretended motives are these:

1. Repairing the injury done to the late king.
2. Delivering us from the oppressions we suffer under the present king.
3. Settling the government upon its old basis.
4. Securing the Protestant religion for all future ages.

Now it becomes every true English Protestant to examine these pretences very well, before he ventures on a thing of so evil appearance and dangerous consequence, as is the joining with these invaders.

First, It is pretended, the late king was unjustly deprived of his birth-right by his subjects, who, by nature and oaths, were bound to defend him in the possession of it: and, now that he comes to demand his own, all that ever were his subjects must either assist, or at least not oppose him.

But let it be considered, that all the late king's sufferings were owing to, and caused by, the counsels of his popish priests, and the bigots of that persuasion: Protestants were not the aggressors: he might have kept his possession to this day undisturbed, if he had not made such open and bold attempts upon our laws, our religion, and properties; so that he was the first and only cause of his own sufferings. And why should millions be involved

¹ Vide Oldys' Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 68.

in blood and ruin, who are perfectly innocent of doing this injury? No free nation did ever bear more or greater injuries, or endure such violences so long, or so patiently as we did. And when some stop was to be put to the final ruin of our liberties and religion, it was done at first by petitions and complaints; and when they were despised, none but defensive arms were taken up by some few, and by a foreign prince, only to cover their heads, while the grievances were fairly redressed; not to take away his rights, but to secure our own. Nor did the prince of Orange, or these gentlemen, divest or deprive him of his throne, but owned his right by offering a treaty; during the continuance of which he disbanded his army, dissolved his government, and (as much as in him lay) attempted to desert the throne, and seek aids from an enemy's country, which might secure him against redressing any grievances, and enable him to be revenged upon the injured complainers. We did not make the throne vacant; but the late archbishop, and other peers at Guildhall, believed he had left it void, or else they would not, without his consent, have seized on the administration of government, secured his chancellor, taken possession of the Tower, and offered the exercise of the supreme power to the prince of Orange. He left us in anarchy, and we provided for ourselves in the best manner such a juncture would allow. I will not inquire now, whether these subjects, who are so zealous for his return, were not bound to do more than they did, to keep him in his throne, while he had it; their conscience then permitted them to look on, and let him sink, while his security had been far more easily compassed. But they, who have now these unseasonable pangs of their old loyalty, must consider, that a man may leave his right when he pleaseth, but may not take it again at his pleasure, especially not by force, and this most especially as to sovereign power. Somebody must govern, when he would not; the next undoubted heir, in an hereditary monarchy, must: and whoever doth govern in chief in this nation must be king, by our constitution, and must have power sufficient to protect himself and the nation against all their enemies; and that cannot be without swearing new allegiance. Now, when a king and queen are declared, submitted to, and owned by oaths, and all other methods required in such case; the king is not at liberty to give up his own power and the protection of us, nor are the people free to join with him that deserted them, or to venture their necks, or their country's ruin, to restore him. I dare say, that the French king will not grant, that the citizens of those cities who were subjects to Spain, or the emperor, and bound by oath to those princes, (but have now submitted to him, and sworn new allegiance,) are obliged to venture their lives and fortunes, by virtue of their old oaths, to restore those cities to their former masters: doubtless, he would solve their scruples with a halter, if he found they attempted it. Besides, the injuries (as they are called) done to the late king by his own acts, if they were capable of reparation, must not be repaired with the injuring, yea, ruining many thousand innocent persons; who must unavoidably lose their lives, and be undone in their estates, by his returning by force. The present king and his army are bound by oaths, duty, and interest, to oppose him; so are all now protected by him, and who have sworn allegiance to him: and it is certain, all that are not perjured hypocrites will do so; and then, what Englishman's bowels must not bleed, to consider what murders, burning, plundering, and destruction he brings upon his native country, who encourages the aggressors? If he has any kindness for us, whom he calls his subjects, he would rather sit quietly under his single injuries, than wish (or, however, attempt) to be restored by blood and an universal ruin: and if he has no pity for us, why should we be so concerned for him, as to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to his revenge? He went away, while a treaty was on foot, and nothing but a treaty can restore him fairly; which he never yet offered. We did not force him to go away in disguise, and if he will force himself upon us again, by French dragoons and Irish cut-throats, we may and must oppose him; for our allegiance is now transferred to another. Finally, there is no injury to any but himself, and those who run into voluntary exile with him, by his being out of the possession: the monarchy, the law, the church, and property, are all in better estate, than in his time; and all these, with innumerable private persons, must be irreparably injured by his

return in an hostile manner. So that there can be no reason to redress the sufferings, he owes to his own faults, by so many public and private injuries. If it be pleaded, that he who was born to a kingdom, really wants subsistence; I reply, that if he would seek the peace of Christendom, and of his late subjects, he might (by a fair treaty set on foot) not only restore the exiles, but have a sufficient and honourable maintenance from this government; but while the war, he makes upon it, puts us to so great expence, he cannot expect it; nor imagine we should give him a supply to enable him to ruin us.

The *second* pretence, why we should assist towards his restoration, is, to deliver ourselves from the oppression we suffer under the present king. And, to set off this with a better gloss, the late reign is magnified by the Jesuits and their tools, and this blackened; freedom from taxes then is made a rare instance of his gentleness, and the present impositions heightened, with all the rhetorick imaginable, to represent this king as an oppressor. The flourishing of trade then is extolled, the decay of it now odiously insinuated, and great hopes are given of golden days, upon the return of James the Just: he is to make us all happy.

Now, to answer this, there is no need to make a satire on that reign, or a panegyrick on this: that is so well remembered, and this so fully known, that all unprejudiced people see on which side the truth lies. But it is great pity they, who have the wit to invent or urge this plea, have not a memory to remind them, that none complained more of the danger of law and religion, of our lives and fortunes in that reign, than many who have this high opinion of it now; the cruel severities in the west, the high-commission, turning out of office all good Protestants, attempting to reverse all the penal laws, putting unqualified men into all places of trust, profit, and power, excluding the fellows of Magdalen, and putting in papists, with the imprisonment and trial of the bishops, were thought oppressions then; but now all these are buried in oblivion, and those taxes which the late king, and his ally of France, with their abettors, alone make necessary to this frugal prince, these are our only grievance, and this king's unpardonable crime. The late king had one tax, and might, yea, would have had more for the glorious design of enslaving his subjects, if he could have got a parliament to his purpose, which he vigorously endeavoured; and it was, because he was sure he must satisfy his people in their just complaints, whenever he asked a supply, that he durst not ask it of a freely chosen parliament: yet then we were in peace with all nations, and now he hath entangled us in a war with the worst enemy in Europe. Assessments then were not needed, but to hasten our ruin; now they are absolutely necessary to our safety, and made so by him, and his complaining friends. Yet still what grievances are these taxes, in comparison of what is laid on the French slaves, into whose condition we were intended to be brought? There is a vast difference between losing our property for ever, and paying some part of our profits to secure the rest, and our inheritances, to our posterity as well as ourselves. Besides, should we not leap out of the frying-pan into the fire, if, to avoid tolerable payments, we should rashly bring a fatal war to our doors, that must last till more than one half of the nation be destroyed, and the rest utterly, and almost irrecoverably, impoverished? This, I am sure, is voluntarily to change our whips for scorpions. We have paid as much formerly for assisting France to ruin Europe, and maintain vice at home, as now serves to deliver Europe, and secure our native country and religion, from utter destruction. Nor are the sums considerable, reckoning the abatement of chimney-money, which we have paid to this government: no country in Europe hath paid so little in proportion to our wealth, these last three years of war: and if the late king return, England must pay all the sums borrowed of France, to maintain him abroad, to keep Ireland, and to discharge the forces that come to thrust him on us, and must stay to complete the happy design of setting up popery and slavery; the natural consequences of his restoration: and it is well, if arrears of chimney-money, and other public monies, be not called for, to carry on so glorious a work. So that, if England rebel against the present king, to avoid the burdens now upon

them, they expose themselves to ten times greater taxes for many years; and it can end in nothing but the utter impoverishing of the whole nation; especially, the Protestant part of it, who by their poverty will become a more easy prey.

As for trade, the decay of it began in the late king's time, and it is the war which he and France hath engaged us in, that still keeps it at a low ebb; so that for the late king's friends to expose the present government, for this, is like a conjurer's complaining of the storms he raises. That ingenious history of bishop King's, of the estate of the Protestants in Ireland, under king James, makes it out, that the late king feared and hated the increase of trade, which made him use all means to hinder it; and all the world sees, that no absolute monarch (as he affects to be) likes that his subjects should grow rich by trade. But our present king, so soon as he can have peace, will make it his first care to promote trade here, as he did in the country he came from: and even in the difficult times he had, trade hath been a great part of his and his parliament's care. Finally, if men can remember the times that are so lately past, when law and right was only the king's pleasure, dictated by mercenary judges; when no party but the papists flourished, when a general consternation had stopped all business, they cannot hope to be happy by his return who caused all these miseries: and they must expect, now he hath more perfectly learned the French methods, of making a king the greatest of monarchs, by making his subjects the vilest of slaves, that he will practise it with greater industry and application than ever, to put it eternally out of his subjects' power, to protect themselves again. For oppressing his people, which was but expedient before, will now be thought absolutely necessary. So that nothing can be more improbable, not to say impossible, than for England to be happy under him, that attempted to make her miserable without any provocation, and must return with the same principles and designs, the same counsellors and interests he had before; and with all the addition that revenge, hatred, and fear, can make to an angry and implacable mind. But it may be said, his dear-bought experience of the ill success of these methods will make him rule more moderately, if he be restored. To which I reply; *Cælum, non animum mutat.* The fore-cited book of bishop King's demonstrates, that after he had lost England and Scotland, and a great part of Ireland, upon his return thither from France, he was more arbitrary and hard to his Protestant obedient subjects, than ever he had been before; even though it was against his visible interest, and tended to disgust all the Protestants who would have served him there. His declaring himself papist at first here, and all his actions since, shew that he prefers his will, and an obstinate pursuing his own methods, far above his true interest: whence it follows, that we vainly expect from one of his temper, that either his past experience or his future interest should teach him moderation, any longer than till he hath power to oppress us. And, if he should, by a thousand promises or oaths, engage to rule by law, his frequent breach of both hath given us no reason to trust him; and the religion he professes can so easily dispense with both, that neither of them give us any security from that sort of obligations. The interests of popery and France require he should be absolute, and his nature spurs him on to it; and nothing but fear can for a moment restrain him from being so. What a shadow of a dream then must this be of Protestant subjects being happy, under a bigoted popish prince of such a temper?

Thirdly; Whereas it is said, we have changed our old hereditary monarchy into one merely elective, and by degrees shall bring it to a commonwealth; nor can any thing prevent this, (which will be of fatal consequence to the church,) but our restoring the late king. I answer, the position is false, and the consequence a mere sham: the government of England always was, and ever must be monarchical; that twelve years, when it was endeavoured to make it otherwise, convinced all men that all projects to the contrary must come to nothing. As for this revolution, it is not likely a parliament which made an entail of the crown, in a lineal succession, should be for setting up a commonwealth, or altering the hereditary monarchy. If it be alleged, there was a great breach as to the person of the reigning king: it is replied, he himself made it; and they did not make,

but find the throne void. And there have been greater breaches since the conquest, as to the true lineal succession, and laying aside, yea, deposing the reigning king, and setting up his son, or a remoter person; which indeed was an injury to the kings so deposed: but still the monarchy was called and continued to be hereditary. In our case, the king deserted us; yea, left us without any government: but we applied to his next certain heir, with whom, at her request, and for our safety and her's, by general consent, a title was given to her husband and our deliverer, but this only for life; though he be much nearer in blood to the right of succession, than either Henry the Fourth or Henry the Seventh, successively made kings of England. And the saving the succession to the princess of Denmark and her heirs, shews how far that parliament was, from designing any such thing as a commonwealth. We see Philip of Spain, who had no title to be king of England, but by his marriage with queen Mary, was made king at her request, and in her right; but he had not merited so much as our king, and therefore his title was to cease at her death. As for the prince of Wales, there are so clear indications of his birth being an imposture, and the design of forming that project is so known to be revenge on the princesses, for adhering to their religion, and to get more time to force popery and slavery upon us; yea, his health and strength make it so unlikely he should proceed from such crazy parents; that till the parties concerned prove the affirmative by better witnesses and clearer evidence, and the people of England in parliament own him for the heir, we need not go about the unreasonable task of proving a negative. Wherefore, since the breach in the succession was the late king's own act, and only concerns his person and a supposed unknown heir, we are not to answer for that; and considering the hurry his unexpected desertion put all things in, and the absolute necessity of a speedy settlement; the friends of the old English monarchy have just cause to rejoice it was made so near the old foundation, with a small and only temporary variation from it, which was also absolutely necessary in that juncture of affairs. And it is evident, that there are many of the best quality and interest, who hate the notion of a commonwealth in England, and love monarchy as well as any of the late king's abettors, who freely consented, and firmly adhere to this establishment.

If it be objected, that king William was bred up in a commonwealth, and inclines to that form of government: it is answered, He doth and may like it in Holland, but they must shew some instances, that his zeal for a commonwealth is as hot and as blind, as king James's for popery; before they can prove him so desperate a foe to his own interest, as to uncrown himself and make himself the people's vassal, when he is and may be their gracious lord. If it be urged, that it is a dangerous precedent for future kings, to allow the people a liberty to take away their prince's right, and set up another, on pretence of misgovernment: the reply is, the late king was the occasion of this precedent, by first attempting to alter the whole frame of our laws, government and religion, and then deserting us. And if it be an ill precedent for the safety of princes, that the advantage was taken, it was however necessary to take it for the safety of the people; for whose good, Heaven made kings. Sure I am, there are as dreadful consequences of arbitrary tyranny, as there are of rebellion; witness the misery and slavery of the poor French at this day: and it seems as necessary, there should be some precedents to deter princes from abusing their power, as well as to restrain the people from abusing their liberty: for both tyranny and rebellion are great sins, and of most mischievous consequence. Wherefore, this unexpected example may make our kings more just, and more apt to rule by law; but it can never hurt the monarchy itself, or countenance a rebellion, while a king is in the throne, that will stay to hear and redress his people's grievances, which will never be denied by the present, or any other good king.

The last pretence is the most surprizing of all, that there is no way to preserve the church of England, no nor the Protestant religion, but by restoring the late king: who, it is said in his declaration, promises this as liberally, as he did at his first accession to the throne.

If mankind were not the oddest part of the creation, one would wonder, how it is possible for Protestants to believe, that the wolves design good to the sheep. When the late king was here, he involved himself in infinite mischiefs, and did the most odious things in the world to destroy the Protestant religion, and especially, to ruin the church of England; and hath he given any evidence of changing his temper, his principles, his zeal, or his methods? He shewed in Ireland a greater spite to Protestants than ever; he hath lived in France ever since, where he hath seen how much it tends to advance his dear absolute power, to dragoon all men into the king's religion; his only motives to draw in this Frenchified pope, to lend him money to invade us, is, by convincing him he lost all by his zeal to restore popery, and by engaging he will use his power (if he can regain it) only to promote the Catholic interest. His other ally, the French persecutor, cannot be endeared by any better interest, till the principal of the sums lent are repaid by poor England, than by assurance, that he will make one kingdom in the world as miserable by absolute empire, and forcing one religion, as France now is; that his barbarity, cruelty, and treachery may not be the infamous single instance of such proceedings, his promises to his allies, his zeal, his principles, and his nature all engage him to destroy the Protestant religion. He attempted when he was not half so deeply obliged, and can we think he will not pursue it now? It is next to frenzy to think the pope and king of France furnish him with money, ships, forces, &c. only to secure the Protestant religion, and church of England; he must be tied, in more than ordinary bonds, to endeavour the ruin of both, or no such favours had been shewn by such a pope, and such a persecutor. It cannot be ease to Roman-catholicks he desires: they are more at ease under king William, than under any Protestant king ever since the reformation. It must therefore be the suppressing all other religions, and setting up that alone, must engage Rome, France, and Lucifer in his restoration. As for his promises to us in his declaration; alas! he hath already given greater and stronger to the pope and French king to the contrary: and though his interest, and the hopes that some will be so mad to believe him, put him upon renewing these promises to England; yet his confessor can soon resolve him, which promise is to be kept, whether that pious Catholic promise to the holy father, and the Hector of that cause, or that extorted one to hereticks. Besides, we should remember the Italian proverb, 'God forgive him, who deceives me once; but God forgive me, if one man deceives me twice.' No prince in the world ever promised with more solemnity than the late king, to protect the Protestant religion, or the church of England; yet nothing is more clear, than that he designed to gull us only, not to oblige himself by this protestation: and the first thing he did was to break it as soon as he durst; and can we be so distracted to believe him again? He declared in Ireland, that the church of England stunk in his nose, and that he abhorred it. He cannot truly love either any person of that persuasion, or any other Protestant; he may flatter some of them to get into the saddle, but when they have mounted him, he will ride over their heads; his own friends of the Protestant religion are very few, and his revenge on the far greater number, who have opposed his designs, will out-weigh the kindness of a few inconsiderable hereticks, who abetted his interest; and who will be told, that it was not sense of duty, but despair of obliging his enemies, that forced them into his quarrel. They had sufficient experience after Monmouth's rebellion (suppressed only by the church-of-England men) how little any acts of those, he counts hereticks, can oblige him; his carriage in Ireland to the loyal Protestants writ this in capital letters, and it must be supposed, they have drunk deep of Lethe, who can forget all this. But, I pray, What is it the church of England wants, or any other Protestant? This king is as serious and sincere a Protestant, and as true a lover of that interest, as king James is a professed enemy to it; and why may not he be more likely to preserve the religion he professes, than the other to maintain that religion which he vilely deserted, and mortally hates? The churchmen say, king William is too kind to dissenters: but, hath he given them any other or more liberty than king James did? That king begun with toleration, and it was not for a new prince in a troublesome state of things to alter any thing of that nature. Besides, at the same time, the dissenters do think the pre-

sent king too kind to the established church; not considering, that it is the national religion which he found, and keeps in possession of all its rights, as his duty and oath oblige him; yet, so as the dissenters have ease, and every thing but empire, which from a prudent king of England they can never expect; being not only a less part of the nation, but so divided amongst themselves, that nothing can please all parties of them: and, therefore, freedom to worship, in their several ways, is all the favour they can be capable of in the best of times, and so they are most unreasonable to hope for more now. Besides, let it be considered, that our king is not only the head and protector of the Protestants of England, but of all the reformed churches in Europe; and the French king (the main wheel in this designed restoration) is so mortal an enemy to the whole reformation, that he desperately weakened himself, and banished 30,000 families of useful subjects, only to root the whole profession out of his own dominions. And now can any rationally pretend, this present king will destroy the English church, or the French persecutor; and his client, the late king of England, uphold it? My dear brethren and countrymen, do not so infamously abuse yourselves to believe so incredible a fiction, so manifest a cheat. Alas! all these good words are only to lull you asleep, till you, at the peril of your necks, get him power enough to extirpate you and your religion also. I doubt not, but, for a while, he would maintain the established church, and renew his indulgence, because he can get footing no other way; but it is easy to foresee how short-lived all these sham-favours will be. They spring from fear, and desire of opportunity to be revenged; and, so soon as ever the fear ceases, and that opportunity comes, he will most certainly kick down the ladder by which he ascended, and pull off the mask; appearing what he is in his nature and principles, and not what his necessities have made him seem to be; so that, if this disguise be credited, the persons imposed on will, and must pay, for their credulity, with the woeful price of helping to destroy the most pure and flourishing church in the world; in assisting to re-instate him, and fighting for him, they fight against their own religion, which the primitive Christians, for all their heroic loyalty, would not do; and which no man ought to do, either for interest or revenge. For my part, I think true religion so far above all worldly concerns, and the preservation of it, so principal an advantage of government, that the prince, who will certainly suppress that, must be more intolerable than he that would take away my liberty, estate, or my life; and it must be a damnable sin in me to assist him in it, or put him into a capacity to do it. No oath or allegiance can bind me to this: it may oblige me to suffer, but not to act for such a design. Wherefore, for shame, let his Irish and English popish subjects alone carry on this impious design, who can only hope for advantage by his restoration, and who are only bound in conscience to help him: neuter we must stand at least, and that will suffice to shew how contemptible a party that is, which must be set up on the nation's ruin; and how impossible it is for him to cut down the Protestant religion in England, without borrowing a handle from the tree he would fell. Take warning by what is past, and what must be the inevitable consequence of your deserting this king, or assisting the late prince; even the ruin of this most famous church of England, and the endangering the whole estate of Protestantism through all Europe. In vain will you complain of this consequence, when it is too late to remedy it; your guilt, shame, and sorrow will then only remain, for having had a hand in so deplorable a mischief. For my part, I have delivered my own soul, and given you fair warning. God of his infinite mercy open your eyes in time, and grant you a right judgment in this and in all things!

Some Observations on the Trial of Spencer Cowper, J. Marson, E. Stevens, and W. Rogers, that were tried at Hertford, about the Murder of Sarah Stout; together with other Things relating thereunto.

[Quarto; containing twenty pages.]

To lead, and to give some Light into this Matter, it may be necessary to give some Account here; how, and upon what Occasion the Acquaintance of Spencer Cowper and Sarah Stout began.

THE ground and rise thereof took its original from her father, who at all elections promoted the interest of the Cowpers, to the utmost of his power; through which, a great intimacy was created between the families of the Cowpers and the Stouts; which did not expire with the death of her father: for her brother, by the father's side, continued his respects to that family, and spared no pains to espouse and carry on their interest, in order to their being chosen parliament-men for that town. These obligations engaged the two families to a frequent conversation; insomuch, that when they were in the country, some or other of them were often together, as well the young women as the men; as appeared by what his brother's wife said at his trial, that she was but six days at Hertford the summer before, and that she saw her (to wit, S. Stout) every day. And great pretensions of love, and proffers of kindness, were expressed by the Cowpers in general, to the Stouts; and by this man, Spencer Cowper, and his wife in particular, to the deceased young woman: and thus it continued, in appearance, till the day that she was forced off the stage of this world.

When her father died, he left her sole executrix, and gave her most part of his personal estate. And a considerable part of it being in the brewers' hands, and in malt, which she sold afterwards; she was often advising with one or other, how to dispose of this money, so as to have good securities for it. About a year before her death, she went to London about those occasions, and lodged at a goldsmith's house. As soon as the Cowpers' wives heard where she was, they made her a visit, both Spencer's and his brother's, and invited her to their houses. Whilst she lodged at the goldsmith's house, he laid out several hundred pounds for her in malt-tickets, and other securities of the government; but she being not willing to lay out much that way, but rather on some mortgage of land, she went to a lawyer with whom she was acquainted, to see if he could dispose of some for her. He told her, he could help her to a mortgage for five-hundred pounds, but they would give but five in the hundred. So she takes it into consideration: but afterwards, she being at captain Spencer Cowper's, and he falling into some discourse with her about her affairs, and understanding she had a considerable sum of money to put out, he proffered to do her all the kindness that lay in his power; and would help her to a mortgage of land three times the value of the money lent on it, at six in the hundred; and would see that the title should be good, and be as careful in it, as if it were his own concerns; and if she wanted counsel at any time, either to put out, or to recover money that was owing her, (or any thing else, for which she had occasion,) he would give it her *gratis*, which from another must cost her some guineas. So she accepted of his proffer, and told him, she would depend on his advice; not questioning to have good security for her money. When she came home to her lodging, she told the goldsmith where she lodged, that

now capt. Cowper had promised to help her to securities, and he was to dispose of her money.

Soon after this, she went home to Hertford, and told her mother the same, and asked her, "If she had any money to put out; if she had, it might go amongst her's, and her mother should have no trouble with it, for she would pay her the interest as it became due." Her mother then asked her, "If she could so far confide in him, as to receive her money, to pay it, and to make the writings, and to look after the title, and all without the inspection of any body else?" She said, "Yes; she believed that he was a very honest man, and she thought she might trust him with more than she had to put out; and he being a man of repute, it was below him to wrong her." Then her mother, thinking the same, gave her one-hundred and fifty pounds to put amongst her's: which she hath never heard of since, but it is gone with the rest.

About a month after, Spencer Cowper came to Hertford, and took lodgings for his wife and family, and then brought his wife to give this young woman a visit, and to be further acquainted with her. After this, she seemed to love and like her company so well, that she said, she did not desire the company but of few, or none else in the town; and therefore would make no returns of their visits, till the week before she went home to London; and would come frequently two or three times in a week to visit her. And when her husband was in the country, he sometimes would come with her, and thereby had the opportunity of discoursing her about her affairs.

When she had gathered in near what she intended he should put out, from the brewers and others that were indebted to her, she writ a letter to London to him; and, one of her acquaintance coming to visit her, before she had sealed it up, she bid her read it, which she did: in which letter she writ, that she had a thousand pounds to put out, and that several hundreds of it were then ready; and the rest, to make up that sum, would be so in a little time, or so soon as he could dispose of it advantageously for her.

After this, she several times, in discourse with this woman, hath told her, that he was buying an estate for her, in ground-rents, which he had recommended to her for an extraordinary pennyworth; and that it would be sold for a thousand pounds, but he believed it was worth more; and if he could not oblige her with it, he looked upon it to be so great a bargain, that he would buy it for his own use: and she also told her mother the same.

The next quarter-sessions after this, which was the last before that assize, at which time her days were ended, Spencer Cowper came to Hertford, and in the evening, he came and inquired for Mrs. Sarah Stout at her mother's house; (where he was not at all expected to lodge, he not having lodged there for several years, *viz.* not since her father died;) and after about an hour's discourse with her, he said, he was destitute of a lodging, for his landlord Bates, where he used to lodge, was discomposed, and made a great noise, and he did not like to lodge there. So she thought she could do no less, in civility, than ask him to lodge at her mother's house; he having then brought her that mortgage-deed, for two-hundred pounds, about which he made such a long discourse at his trial; which money had been carried publicly to him some time before: at the receiving of which security, she seemed to be very much pleased. But she having told him, that she intended to reserve some part of her portion for her own particular use, in case she lived to marry; which she would put out for that end, she having enough besides; he advised her then to keep it private from all persons, else her end would be frustrated; which, in all likelihood, he thought she had, and that none had known her mind in that particular but himself, he having advised her to privacy.

Indeed Spencer Cowper did suggest, in a case lately presented to some of the members of parliament, That his prosecutors had not the impudence to suggest at the trial, though put in mind of it, that what they accused him of, was done for the sake of gain. It is true, he did demand a proof that he had any of the deceased young woman's money in his hands; and it cannot be supposed that he would conceal it, if he knew there was any one alive that could make positive proof of it; for then it would have been in vain to have

denied it. But her mother did then attempt to speak what she knew in that particular, and other things too; but was stopped several times, and not suffered to speak, unless she would swear; which he knew well enough her persuasion would not admit her to do.

The next thing observable is, the same woman before-mentioned, which saw and read her letter sent to him, which gave an account what money she intended he should dispose of for her, and that she had several hundred pounds of it then ready, she being with her one day in her chamber, about two weeks before her death, she bid her look in a drawer there, and bring her the money therein: upon receiving it, "Am not I very rich?" said she. The other demanding the reason of that question, "Because (said she) it is all the money that I am now mistress of:" which was only two guineas, and a little silver, notwithstanding she had so many hundred pounds in her possession not long before. And about the same time, she being in discourse with another person, about her concerns, she said, "That Spencer Cowper had a great deal of her monies in his hands, and that he was to have more." And her relations do miss about a thousand pounds; and they know of none she disposed of any otherwise, after she writ that letter to him. And when her mother asked him, before the lord chief-justice Holt, "What money he had in his hands of her daughter's?" He said, "None:" and also said, he thought his reputation would have secured, or carried him above suspicions or examinations of that kind.

But it may easily be gathered who carried her money away; for a great deal of it was in gold; and that very morning he went away, (when he had lodged at her mother's house,) he very much importuned her to come to his house at London; and told her, how glad his wife would be of her company, and used many arguments to persuade her to it; and, at length, said, "He would not go out of the house, till she had promised him to come." But she refused to promise him, and said, "She did not know when she should come to London." This discourse was in the hearing of one that will evidence it upon oath.

The week before that assize, she received a letter from his wife, which was writ after the usual manner, (as she had several not long before,) very earnestly inviting her to her house at London, with high expressions of love; and so much the more she desired her company then, because she believed they should not come to lodge at Hertford that summer: and in that letter tells her, "That they must expect her husband at their house at the assize;" the which she told her mother, and others who read the letter. This letter Spencer Cowper confessed to the coroner's inquest, that he ordered his wife to write it for his lodging at her mother's house; but, when he was examined by the lord chief-justice Holt, he then denied it, and said, "His wife writ no letter." But her maid, Sarah Walker, being present, told him, his wife did send a letter, and that she herself took it in of the post-man, and gave it to her mistress; so then he could not deny that there was a letter sent.

And accordingly he came, and sent his horse thither; and being asked, before he rid from the door, Whether he would come to dinner? He said, He was not certain; but would send word. But, her mother and she staying long, and he not sending, they sent her maid, to see whether he would come or no; who then quickly came, and dined there: and when he went from thence, the young woman, S. S. going to the door with him, asked, If he thought to lodge at their house? He said, "Yes, he would come and lodge at their house." This she said as soon as he was gone; and then bid the maid go get his bed ready. At night, when he came (her mother being in the room with her) he fell into some discourse remote from any thing of her daughter's business; and, after some time, called for pen and ink, to write a letter to his wife; although it was not post-night, nor did any carrier go next day. When he went to write, her mother and she went out of the room, and staid a considerable time; but, it growing late, the young woman went in, to see if he had done, and if he would have any supper; and what he desired he had. Her mother went not in again, because she knew her daughter expected he would give her some account of her money, and have brought her security for it; as he did the sessions before, for her two-hundred pounds: and she, finding that he would not speak of

it before her, would not interrupt them, but gave her daughter time and opportunity to speak to him. What discourse they had, is not known; but, sure enough, they differed about it, for he had writ a receipt in full, for use-money he paid her then, which lay on the table, and was never signed by her, although he pressed her to it several times, as he confessed to the coroner's inquest, and asked her, "If she was lazy?" Yet, still she refused to sign it, which plainly shewed her dissatisfaction, and that there was more due to her, else she would never have refused it.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, she called her maid to make a fire in his chamber, and to warm his bed, in his hearing; and while the maid was doing it, he went out: her mother, hearing the door clap, went into the parlour, to ask her what the reason was of his going out, when his bed was warming; and to her surprise, found she was gone too, and never saw her alive afterwards. She admired what the meaning of this should be, knowing that she never used to go out so late; neither could she imagine whither they should be gone: but after some consideration, did think he might tell her, that the securities she expected, were to be signed and sealed somewhere in the town, and that he had persuaded her to go out upon that account, and so was in expectation of them quickly. The maid, that was warming his bed, staid, expecting him to come up; thinking, when she heard the noise of the door, he was gone to carry his letter somewhere; which, it is thought by some, was his pretence in going out, thereby to draw her to the door, to let him out: for there is no ground to believe, she went any farther with him willingly; so they sat up all night (both her mother and the maids), expecting them every minute; not knowing where to look for her at that time of night. But if they had, would never have gone to the river, where she was found floating the next morning; for there was no manner of circumstance, either in her words, or actions, that did give them any cause to think, she would drown herself, or that she ever had any thing of that nature in her thoughts.

No sooner was she taken out of the river, but it was spread, by his party, both in city and country, that she was with child, and had drowned herself to avoid the shame. That she was not drowned, is clear unto all, who are impartial, and have had a true account of the case, either at the trial, or otherwise; as it plainly appeared by those settlements of blood, and bruises, about her head and neck, and on one of her arms; and her having no water in her, but was empty and lank, when she was first taken out of the water.

The evidence was very full and plain against them, and the judgments of the doctors stand firm and good; and is not, nor ever can be, disproved, by all the evasions and distinctions, of voluntary drowning, and drowning by accident; nor by all those little tricks made use of by those on the other side, by drowning, and half drowning of dogs, and other such like experiments, whereby they have only exposed themselves. But when she was taken up again, after she had been buried six weeks, in order to be cleared of that infamous report, which then was given out, for the only reason, why she drowned herself, to wit, her being with child; then nothing could be more plain, than that she was not drowned, but came by her death some other way; as the doctors and surgeons did give their opinion, upon oath, before the lord-chief justice Holt, and at the trial also. And it is very probable, that these three gentlemen, J. M., E. S., W. R., knew very well how she came by her death, (whose lives Spencer Cowper seemed to be more tender of, than of his own,) by their discourse that night her death was, about an hour after she was missing: for, as soon as they came into their lodgings at John Gurrey's, they could not forbear, but began to ask him several questions about her. Although we do not understand, that either of them had any former knowledge of her; yet Marson pretended, that he had made love to her, and that she had cast him off; but, said he, "A friend of mine is even with her by this time." Then one of the others asked him, "If the business was done?" "If it is not, (said he,) it will be done this night." "Yes, (says the other,) her business is done: Sarah Stout's courting-days are over." What could have been spoke plainer, except they had said, 'She is dead?' This was positively proved against them,

Also, the said Marson, when he came into his lodging, was in a great sweat, and called for a fire to dry his feet and shoes, they being wet both without and within; and pretended that he was just then come from London, (it being then between eleven and twelve o'clock at night,) whereas it was proved, that he came into town two or three hours before. And, when Marson asked the other two, What they had spent that day? one of them asked, "What was that to him? he was to have forty or fifty pounds for his share." The said Marson, also pulling money out of his pocket, swore that he would spend it all next day, for joy the business was done. And whereas they say in their case to the parliament, They are men in good business at London: if they are so, it had been well if they had staid in it; for, sure enough, they had no good business at Hertford, neither did they pretend to any at all, but said, "They came only to see fashions," to the woman where they lodged.

And it is very observable, how highly displeased Spencer Cowper was, at her being taken up, and how he earnestly besought the judge, that what the doctors did, and said then, might not be allowed, or taken for evidence; alledging, that she ought not to have been taken out of her grave without legal authority, for private inspection of parties, altogether amongst themselves: whereas, there ought to have been some on both sides, he says, lest they should have broke her skull, and so the gentlemen should have been trappanned; and yet Dr. Camlin (sir William Cowper's doctor) was with them all the while, as Dr. Coatsworth told the judge; and was sent for, on purpose to take off any such objection; and did set his hand to the certificate, of her clearness of that scandal, with the rest of the doctors: which is as followeth;

' WE whose names are here under-written, having examined the body of Mrs. Sarah Stout deceased, do find the uterus perfectly free and empty, and of the natural figure and magnitude, as usually in virgins: we found no water in the stomach, intestines, abdomen, lungs, or cavity of the thorax.

' John Dimsdal, sen.
' William Coatsworth,
' Samuel Camlin,

' Robert Dimsdal, M. D.
' John Dimsdal, jun.
' Daniel Phillips, M. D.

' Hertford, April 28, 1699.'

Copia vera.

When all mouths were stopped, and put to silence in that matter, and no reason could be given why she should drown herself: then S. Cowper was at a loss, and knew not what to pretend, why she should do so; till (to use his own words) some heads were laid together, to contrive that she was in love with him.

In order to this design, those letters were invented, which were produced in court: for not a word was ever heard of them, before she was taken up again, and a witness was provided, to prove the receiving of them both; but his witness had forgot the year, when the first was writ, and said, "It was March was twelve-month;" till his memory was refreshed by the second, which was dated but four days after; and it seems they had forgotten to date that letter, so as to give it any credit at all. This was that which he calls "that importunate letter, by which he was invited down to lodge at that gentlewoman's house;" which was dated the ninth of March.

Now, if her maid Sarah Walker's evidence is observed, she begins with—"My lord; On Friday before the last assize, my mistress Stout received a letter from Mr. Cowper's wife, to let her know we must expect Mr. Cowper at the assize: and accordingly we expected him, and provided for his coming." This was the same day, on which he says he received her letter of invitation, that she received his wife's, by which he invited himself down; so that, if she had really writ that letter, his wife's must needs be writ and sent the day before her's could come to his hands.

And, how those letters should be known to come from Sarah Stout, is very unaccountable: for, if there had been such a person as Mrs. Jane Ellan, at that coffee-house he mentions

(which, upon enquiry, we cannot hear there was), what had he to do to open her letters? And how could he tell that they were for him, and came from Sarah Stout? seeing they were not directed to him, nor either S. Cowper, or S. Stout, within them, but only 'Sir.' To prove these letters to be her hand, he brings his friend Marshall to shew letters, which he pretended she writ to him, as false as the other; in one of which there was thanks for his songs. It is very unlikely, that she should desire or accept of songs; one who was never heard to sing a song in her life; and from Marshall too, whose courtship she never received. For he himself said, at the trial, that upon very little trial, she gave him a very fair denial: and Spencer Cowper also said, to the coroner's inquest, that Marshall told him, she always gave him the repulse.

This confirms the falseness of that story which he brings to introduce his letters: and although she is gone, and not in a capacity to defend herself, yet the woman, who (he says) walked with them, is alive; and doth affirm, it is not true; which is as followeth: He says, It happened one evening that Mrs. Stout and another, and Mr. Marshall and he, were walking together; and Mr. Marshall and the other being a little before, she took that opportunity to speak to him, in such terms, as he confessed it surprized him; and said, "She did not think he had been so dull." He desiring to know wherein his dulness did consist; she asked, "If he thought she would marry Marshall?" He said, "Yes; else she had done ill in what she had done." She said, "No; she thought it might serve to divert the censures of the world, and favour her acquaintance with him."

This discourse, if it had been true, would have argued, that she kept Marshall company, and made him believe she would have him; whereas, it seems, she had never seen him in all her life but once, and that was but two or three days before; and they were not so much acquainted then; as to speak one to the other: and therefore there could be no ground for such discourse, if she had walked alone with S. Cooper; which she did not: for the two young women, having been taking a walk in the field, as they were coming home, they met Spencer Cowper and Marshall; and they both turned, and walked back before, and the two young women together behind them; and she had no private discourse at all with S. Cowper; neither had they four any walk together afterwards in the field, or elsewhere.

These letters, which were ushered in by this discourse, he would have it thought, that the shewing of them was so tender a point with him, and that he did it with so much reluctance and compulsion, that nothing else should have forced him to have brought them on the stage, if he had not those three innocent gentlemen to defend: (surely they had greatly obliged him:) and he solemnly protested, that if he had stood there singly upon his own life, on that evidence, he would not have done it: when at the same time, and with the same breath, he himself proved it false. For he says, upon the receiving of them, he showed one to his brother, and both to Marshall, and they both saw it and read it, (that was the last,) the Friday before that assize, when neither his own life, nor his three gentlemen's, was in any danger; for she was then alive. And if there had been such letters of her's, he could not have shewed them to one that, in all probability, would have exposed or defamed her more than Marshall, a repulsed lover, a kinsman of his wife's, unto whom he endeavoured to betray her; who, upon some slight or disgust she gave him, told Spencer Cowper, "that if he was his friend, he would shoot her." This she told both her own, and her mother's maid. And also, (as it is observed in the Hertford-letter,) the printers, who writ the trial in short-hand, not having taken those letters, were favoured with the copies of them, to be exposed to the world.

Then there was an account given to the judge, in the court, of his going to Deptford, and was said to be told his father at dinner, in her hearing, about a year and a half before; which put her into a swoon: and the use that was made of this, was to render her as bad as possible, and make the world believe how deeply she was in love with him. But it is matter of admiration to most that hear it, that he did not tell his wife, as well as his father and brother, how fond she was of him. If it had been true, surely that would have diverted her from frequenting her company, so often as she did all that summer following, as

is before mentioned; which all the neighbourhood can witness. If she was such a person, as they now render her, why did they seek and desire her company, as they did? For she hath several times said, "She never sought theirs." And also, it is as much to be wondered at, that so chaste a man as he would appear to be; and one in so flourishing a condition, as he says he is; should order his wife to write, or have any thoughts of lodging at a house, for saving the charge of a guinea, (for so he said at his trial, "That his good husbandry, to save a guinea, had brought all that mischief upon him") where so lewd a woman, as he would have her thought to be, did dwell; if he had been really invited, which, sure enough, he was not, but invited himself: and so she told her mother before he came.

But it is plainly to be understood, that the respect she had for him, was not as for one, that she believed to be viciously inclined; but as for an honest man, as appeared by the trust she reposed in him: and also his being related to that family, whom she, as well as her relations, did so highly value and esteem, that she could have put not only her money, but her life, into any one of their hands.

Note, She little thought what a sort of man she had to deal with: she was so deceived by his seeming sobriety, when in her company; and the great pretended kindness to her, by him and his wife, both for her own sake and her father's; she could not imagine, that a branch of that family could have touched a hair of her head, to have hurt her, or have wronged her of one farthing. She was so honest and plain-hearted, and so innocent herself; and so far from deserving any ill usage from him, or any of that family, (or indeed from any else,) that she, as well as her relations, could have served them to the utmost of their power. But what returns of kindness have been made, and how she hath been treated and defamed, now she is gone, and not in a capacity to defend or answer for herself, let the world judge.

But it is evident and plain, that most, or chiefly what he made use of at his trial, to defend himself and his three gentlemen, when he was not upon his oath, is proved false, even by what himself did swear, when he was examined by the coroner's inquest. For when they asked him, If he knew any thing that troubled or put her into a discontent, or discerned she was melancholy, or knew any one she was in love with, or any cause, why she should drown herself? Unto all which, he answered, "No," upon his oath: he discerned nothing of melancholy, neither knew he any that she was in love with: he knew one Marshall that was in love with her, but she had none for him, but always gave him the repulse; and she was a very modest woman, and he knew no cause, why she should drown herself. And yet, at his trial, both he and his witnesses pretended to know her to be so melancholy, as was near to a distraction: and this depth of melancholy, he would insinuate, was for love of him; and therefore she drowned herself.

Now, what can be more contradictory, or more fully prove that which he spoke at his trial to be false, than this, which he himself did swear? And this was evidenced by two of the coroner's inquest; and several more would have done the same, if they had been suffered to speak; but, as the trial relates, they were stopped.

Many observations might be made, and instances given, to clear her reputation, and to prove the falseness of what was cast upon her. As in particular, her so earnestly inviting an acquaintance of her's, who had kept her company that afternoon, and used to lie with her sometimes, to stay and lie with her that night her death was; and she telling her, she could not well stay then, she engaged her to come and dine with her the next day, and told her what was for dinner; desiring her company, all day after, she not intending to go from home: which she promised to do.

And it is very observable, from the beginning of the trial to the end, what shifts and devices he is forced to make use of, to drill out time, that there might not be enough for witnesses on the other side to be heard; and also, his endeavouring to baffle the evidence against him: as, first, above twenty frivolous questions he asked her maid about poison, which she bought to poison a mischievous dog which haunted the house: and, if he could,

by any means confuse, or put her out, if she had not had truth on her side, and gladly would have picked something out of it, if he could have told what.

Also, the many impertinent witnesses he calls to prove his intention to lodge at Barford's, and sending for his bag thither, and lodging his things there, which it seems was not at all expected by them; for John Barford's wife said, upon her oath, "She believed Spencer Cowper did not intend to lodge at her house; but was surprized, when he sent to her, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, to get his bed ready, and came before it was quite done." And the next night after, when he was sent for by the coroner's inquest to give an account where he left her; he said, "In the parlour where they sat." And being asked, "If he did not hear her bid her maid warm his bed?" He said, "He thought she had meant her own bed." But it is very unlikely, that she would go to bed, and leave him sitting there; or that, when he went out, she should sit still, and not light him to the door. Now, for a man of his education and figure in the world to go away at that time of night, when he knew there was a fire in his chamber, and his bed was warming, and let himself out in the dark, (as he must, if he left her in the parlour,) and say nothing to any body, it certainly looks very darkly. And then, his sending for his horse three times to her mother's house, the night after her death, before he was examined by the coroner's inquest, and would have gone out of town then, if he could have had him, as he confessed to the lord chief justice Holt; but, at his trial, he said, "He sent for him, for fear the lord of the manor should seize him."

Also, when it was taken notice of at his trial, that he never came after that night her death was, to give her mother any account, where he left her; or, in any wise, to give her satisfaction: To this he answered, "It might be thought strange for him to come and visit a woman, that he never had the least knowledge of;" and yet he had several times lodged at her house, when her husband was living. And that night also, that he was examined by the coroner's inquest, when they asked him, If he discerned her daughter to be melancholy? He said, "No; only he thought she was not so free in discourse at dinner, as sometimes he had seen her; for most of the discourse then was between her mother and him." Surely, he will be hard put to it to reconcile himself in this discourse.

Thus, in short, upon the whole matter, it may be concluded, that the defence he made for himself and his three gentlemen, and the most material things he made use of, whereby they got off, and were acquitted, were proved false out of his own mouth, before he went out of the court, as it may be seen in the trial; where the counsellor for the king says thus: "My lord, (said he) we insist upon it, that this is a different evidence from what Mr. Cowper gave to the coroner's inquest: for then he said, He knew none she was in love with; nor any cause why she should do such an extravagant action, as to drown herself: but now he would make the whole scheme of things to turn upon a love-fit." And then he moved the court to give leave to call several persons of quality and good repute, who were there present, to speak to her reputation, in contradiction to the letters produced, declaring, "That he believed the whole town would do the same." Then the judge said, "They would grant, and did not question that." So there was no proof, as to that particular.

The Nine Worthies of London¹: Explaining the honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable Attempts of magnanimous Minds; pleasaunt for Gentlemen, not unseemely for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. Compiled by Ric. Johnson².

Imprinted at London, by Tho. Orwin, for Humf. Lownes, and are to be sold at his Shop at the West Doore of Paules. 1592.

[In Black Letter. Quarto; containing forty-eight pages.]

To the Right Honourable Sir William Webbe, Knight, Lord-Maior of the famous Citie of London, Richard Johnson wisheth Health, with Increase of Honour.

BEING not altogether (right honorable) unacquainted with the fame of this wel governed citie, the heade of our English flourishing common wealth, I thought nothing, considering it somewhat touched my dutie, could be more acceptable to your honour, then such principles as first grounded the same; as well by domesticall policie of peace, as forraine excellence in resolution of warre. This caused me to collect from our London gardens, such especiall flowers, that savoured as well in the wrath of winter, as in the pride of sommer, keeping one equivolence at all kinde of seasons; flowers of chivalrie, right honorable; I meane, some that have sucked honie from the bee, sweetnesse from warre, and were possessed in that high place of prudence, wherof your lordship now partaketh. Other some that have beene more inferiour members, and yet have given especial ayde to the head, beene buckler to the best, and therby reached to the aspiring toppe of armes. If your lordship shall but like of it, proceeding from the barren braine of a poore apprentice, that dare not promise moulhills, much lesse mountaines, I shall thinke this by-exercise, which I undertooke to expell idlenesse, a worke of worth; whatsoever the gentle could kind, that are urgently inkindled, shall with ostentation inveigh. These, right honorable, the 'Nine Worthies of LONDON,' now unable to defend themselves, seeke their protection

¹ These civic worthies have been supposed to be alluded to in the following passage taken from 'the Paradise of daintie Devises,' p. 112.

The Worthies nine that were of might;
By travaile wonne immortal praise;
If they had lived like carpet-knights,
Consuming idly all their dayes,
Their praises had been with them dead,
Where now abroad their fame is spread.

Fry's Appx. to the Legend of Mary Q. of Scots, p. xii.]

² Vide Oldys' Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 270. [Richard Johnson was author of the well-known history of 'The Seven Champions of Christendom.'

Some of the ballads, likewise in a publication by this writer, intituled 'A Crown Garland of Golden Roses, Lond. 1612, 8vo.' are most probably of his own composition. He also published 'Anglorum Lachrymæ: in a sad passion complayning of the death of our late soveraigne lady queene Elizabeth,' &c. 1603. 4to. and has a poem intituled 'London's Description,' in 'The pleasant Walks of Moore-fields,' &c. 1607. Ritson's Bibl. Poet. The present tract was written partly upon the plan of the Mirror for Magistrates.]

under your gracious favour; and the authour pricked on by fame to be patronaged for his willing labour; whereof not misdoubting, I humbly commit your honour to the defence of Heaven, and the guider of all just equalitie.

Your lordship's, in all humble dutie to be commaunded,

RICHARD JOHNSON.

To the Gentlemen Readers, as well Prentices as others.

AL is not gold, gentlemen, that glisters; nor all drosse that makes but a darke shew; so should copper some time be current, and pearles of no price. Æsope, for all his crutch-back, had a quick wit: Cleanthes, though in the night he caried the water-tankard, yet in the day would dispute with philosophers. A meane man may look upon a king, and a wren build her nest by an egle. In the games of Olympus any man might trie his strength; and, when Apelles lived, others were not forbid to paint. So, gentlemen, though now a dayes many great poets flourish, from whose eloquent workes you take both pleasure and profite; yet, I trust, inferiours, whose pens dare not compare with Apollo's, shall not be contemned, or put to silence. Every weede hath his vertue; and studious travaile, though without skill, may manifest good will. Vouchsafe then intertainment to this new come guest; his simple truth shewes he is without deceyte, and his plaine speech proves he flatters not. He can not boast of art, nor claime the priviledge of scholasticall cunning; what he sayth is not curious, being without any great præmeditation or practise, more then his necessarie affaires would permit. If his unpollished discourses may merit the least motion of your good liking, let the envious fret, and the captious malice melt themselves. Neither the objection of mechanicall, by such as are themselves diabolicall, whose vicious basenesse in a selfe conceyte, presuming above the best, is in deede but the dregges and refuse of the worst, nor the reproch of proverbiall scoffes (as, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*) shall discourage me from proceeding to invent how further to content you. And so, trusting to my fortune, and ending in my hap; neither despairing of your censures, nor fearing what the malevolent can inflict.

Yours to commaund, as he may,

RICHARD JOHNSON.

A Catalogue, or briefe Table, declaring the Names of these worthie Men, and when they lived.

- FIRST, Sir William Walworth, fishmonger, in the time of Richard the Second.
- Second, Sir Henrie Pritchard, vintener, in the time of Edward the Third.
- Third, Sir William Sevenoake, grocer, in the time of Henrie the Fift.
- Fourth, Sir Thomas White, Marchant-tailer, in the time of Queene Marie.
- Fift, Sir John Bonham, mercer, in the time of Edward the First.
- Sixt, Sir Christopher Croker, vintener, in the time of Edward the Third.
- Seventh, Sir John Haukwood, marchant-tailer, in the time of Edward the Third.
- Eight, Sir Hugh Caverley, silke-weaver, in the time of Edward the Third.
- Ninth, Sir Henrie Maleveret, grocer, in the time of Henrie the Fourth.

WHAT time Fame began to feather her selfe to flie, and was winged with the lasting memorie of martiall men, the oratours ceast perswasive orations, the poets neglected the pleasures of their poems, and Pallas her self would have nothing painted upon her shield but mottoes of Mars, and short emblemes in honour of noble atchivements. Then the ashes of auncient victors, without scruple or disdaine, had sepulture in rich and golden monuments; and they, that reacht the height of honour by worthie deedes, had their former basenesse shadowed by deserts. Fame, then fearing that her honour would faint, and

her armour rust, (for, though she favoured all professions, yet she chiefly dignified armes,) on a sodaine, mounted into the ayre, and never stayed the swiftnesse of her flying course, untill she pitched her feete upon Parnassus' forked toppe, whose springing lawrels gave shade and shelter to her wearinesse. This was the fruitfull place where she plotted her flowrie garlands, to crown the temples of vertuous followers, and wreathes of renowne to illustrate undaunted courages. Here, likewise, remained her chiefe secretaries, the ix. muses, as in a seate of most pleasure best befitting their divine perfections; whose necessarie aydes she alwayes craved, when occasion ministred any thing worthy record: and though the wholesome freshnesse of the ayre, the greenenesse of the valleys, the comfortable odours of sundry sorts of flowers, the pride and bewtie of the trees, the harmonious layes of nightingales and other birds, the variable delights of artificiall bowers, and the muscull murmures of christall running fountains, might wel have inchaunted the roughest cynick or crabbest malecontent, to cheare up his spirits, and banish melancholy passions; yet this goddess, pretending businesse of importance, had such a care to effect it, as that she would not be overcome with pleasure, nor yeeld to ease (though, in reason, her laborious travell did require rest); but painfully passing up and downe, was not moved with the one, nor maistred with the other. At last, as her busie eye pried every way, she espied a path of violets, whose tops were pressed downe with the steps of such as had lately passed that way: by this, she conjectured the nymphes were not farre off; and, therefore, following the tract their feete had made upon the flowers, she was quickly brought to the head of Hellicon; where, in an arbour of eglantine and damaske rose-trees, (one twisted so cunningly within another, as hard it was to judge, whether nature or arte had bestowed most to the bewtifying of that bower,) she found the muses every one seriously applying their severall exercises: whom, when they saw, (having saluted her with a dutifull reverence), stode attentive (being well assured her comming was not without cause) what charge she would give, or what shee would commaund to be registred. To whome Fame, to the intent they might not long bee in suspence about her sodaine approch, as well, for that her businesse was impatient of delay, as to resolve their earnest expectation, spake in this manner:

" You need not muse, gracious nurces of learning, at my presence in this place, because I use not oftentimes to visit you, nor trouble your minds with ambiguous imaginations concerning my purpose, since I seldome crave your furtherance but for memorable accidents; notwithstanding, for the varietie of matter requires not alwayes one forme, and still, with process of time, as men's maners change, our method alters, you shall perceyve I am not now to begin, but to revive what ignorance in darknes seemes to shadow, and hatefull oblivion hath almost rubbed out of the booke of honour. It is not of kinges and mightie potentates, but such whose vertues made them great, and whose renowne sprung not of the noblenes of their birth, but of the notable towardnesse of their well qualified mindes; advaunced not with loftie titles, but praysed for the triall of their heroycal truthes. Of these must you indite, who, though their states were but meane, yet dooth their worthy prowesse match superiours, and therefore have I named them 'Worthies.' Nine were they in number, their countrie England, the citie they lived in famous London; famous in deede for such men, and yet forgetful to celebrate the remembrance of their names, and negligent (I may say) in performing the like attempts; having, for imitation, such goodly presidents as these to supplie them that want, with wisdom and with better instruction. I am determined to discourse againe what I have often bruted, thereby to stirre up slug-gards, and to give secure worldlings to understande, (who extend no further then for wealth, and whose hearts suppose a heape of coine the greatest happines) that the censure of honour ought to increase; when as, by substance, they arise to authoritie, and none so abject but may be made a subject of glorie and magnanimitie, if so thereunto they will bend their endeavours. For performance hereof, I know my theame so large and copious, as all your wits might, in generall, be imployed to dilate and expresse the same; yet only Clio shall be sufficient, whome alone I make choise off, the rather, because it chiefly

concernes hir." And, so beckning towards her with her head, made an end of her speach.

She had no sooner sayd, but all the rest, as satisfied in that they desired to know, presently cast downe their lookes, that were before stedfastly fixed upon the brows of Fame, and began to turne to their labours; which, all this while, by reason of her talke, they had intermitted: onely Clio (clasping up her booke of famous hystories, and taking her golden pen in hand,) rose from the seate where she sate, and leaving her sisters with due reverence, was readie to folow Fame where so ever she would conduct her.

At the doore of the enterance into the harbour, there stode a silver chariout drawne by the force of Pegasus; which Fame, of purpose, had provided, because Clio therein might the better keepe wing with her: into the which she was no sooner mounted, but straightway, as swift as the burning dartes of Jupiter, they made their passage through the subtle ayre, untill they soared over the hollow vault, through which the way leadeth down to the rule of under earth; there Clio pulled her rayne, and, with a headlong fall, (according to her guide's direction,) never staid untill the steely hoves of Pegasus did beate against the gates of Tartara; where, being receyved in, they left the crooked thornie way smoking with sulphur, and never ceasing contagious vapours, and kept directly on the other side, which delighted their eyes with so many glorious sights, that, before they knew it, they were arrived under the Elesian shades: where, when the goddes had remained a while, discoursing with her companion the severall habitations, as that of louers in sweete groves of muske, she spide, at last, the place where electrum growes, sweetned continually with burning baulme boughes, with which brave souldiours, and warlike cavilliers, cured their ranck scarres. There did she shake her bright immortall wings, and with the melodious noyse, and with the sweet breath was fanned from those phoenix feathers, she awaked nine comely knights, that, arme in arme, upon a greene banke, strewed with rose buddes, had laid their conquering heads to rest in peace.

"This (quoth she) is the farthest end of our journey; here must we take our stations for a while; and those whom thou seest elevating their bodies from the ground, from whose browes sparkle gleames of immortall glorie, are the nine worthy champions I told you of; whom, as by my power, I have awaked, so will I cause to speake and declare their owne fortunes: onely be thou attentive, and set down with thy pen what thou shalt heare them speake." And so comming to the first, which was a tall aged man, his haire as white as snow, upon his backe a scarlet robe, his temples bound about with baulme, and, in his hand, a bright shining blade; she toucht his lippes with her finger, and straightway his tongue began to utter these words:

Sir WILLIAM WALLWORTH, Fishmonger, sometime Maior of London.

WHAT I shall speake, suppose it is not vaine,
Nor think ambition tunes my sounding voyce,
It bootes not clay, to stand on glorious gaine;
An other place bereaves us of that choyce:
For when the pompe of earthlie pleasure's gon,
Our goasts lie buried underneath a stone.

Nor, when I liv'd, carpt I at Phœbus' light,
My deedes did passe, without comparing pride;
Who shone the least, mee thought, apear'd more bright;
I wisht it secret, what the world discride;
Nor would now shewe, fayre goddess, but for thee:
The charge beseemes an other, and not mee.

To overpasse then, how I was instaul'd
To weare the purple robe of majestrate,
It shall suffice I su'de not, but was calde;
Of Fortune's gifts, let baser minds relate:
In such a time, it was my chaunce to sway,
When riches quail'd, and vertue wonne the day.

In Richard's raygne, the Second of that name,
Of London's weale, liefetenant to his grace,
Wallworth was chose (unworthie of the same)
Within his hand to beare the Citie's mace:
To fishmongers, the honour did redownd,
Whose brotherhood was my preferments grownd.

These were not dayes of peace, but broyling warre,
Dissention spred her venom through the land,
And stir'd the prince and subject to a jarre;
Hated love, rigor, dutie did withstand:
In such a tempest of unbridled force,
As manie lost their lives, without remorse.

For by a taxe the king requirde to have,
The men of Kent and Essex did rebell;
Their first decree concluded none to save,
But havocke all, a heavie tale to tell:
And so, when they were gatherde to a head,
Towards London were these gracelesse rebels ledd.

What spoyle they made in countries as they came,
How they did rob, and tyrranize in pride,
The widowes cries were patterns of their shame,
And sanguin streames of infants blood beside:
For like the sea, when it hath caught a breach,
So rusht these traytors, past compassion's reach.

So desperate was their rage, as they prevailde,
And entered the citie by the sword;
The Towre wals were mightely assayld,
And prisoner there, made headlesse at a word:
Earles manner-houses were by them destroy'd,
The Savoy, and S. Jones by Smithfeeld, spoyl'd.

All men of law that fell into their hands,
They left them breathlesse, weltering in their blood;
Ancient records were turn'd to firebrands,
Anie had favour, sooner then the good:
So stout these cut-throtes were in their degree,
That noblemen must serve them on their knee.

In burning and in slaughter long they toyld,
That made the king and all his traine agast;
Such rancour had their stomackes overboyld,
They hopte to get the soveraignitie at last:
In deede his majestie was young in yeares,
Which brought distresse to him, and to his peeres.

The Nine Worthies of London.

Yet with a loyal guard of bils and bowes,
 Collected of our tallest men of trade,
 I did protect his person from his foes,
 Where there presumption trembled to invade:
 It yerkt my soule, to see my prince abusde,
 In whose defence no danger I refusde.

In these extreames it was no boote to fight,
 The rebells marched with so huge an host;
 The king crav'd parley, by a noble knight,
 Of sterne Wat Tyler, ruler of the rost;
 A countrie boore, a goodlie proper swayne,
 To put his countrie to such wretched payne.

This rustick scoft, at first, the kings request,
 Yet, at the last, he seem'd to give consent;
 Aleaging he would come when he thought best:
 T'is well (quoth he) is all their courage spent:
 Ile make them on their bended knees intreat,
 Or cast their bodies in a bloodie sweat.

Begirt with steele, our gownes were laid apart,
 Age hindred not, though feeble were my joynts;
 T'would make a fearfull coward take a heart,
 When prince opprest a countrie's cause appoynts.
 Who would refuse, and death, or grievous paine,
 To follow him that is his soveraygne.

The place appoynted where to meete these mates
 (That like audacious pessants did prepare,
 As if their calling did concerne high states,
 With brasen lookes, devoyd of awfull care)
 Was Smithfeeld, where his majesty did stay
 An howre ere these rebels found the way.

At last the leaders of that brutish rowt,
 Jacke Straw, Wat Tiler, and a number more,
 Aproacht the place, with such a yelling showt,
 As seldome had the like been heard before:
 The king spake faire, and bad them lay downe armes,
 And he would pardon all their former harmes.

But as fierce lions are not tam'd with words,
 Nor savage monsters conquered but by force;
 So gentlenesse unshethes a traitor's sword,
 And fayre perswasions makes the wicked worse:
 His clemencie provoakt, and not dismaide,
 Because of them they thought the king affraide.

And, as a wnesse of their inward vice,
 Their tongues beganne to taunt in sawsie sort;
 Obedience blusht, and honour lost her price,
 A modest shame forbids the fowle report:
 How presumption made these caitifes swell,
 As if the divels did bellow forth of hell.

Their loathsome talkes inkindle anger's fire,
And fretting passions made my sinewes shake;
T'was death to me to see the base aspire;
Such woundes would men in deadlie slumber wake:
Yet I refrainde, my betters were in place,
It were no maners nobles to disgrace.

But when I saw the rebells pride encrease,
And none controll and counterchecke their rage;
T'were service good (thought I) to purchase peace,
And malice of contentious brags asswage:
With this conceyt, all feare had taken flight,
And I alone prest to the traitor's sight.

Their multitude could not amaze my minde,
Their bloudie weapons did not make me shrinke;
True valour hath his constancie assignde,
The eagle at the sunne will never winke:
Amongst their troupes, incenst with mortall hate,
I did arest Wat Tiler on the pate.

The stroke was given with so good a will,
I made the rebell couth unto the earth;
His fellows that beheld (t'is strange) were still;
It mar'd the maner of their former mirth:
I left him not, but, ere I did depart,
I stab'd my dagger to his damned heart.

The rest, perceiving of their captaine slaine,
Soone terrified did cast their weapons downe;
And like to sheepe began to flie amaine,
They durst not looke on justice' dreadfull frowne:
The king pursude, and we were not the last,
Till furie of the fight were overpast.

Thus were the mangled parts of peace recorde,
The princes falling state by right defended;
From common-weale all mischief quite abjurde,
With love and dutie vertue was attended:
And for that deed, that day before t'was night,
My king in guerdon dubbed me a knight.

Nor ceast he so to honour that degree;
A costly hat his highnesse likewise gave,
That London's maintenance might ever be;
A sword also he did ordaine to have,
That should be caried still before the maior
Whose worth deservde succession to that chaire.

This much in age when strength of youth was spent,
Hath Wallworth by unwonted valour gain'd;
T'was all he sought, his countrey to content,
Successe hath fortune for the just ordain'd:
And, when he died, this order he began,
Lord-maiors are knights, their office being done.

Worthily had this father of his countrey the formost place in this discourse, whose valerous attempts may be a light to all ensuing ages, to lead them in the darknesse of all troublesome times, to the resurrection of such a constant affection, as will not faulter or refuse any perill to profite his countrey and purchase honour. Such was his desert; as even then when good men dispaired of their safetie, and the verie pillars of the common wealth tottered, his courage redeemed the one, and underpropped the other: martialists and patrones of magnanimitie trembled at that, which he beyond all expectation adventured. Let envie, therefore, retract the malice of her blistring tongue, which heretofore (and now not a litle) striveth, by her contentions and ripening nature, to obscure the brightnesse of their praise, and scoffe at their ingenious dispositions, whose education promiseth small: but yet, when occasion hath required, have performed more then they whose brags have vapor'd to the clouds. I wish the like minde, and the like loyaltie, in all those that make the citie the nurse of their lives, and subject of their fortunes; that London may continue stil that credite, to be called the 'Great Chamber of her Kings,' and the 'Key of her Countrey's Blisse.' But to proceede; Fame having marked the gravitie, eloquence, and orator-like gesture of this good knight, (during the continuance of his talke,) was so well pleased, as she vowed to erect his statue, where, in spight of all contrarious and malevolent blasts of vertue's carpers, it should stande immoveable; and Clio, that had pen'd his speach, grieved she had not leysure (as she desired, and he deserved) to set down his actions in better and more ample maner. For alreadie another of the knightly crew stood up readie to delate what Fame expected; therefore, she was forced to let it somewhat rawly passe, hoping that the excellency of the matter would excuse the rudenesse of the rime.

The next, being a man whom nature had likewise bewtified with the colour and badge of wisdom and authoritie, as one on whom a greater power then Fortune's faigned deitie had bestowed the fulnesse of worldly treasure and Heaven's perfection, beganne accordingly to frame his tale:

SIR HENRIE PITCHARD, Knight.

THE potter tempers not the massie golde,
 A meaner substance serves his simple trade;
 His workmanship consistes of slimie molde,
 Where any plaine impression soone is made:
 His *Pitchards* have no outward glittering pompe,
 As other mettels of a finer stampe.

Yet for your use as wholsome as the rest,
 Though their beginning be but homely found;
 And sometime they are taken for the best,
 If that be precious that is alwayes sound:
 From gould corrupting poysons do infect,
 Where earthen cups are free from all suspect.

So censure of the Pitchard you behould,
 Whose glorie springes not of his lowlie frame;
 Though he be clay, he may compare with gould,
 His properties nere felt reproachfull shame:
 For, when I first drew breath upon the earth,
 My mind did bewtifie creation's byrth.

I dare not sing of Mars his bloodie scarres,
It is a stile too high for my conceipt;
Yet in my youth I served in the warres,
And followde him that made his foes entreat:
Edward the Third, the phoenix of his time,
For life and prowes spotted with no crime.

From France return'd, so well I thriv'd at home,
As by permission of celestiall grace;
I rose by that, men term'd blind Fortune's dome,
To such a loftie dignitie of place;
As by election then it did appeare,
I was lord-maior of London for a yeare.

I usde not my promotion with disdain,
Nor suffred heapes of coyne to fret with rust;
I knewe the ende of such a noble gaine,
And saw that riches were not given for lust;
But for reliefe and comfort of the poore,
Against the straunger not to shut my doore.

I could repeate perhaps some liberall deedes,
But that I feare vaine-glorie's bitter checke;
His plenties want, his harvest is but weedes,
That doth in wordes his proper goodnesse decke:
It shall suffice, he hath them in recorde,
That keepes in store his steward's just reward.

Yet, for advauncement of faire London's fame,
I will omit one principall regarde;
That such as heare may imitate the same,
When avarice by bountie shall be barde:
Rich men should thinke of honour more then pelfe,
I liv'd as well for others as my selfe.

When Edward triumpht for his victories,
And helde three crownes within his conquering hand,
He brought rich trophies from his enemies,
That were erected in this happie land:
We all rejoyc'd, and gave our God the praise,
That was the authour of those fortunate dayes.

And as from Dover, with the prince his sonne,
The king of Cypres, France, and Scots, did passe,
All captive prisoners to this mightie one,
Five-thousand men, and I the leader was:
All well preparte, as to defend a fort,
Went forth to welcome him in martiall sort.

The riches of our armour, and the cost
Each one bestow'd in honour of that day,
Were here to be exprest but labour lost;
Silke coates and chaines of golde bare little sway:
And thus we marcht accepted of our king,
To whom our comming seem'd a gracious thing.

But when the citie pearde within our sights,
 I crav'd a boune submisse upon my knee :
 To have his grace, those kings, with earles and knights,
 A day or two to banquet it with me :
 The king admirde, yet thankfully replide,
 ' Unto my house both I and these will ride.'

Glad was I that so I did prevaile,
 My heart reviv'd; my parts, me thought, were young;
 For cheare and sumptuous cost no coine did faile,
 And he that talkt of sparing did me wrong :
 Thus, at my proper charge, I did retaine
 Foure kings, one prince, and all their royall traine.

Yet, lo! this pompe did vanish in an houre;
 There is no trusting to a broken staffe;
 Man's carefull life doth wither like a flower,
 The destenies do stroy what we do graffe :
 For all his might, my gold wherewith I pleasde,
 Death tooke us both, and would not be appeasde.

Of all there now remaines no more but this,
 What vertue got by toyling labour's paine,
 To shrine our spotlesse soules in heavenlie blisse,
 Till to our bodies they retorne againe :
 What else we find is vaine and worthlesse drosse,
 And greatest getting but the greatest losse.

After that Clio had writ what this famous knight had tolde, she no little wondred at his modest audacitie. Therefore, she sayde this to Fame: " Renowned goddess,emie to the fatall Sisters, and onely friend to the good deservers; it were beseeming thy excellencie to proceede altogither with the honourable acts of these memorable men, and onely touch their vertuous endeavours." Whereunto the goddesse condescended: and seeing another lift up his head, as if he were desirous to speake, Fame heartned him on with smiling countenance to say as followeth:

SIR WILLIAM SEAVENOAKE.

My harmelesse byrth misfortune quite contem'd
 And from my pappe did make my youth a pray;
 So scarcely budd, my branches were unstem'd,
 My byrth-howre was deathe's black and gloomie day:
 Had not the Highest stretched forth his might,
 The breake of day had beene the darkest night.

Some monster that did envie nature's worke
 (When I was borne in Kent) did cast me foorth
 In desert wildes, where, though no beast did lurke
 To spoyle that life, the heavens made for woorth:
 Under seaven oakes yet mischief flung me downe,
 Where I was found and brought unto a towne.

Behold an ebbe that never thought to flowe,
Behold a fall unlikelie to recover;
Behold a shrub, a weed, that grew full lowe,
Behold a wren that never thought to hover:
Behold yet how the Highest can commaund,
And make a sand foundation firmelie stand.

For when my infants' time induste more yeares;
After some education in the schoole,
And some discretion in my selfe appeares,
With labor to be taught with manuall tooles:
To learne to live, to London thus being found,
Apprentise to a groser I was bound.

To please the honest care my master tooke,
I did refuse no toyle nor drudging payne;
My hands no labor ever yet forsooke,
Whereby I might encrease my masters gayne:
Thus Sevenoake liv'd, for so they calde my name,
Till Heaven did place mee in a better frame.

In time my prentise-yeares were quite expirde,
And then Bellona, in my homelie brest,
My countrie's honour with her flames had firde,
And for a souldior made my fortune prest.
Henry the Fift, my king, did warre with France;
Then I with him, his right to readvance.

There did couragious men with love compare,
And strive, by armes, to get their prince renowne;
There sillie I, like thirsty soule did fare,
To drink their fill would venter for to drowne:
Then did the height of my inhaunst desire
Graunt me a little leasure to aspire.

The Dolphyne¹ then of France, a comelie knight,
Disguised, came by chaunce into a place,
Where I, well wearied with the heate of fight,
Had layd me downe, for warre had ceast his chace;
And, with reproachfull words, as layzie swaine
He did salute me, ere I long had layne.

I, knowing that he was mine enemye,
A bragging French-mân (for we tearm'd them so)
Ill brookt the proud disgrace he gave to me,
And, therefore, lent the Dolphyne such a blowe,
As warm'd his courage well to lay about,
Till he was breathlesse, though he were so stout,

At last the noble prince did aske my name,
My birth, my calling, and my fortunes past;
With admiration he did heare the same,
And so a bagge of crownes to me he cast;
And, when he went away, he saide to mee,
'Seavenoake, be prowd the Dolphyne fought with thee.'

¹ [Dauphin.]

When English had obtainde the victorie,
 We crossed backe the grudging seas againe,
 Where all my friends supposed warre to be
 For vice and follie, virtue's onelie bane :
 But see the simple how they are deceavde,
 To judge that honour, honour hath bereav'd.

For, when my souldior's fame was laid aside,
 To be a groser once againe I framde;
 And He which rules above, my steps did guide,
 That through his wealth Sevenoake in time was famde
 To be lord maior of London by degree,
 Where justice made me sway with equitie.

Gray haire made period unto honour's call,
 And frostie death had furrowed in my face
 Colde winter gashes, and to sommer's fall,
 And fainting nature left my mortall place;
 For with the date of flesh my life decayde,
 And Sevenoake dide; for every flower must fade.

By testament, in Kent I built a towne,
 And briefly calde it Seavenoake, from my name;
 A free schoole to sweete learning, to renowne,
 I placde for those that playde at honour's game;
 Both land and living to that towne I gave,
 Before I tooke possession of my grave.

Thither I bare my flesh, but leave my fame,
 To be a president for London wights;
 And you, that now behold fair vertue's maim,
 Thinke he is happie, for his countrey fights;
 For, for my guerdon to this pleasant field,
 My carkas did my dying spirit yeeld.

By that time this famous man had thus innobled his name by telling his nature, the pitifull and lovely muse had delated at large his eternall honour; having, in no part, beene nigardly of his prodigall prayse. But Fame dismissing him to his former rest, hard by a still silver streame that beate warbling ecchoes into the vaultie bankes, whereas deceased sea-nymphes use to sport, pressing his manlike paulme upon the ground, he bent his comelie bodie to the earth; where, not as possessed with heaviness, but with paradise-like joy, he safely and sweetely reposed his comely limbes: like as the woonted martialists of former memorie were accustomed to doe, when, returning from hot encountred broyles, they unbuckled their steeld enclosures to enjoy the fresh and delightsome breath of peace. There they that woonted to be of Pan's musical parliament, fayre forresters and carrolling sheepeards, delighted; and, almost inchaunted with this champion's storie, thought to present him with some short recreation. Therefore, upon a bush of juniper brambles, where Philomelie had set her speckled breast, they all at once did beate with silver wings; then from this sweete savouring thicket rowed the tripping deare, and after them the nimble-footed fawne, wrestling together, once overtaken with pleasing and delectable sport, rubbing their horned browes upon their sweete twined bowers: this did they do in favour of his birth, being committed to their governments, before his mother's milke had made him blithe.

This pastime put the famous Sevenoake in minde of his beginning, how nature first had inniciated her worke in miserie, and ended it in miracles; not arguing herein her unconstant kinde, but her provident foresight to withstand the mischiefe of all misfortunes; and,

whilest Fame, with her admiring muse, was busied in posing the rest, this meritorious man did please himselfe with this poem :

Where Fortune had her birth the Sunne sate downe,
Yet gave no living glorie to the childe ;
She grew, and gave the god a golden crowne,
It pleased him not, for he was ever milde :
Yet drew she disposition from his throne,
That, without her, no wight can move alone.

Then he betook him to his former meditation, from whom he was first awaked : when another knight of that advaunced crew was by fame assigned to speake, called, sir Thomas White, (the goddesse cleaped him,) who lifting up his aged limmes, yet not decayed, sayd as followeth :

SIR THOMAS WHITE.

WHITE is my name, and milke-white are my haire,
White were my deedes, though vaine is proper praise,
White for my countrey were my kind affayres,
White was the rule, that measur'd all my dayes :
Yet blacke the mould, that coucht me in my grave,
By which more pure my present state I have.

I cannot sing of armes and blood-red warres,
Nor was my colour mixt with Mars his hew ;
I honour those that ended countrey jarres,
For therein subjects shew that they are trew :
But privately at home I shewde my selfe,
To be no lover of vaine worldly pelfe.

My deedes have tongues to speake, though I surcease,
My orators the learned strive to bee,
Because I twined paulmes in time of peace,
And gave such gifts, that made faire learning free :
My care did build them bowers of sweet content,
Where many wise their golden time have spent.

A noyse of gratefull thanks within mine eares,
Descending from their studies, glads my heart,
That I began to wish with private teares,
There lived more that were of White's desert :
But now I looke, and spie that time is balde,
And Vertue comes not, being seldome calde.

But sith I am awaked not to waile,
But to unfolde to Fame my former life ;
I must on forward with my single tale,
For sorrow will but breake the heart with strife :
White is no warriour, (as I sayd before)
Nor entred ever into daunger's doore.

The English cities, and incorporate townes,
 Doe bear me witnesse of my countrey's care;
 Where yearely I doe feede the poore with crownes;
 For I was never niggard yet to spare:
 And all chief burrowes² of this blessed land
 Have somewhat tasted of my liberall hand.

He that did lend to me the grace of wealth,
 Did not bestow it for to choake with store;
 But to maintaine the needie poore in health,
 By which expence my wealth encreased more:
 The oyle of gladnesse ever chear'd my hart,
 Why should I not then pitie others smart?

Lord-maior of London I was calde to bee,
 And justice' ballance bare with upright hand;
 I judg'd all causes right in each degree,
 I never partiall in the law did stand:
 But, as my name was White, so did I strive
 To make my deedes, whilst yet I was alive.

But my prefixed fate had twinde my thread,
 And white it was, and therefore best she likt it;
 She set her web within a loome of lead,
 And with her baulme of grace she sweetely dight it;
 And with consent her sisters gave this grace,
 That White should keepe his colour in this place.

When this aged knight had peaceably (observing Decorum with his passed state) tolde his plaine and unpolished tale, in all points like himselfe, clothed with the fashion of his minde; upon a bed of lillies hee layde him downe, whose colour, answerable to his snowie beard, made them take especiall delight in the simparchie of their qualitie. Then sayde Clio, "Thou faire and swift-foote goddess, winged with the dove, and eyed with the eagle, let me bee boldned (with thy favour) to demaunde one question; Which of all this noble companie shall next dilate his life?" "Sweete muse, (quoth Fame,) this knight;" pointing to Sir John Bonham, sometimes apprentice to a marchant in London. "Your deitie," sayde Clio, "then (under correction) will mistake the placing: for this gallant lived in England, in the time of Edward the First; and we are already come downe, so farre as queene Marie." "Therein (sayde Fame) wee doe preferre their age, and the honour of their calling, before the observation of time; which derogates from no other course, then that which sometimes our poets have used; placing ever the worthiest foremost, as to induce the rest by example, not to be starke for want of courage. Therefore, it shall not be uncomly or preposterous, when the yonger knights shall speake after those that bare the honour of the maioralitie."

This excuse wel contented the labouring muse; who, framing her golden pen in her fingers, fixed it ready to her memoriall leaves, whilst Fame did rouse this worthie from his rest: a man of stature meane, in countenance milde, in speach man-like, and in performance couragious; his beard Abron, and his bodie bigge; and thus he began, when Fame had given him *caveat* to speake.

² [Boroughs.]

Sir JOHN BONHAM, Knight.

LET them that pull their quills from griffons wings,
And dippe them in the bloud of Pagan's bane;
Let them describe me from the brest that sings,
A poem of bloudie showers of raigne:
And in my tale, a mournfull eleagie,
To such as do the lawes of God denie.

A gentleman I am of gentle blood,
A knight my father was, yet thought no scorne
To place his sonne within a prentise' hood;
For Nature will appeare as she was borne:
A Devonshire man, to London, loe! I came,
To learne to traffique of a marchant-man.

Shortelie from thence to Denmarke was I bound,
Well shipt with ware, my master gave in charge;
I deem'd the water better then the ground,
And on the seas a man might see at large:
Me thought that Fortune there might flie her fill,
And pitch and light upon what place she will.

Ariv'd at last, in Denmarke was I sett,
Where Bonham did demeane himselfe so well;
That, though some strangers there had pitcht a nett
To catch my feete, themselves therein soone fell:
And such dishonour dropt upon their head,
As they their native countrie quicklie fled.

My worthlesse fame unto the king was brought,
Who shew'd himselfe both mild and debonare;
A cause of gracious kindnes still he sought,
And for my countrey did commend my care:
And (though I say it, that might better cease,)
Bonham did purchase fame, and love's encrease.

A vertuous ladie, and a curteous prince,
This famous king unto his daughter had;
Hir countenance did the baser sort convince,
Yet did she bare her gently to bad:
Such was her beautie, such was her grace and favour,
That watchful Envy no way could deprave her.

Excepting still the praise of Procerpine,
I may a little glance upon her grace;
The words she spake did ever seeme divine,
And Nature chose her alters in her face:
Where in the day her golden flames do burne,
And they that gaze shall frie, except they turne.

Their bodies once consum'd, Love tooke their soules,
And there sattu binding them within her haire;
She neede not frowne, her smoothest lookes controles,
See how shee slayes, yet dooth the guiltlesse spare:
Guiltlesse they are that dare not stay so long,
To heare the musick of inchaunting song.

Should I but speake the words unto her face,
 Perhaps, you would suppose I flatter her;
 If so, I have too long upheld the chace,
 And negligentlie spar'd the pricking spurre;
 In whose sweete praise I end, not yet begunne,
 Because my lame conceipt wants feete to runne.

Who will not judge, the bravest Denmarke knights
 Will cracke their lances in her proude defence?
 And now by this a troope of worthie wights
 Prepared justes, her beawtie to incence;
 And unto me, unworthie me, she gave
 A favour, to adorne my courage brave.

I know your jelousie will judge me nowe,
 And say, I prais'd her for her favour's sake;
 Alas! he lookes not up, is bound to bowe;
 A cedar never springeth from a brake:
 It pleas'd her well, age not displeased mee,
 Why then should Envie still with honour bee?

They that have guiders, cannot chuse but runne,
 Their mistresse' eyes doe learne them chivalrie;
 With those commaunds these turneys are begunne,
 And shiver'd launces in the ayre do flie:
 No more but this, there Bonham had the best,
 Yet list I not to vaunt how I was blest.

Each knight had favour bound to his desart,
 And everie ladie lent her love a smile;
 There boldly did I not my selfe insert,
 Nor secret practise did my pride compile:
 But of her selfe the gentle princesse gave
 Rewarde of honour unto me her slave.

In fine, my master's shippe with goods were fraught,
 And I desirous to returne agayne;
 For all the favours that my fortune wrought,
 Unto my master's businesse was no mayne:
 But so occasion, trusty friend to time,
 Prepar'd me steps and made me way to clime.

Great Solimon, the Turkish emperor,
 Made sodaine warres against the Danish king;
 And most unlike a noble emperour,
 Did spoyle and ruine to his confines bring:
 A thing unlike, yet truth to witnesse call,
 And you shall finde hee made mee generall.

A puissaunt armie then was levied straight,
 And skilfull pilats sent to guide my ship:
 Imagin but a Christian's deadly hate
 Against the heathen that our blood doth sip;
 Then thinke how Bonham, bent against the Turke,
 Wrought wonders by the high Almighty's worke.

Halfe of his armie, smouldred with the dust,
Lay slaughtred on the earth in gorie blood;
And he himself compell'd to quell his lust,
By composition, for his people's good:
Then, at a parlie, he admirde me so,
He made me knight, and let his armie go.

He gave me costly robes and chaines of golde,
And, garded with his gallies, sent me backe;
For Fame, unto the Danish king, had tolde
My gotten glorie, and the Turkish wracke;
He gave me gifts, in guerdon of my fight,
And sent me into England like a knight.

How was I welcom'd there, t'were vaine to tell;
For, shortly after, life had runne his race,
And hither was I summoned to dwell,
My other fellow-worthies to embrace:
Thus gently borne, a marchant by my trade,
And in the field Bonham a knight was made.

Clio, with the straungenesse of this report, was wrapt so much into admiration (both in respect of his feature, fortune, and faire tongue) as she seemed cast into a traunce; never remooving her eyes from of his youthfull face, till Fame (perceyving her deepe cogitations) put her foorth of her dumps, by asking her, "Why she pawsed so long?" Her chaste eyes (it appeared) having all this while seene no other, but such whose countenance resembled winters frosts, began now, with the chearefull heate of this flowring spring, to waxe warme with secrete working of some amorous passion to excuse with suspition: for it stode with her credite not to bee faultie in any such idle toy. Shee answered, "It was not the inticement of any misbeseeming phantasie, that allured her to that sodaine silence; but onelie a kinde of conceyte shee fostered, howe it coulde be possible, that the Turke (being a man of nature barbarous and cruell, and especially towards Christians,) should nowe bee so much mollified, and brought from his wonted fiercenesse to favour and honour one, whom by nature hee loathed and detested. For what though Bonham's valour had gotten that advantage, (as, by reason and lawe of armes, he might inforce the Turke confesse,) the safegarde of his life depended on his clemencie; yet, since the brutishnesse of that nature esteemeth of vertue but to serve their owne lust and profite, I see no argument of likelihoode, why the Turke (having his adversarie in his court, that a little before had made him bowe, not with gentle perswasions, but with downe-right strokes,) should not rather bee incensed to cut off his head, then doe him the least good in the world. So severe is the regarde of honour, as, rather then it will be upbrayded with disgrace (though that disgrace were cause of many incomparable pleasures) no hatefull, unnaturall, or ungratefull practise shall be attempted, til the eyesore of their grudging heart be removed; and princes, if they cannot beare words, much lesse will put up wounds: and that was it (quoth she) that troubled my serious muse."

At these wordes Fame began to frowne: her patience was provoked, that one so well instructed in the knowledge of such matters, as shee was (her whole studie consisting of nothing else, but of civill discipline) should make a doubt in so slender a contrarietie: yet, to cutte off further protraction of time, shee replied her this resolution: "That shee was sure shee could not be ignoraunt, howe that it was the affect of vertue, that wrought such an alteration in the Turke; which, as it is divine, descended from the goddes, so it worketh beyonde the expectation of men." And, for prooff thereof,

alreadie sundrie authorities were alledged: as, that of Dyonisius, whose murtherous minde coulde not but reverence Plato, although hee continually inveighed bitterly agaynst his tyrannie; and that of Alexander, who loved Darius for his fortitude, although hee was his enemie. Therefore it ought not to seeme miraculous unto her, when usually such accidents as those followe vertue's favourites. "But, (quoth she) I rather thinke you were amazed to heare such rare exploits proceede from a prentice, and one of no more experience: but let not that seeme straunge; hee spake no more then truth, nor all that might be sayd concerning his hawghtie endeavours. The other foure, whom you see on his left hand, will (if you seeme incredulous) confirme a possibilitie in his speaches: they are of the like condition and qualitie as he was, prentices; that purchased estimation by the sworde." Clio blushed, that she had beene so inquisitive; but (as it may be conjectured) it was not so much for her owne satisfaction, as to take away hereafter all controversie and needlesse cavillation, as might concur by the curious view of such as shoulde fortune to have the reading of her lines. By this, Sir John Bonham had coucht himselfe againe in the bedde of his secure rest; when another gay knight, sterne in his lookes, and strong set in his limmes, carying in his browes the picture of Mars, and in his maners the majestie of a prince, with a lowe salutation, made himselfe knowne by this brieve oration:

SIR CHRISTOPHER CROKER, Knight, of London, Vintner.

IT is not birth that makes a man renownde,
Nor treasure-store that purchaseth our fame;
Bigge words are but an emptie vessel's sound,
And death is better than a life with shame:
This proveth Croker in his travailes made,
Of London once a vintner by his trade.

In Gracious-streete, there was I bound to serve,
My master's name hight Stodie in his time,
From whom in dutie I did never swarve,
Nor was corrupted with detested crime:
My education taught me so to live,
As by my paines my maister's purse might thrive.

My fellow-servants lov'd me with their hearts;
My friends rejoyc'd to see me prosper so,
And kind Doll Stodie (though for small deserts)
On me vouchsaft affection to bestow;
Whose constancie was such, that for her sake,
No toyle was grievous I might undertake.

Such was my state, as I my selfe could wish,
Devoid of care, not toucht with egre want,
My sleepe secure, my foode choise bewtie's dish;
Onely in this my pleasure seemed scant,
That I unable was her state to raise,
That was the lengthner of my happie days.

Whilst thus I was perplexed with that thought,
Behold how fortune favourde my desire,
Of sodaine warres the joyfull newes was brought,
And Edward ayde of souldiors did require;
Among the rest it fell unto my chaunce,
That I was prest to follow him to Fraunce.

My maister would have sew'd for my discharge,
His daughter with her teares gan me assaile,
On every side they pray'd and promist large,
But nothing could in that respect prevaile;
Such thirst of honour spur'd my courage on,
I would to warres, although I went alone.

My forwardnesse perceyv'd, my valour knowne,
Over a band of souldiors I was chiefe;
Then sproute the seedes that were but lately sowne,
My longing soule had quickly found reliefe:
I sparde no cost, nor shrunke for any paine,
Because I ment my love should reape the gaine.

To prove my faith unto my countrie's stay,
And that a prentice (though but small esteem'd)
Unto the stoutest never giveth way,
If credit may by triall be redeem'd:
At Burdeaux siege, when other came too late,
I was the first made entrance through the gate.

And when Don Peter, driven out of Spaine,
By an usurping bastard of his line,
He crav'd some helpe, his crowne to re-obtaine,
That in his former glorie he might shine:
Our king ten-thousand sever'd from his host;
My selfe was one, I speake it not in boast.

With these Don Peter put the bastard downe,
Each citie yeelded at our first approach;
It was not long ere he had got the crowne,
And taught his wicked brother to encroch:
In these affaires so well I shew'd my might,
That for my labour I was made a knight.

Thus labour never looseth his reward;
And he that seekes for honour sure shall speed:
What craven minde was ever in regard?
Or where consisteth manhood but in deed?
I speake it, that confirm'd it by my life,
And, in the end, Doll Stodie was my wife.

This worthie having finished his taske sette downe by Fame, to confirme the order of his first honour, reposed himselfe amongst the rest, where he found a sweete murmuring of private and secrete conference, what had passed by the severall annotations of everie one's prayse, where they beganne (contemning the order of envie) to colaude the ende-vours of one another's actions; none particularly arrogating in arrogancie the prayse of himselfe. To him that did most they gave most applause, and so sweetly concorded in simpathie, that all the Elesian harmonie might have liberally commended their conditions: the hushing rivers were caulme without murmur or contempt: the leaves stood still, to admire these famous enterprises, and excellent atchievements: the windes bound themselves up in the contentation of voluntarie stilnesse, that they might be at libertie to hearken to these meritorious men; and yeelded them praise condescending to their paines:

the goddess of darknesse (for Envie approched not the place, so that it was by that meanes continually day) whereby the sunne was ever glorious in the pride of his height, without grudging, or any shew of declining; the bright shining of whose alluring countenance inticed another up, called Sir John Haukwood, or Sir John Sharpe, from the Italians, John Acute; and from thence indeed he brought backe into England, both his name and his noblenesse, the pictures of his renowne: for, as an emblem of endlesse honour, the Venecians wrought underneath his statue, set up in the citie, *Giovanno Acuto Cavaliero*. This John Haukwood, knight, he lived likewise in the time of Edward the Third, that prince of famous memorie. When he pleasantly looked about him, (being a man of a most couragious countenance, and an ingenious nature,) thus he beganne to speake; as who should say he had wrong to be deferred so long.

Sir JOHN HAUKWOOD, Knight.

WHO knowes my ofspring, doth not knowe my prime;
 Who knowes my birth, perhaps, will scorne my deedes;
 My valour makes my vertue more then slime,
 For that survives, though I weare death's pale weedes;
 Ground doth consume the carkas unto dust,
 Yet cannot make the valiant's armour rust.

After that eightene yeares had toucht my head,
 Being a prentice-boy in Lumbard-streete,
 A taylor by my trade, and I had lead
 A few wilde yeares, for striplings farre unmeete;
 A souldior I was prest to serve in Fraunce,
 The prince of Wales mine honour to inhaunce.

I servde as private souldior for a while,
 Till courage made me greedie of renowne;
 And causde me give a noble man the foile,
 That though with sturdie launce did beare me downe:
 On foot that day my selfe did keepe in chace
 Some worthie knights that fear'd to shew their face.

That day, the prince of Wales, surnamde 'the Black,'
 Did mount me on a gallant English steed;
 Where I bestirde me so upon his backe,
 That none incountred me that did not bleed:
 It was not I, nor fortune, nor my fate;
 His hand it was, that seldome helps to late.

His be the honour then, and his the prayse;
 Yet have I leave to speake what Haukwood did,
 When noble Edward had disperst the rayes,
 And by his prowes of the French was rid:
 Three more then I, my selfe did make the fourth,
 The gentle princes then dub'd knights of worth.

His knights he team'd us still amongst the rest,
 And gave us honour fitting our estate;
 For England to be bound it seem'd him best,
 Because the French had swallowed Edward's baite:
 I tooke my leave, and begged on my knee,
 That I might wander other parts to see.

The prince inkindled with my honour's heate,
Discharging me, bestowde on me a chaine;
For still fresh courage on my heart did beate,
Which made me loye and women's acts refraine:
Hearing the duke of Millaine was distrest,
To Italie my voyage then was prest.

The seas I quickly past, and came to shore;
With me were fiftene-hundred English-men;
We marcht to Millaine's walles, where we had more
Of other nations to conjoyne with them:
There did the Italians tearme me John Acute,
Because I had their foes in such pursute.

Castels and towers I had for my reward,
And got enough to pay my men withall;
But I to hired pay had no regarde;
That prickt me on which climbs the highest wall,
Honour and fame; whereof they gave me store,
Which made me more audacious then before.

Millaine thus peac'd, the pope oppressed Spaine,
Then thither was I sent to quell his pride;
Which being done, I did returne againe,
And, stoopt with age, in Padua palace dide:
And he, that yet will heare of John Acute,
In Millaine shall not find the people mute.

All warres you see do ende as well as peace,
And then remaineth but a tumber of dust;
A voyce of fame, a blacke and mourning hearce,
To what, then, may we like this worldly lust?
It is an evill vapouring smoke that fumes,
Breaths in the braine, and so the life consumes.

When sir John Haukwood had boldly presumed by Fame's authoritie to speake, he layde him downe; like one that wreaked no guerdon for this grace; but, as if nature brought him forth of dutie to performe these deedes. So, ought every martiall minde imagine, that he is borne for his countrey, as the custome of the ancient and famous Romans was in all their actions, to studie to redounde the honour of their deedes to their countrey. If this were ambition and pride, it would be laid flat in the dust, magnanimitie extolled to the highest tip of dignitie, and such a sweete concord and unitie amongst men, that he would be counted most happie that lived longest, for the profite of his friend.

When Sir John Haukwood, of this perfection of minde, had layde him downe againe; another of the same stampe called Sir Hugh Calverley (as little ambitious as his fellowe, and as resolute in everie degree,) arose, looking about him; being ignoraunt what to doe. But Fame, jogging him on the elbowe, soone awaked him from his maze, whose suppose was his desert, which made him covet to bee obscurde. Therefore, the goddess was faine to animate him on further, before he would be perswaded to speake. Gentle he was, and full of humanitie; insomuch that he might have wunne all the powers of that place to admire the basenesse of his profession; being a weaver. But they, that have honour harbouring in their breasts, cannot but give him the right of his due, except the traine of envie set upon the traine of honour, as commonly it doth: if it do, see he shall speake

for himsele and appeale to the most precise, whose wits, being more busie then beautified with moral maners, thrust boldly, yet ignorantly, upon the well trained sort, approching famous perswasion; he began as sodainly as hee arose sodainly; as if now life had newly revived, began to breath this gentle breath from out his mouth.

Sir HUGH CAVERLEY, Knight.

WHO feares to swim a river, dreads the sea,
But he that's best resolv'd dare venture both;
The greatest lumpe doth not the greatest die,
Base mettals to compare with golde are loth:
And why my quiet wit refraines to speake,
Is this, because the tallest ship may leake.

In England late yong Caverley did live,
Silke-weavers honour merited by deedes;
In forraine broyles continually I strive,
Of lasting memorie to sow the seedes;
As by experience, they in Poland may
Expresse my English valour every way.

After my prince's service done in Fraunce,
I was entreated to the Polish king;
Where as the Frizeland horse doth breake the launce,
And tamelesse beasts a valiant race doth bring:
There Maximilian hunted with his lords,
Entangling mankind-beares in toying cords.

There did I bring a boare unto the bay,
That spoyl'd the pleasant fields of Polonie;
And, ere the morning parted with her gray,
The foming beast as dead as clay did lie:
The ladies cheekes lookt red with chearefull blood,
And I was much commended for that good.

Some sayd I looked like Olympian Jove,
When as he crackt in two the Centaur's bow;
As swiftly footed as the god of love,
Or green Sylvanus when he chast the roe:
They brought me crownes of lawrell wreath'd with gold,
The sweet and daintiest tongues my prayses told.

These favours fronted me with courage frowne,
That like the yong Alcides I did looke;
When he did lay the greedie lion downe:
No beast appear'd, when I the woodes forsooke;
So that the king supposd, I was some wight
Ordain'd by Heaven to expell their flight.

In scarlet and in purple was I clad,
And golden buskins put upon my feete;
A casket of the richest pearles I had,
And every noble gently did me greete:
So with the king I rode unto the court,
Where, for to see me, many did resort.

At justes I ever was the formost man,
In field still forward, Fame can witnesse it;
And Caverley at tilt yet never ran,
But foming steed so champed on the bit;
But still my horse his master's valour shew'd,
When, through my beavir, I with heat had blood.

Yet men of armes, of wit, and greatest skill,
Must die at last, when death's pale sisters please;
But then, for honour, fame remaineth still,
When dead delights in grave shall find their ease:
Ye long to know the truth, in Fraunce I dide,
When from the valiant Polands I did ride.

Now, honour, let me lay me downe againe,
And on thy pillow rest my wearie head;
My passed prayse commaunds my soule remaine,
Wherein these rosie bowers, with sweet dew fed:
Though I was valiant, yet my guiltlesse blood,
In crueltie of warre I never stood.

Thus this adventurous martialist having exprest the zeale of his conscience towards his countrey, the toyle and labour he sustained, to better the credite of his first calling, and the perils he waded through to patronage the ancient name of citizens; he reposed himselfe againe downe by the sides of his noble warre-fellowes.

Thus Fame and Clio, the one having marked his amiable partes and knightly gesture, the other delineated, with her pen, the eloquence of his oratour-like oration; questioning together some fewe poynts, concerning the force of valour, and the vertuous inclination of many obscure persons, that although they lie sepultured, as it were, without regarde; yet, if oportunitie fitte them to revive their courage, will, like the diamond racked out of clay, excell, or, at least, compare with the brightnesse of glories. Rarest jewels concluded, that there was no pernition, but by vertue; no climbing to honour, but by fortitude; and none base, abject, and ignoble, but the vicious, slouthfull, and faintharted milkesops. They were not wearyed, nor seemed these former knights tales tedious unto them; although many would thinke it a paine to bee tied to the hearing of so large a circumstance, and verie few but would exclaime it were plaine slaverie to write such and so many severall conceytes, from the mouthes of the speakers. Yet such was their desire to publish these men's deserts, and the delight they tooke to see the increase spring of the seedes of vertue, for they would not take the smallest recreation, till every one of the nine had fully finished their discourses; and therefore they attended, when the last would breath the secrets of his breast.

This was a prentice, as the rest, and a grocer, sometime dwelling in Cornehill; his face was not effeminate, or his parts of a slender or weake constitution; but, by his lookes, he seemed couragious, and in the height, strength, and faire proportion of his body, victorious. Thus, being in al points armed like a champion, the verie aspect of his outwarde abite made semblance both of manhood and curtesie, wisdom and valour, knit in such a simpathe of operation, that he seemed as much to bee loved for peace, as prayed for prowes. And thus with a voyce, neyther too meane like a child, nor too big like a gyant, but indifferent betwixt both, he spake as followeth:

The Nine Worthies of London.

HENRY MALEVERER, Grocer; surnamed Henrie of Cornhill.

A PRECIOUS cause hath still a rare effect,
 And deedes are greatest when the daungers most;
 It is no care that travels dooth neglect,
 Nor love that hath respect to idle cost:
 A bramble never bringeth forth a rose;
 Where fields are fruitfull there the lillie growes.

By this conjecture, what may be the end
 Of his defensive force that fought for Christ;
 It is no common matter, if we spend
 Both life and goods in quarrell of the Hiest;
 The least desert dooth merit his reward,
 And best employde should have not worst regard.

No vaine presumption followes my devise,
 For of my actions 'tis in vaine to boast;
 Yet with the pagans I encountred twise,
 To winne againe faire Sion that was lost:
 Unto which warre I was not forst to go,
 T'was honour's fire that did incense me so.

For when the Jews opprest with heathens pride
 Of Christian-princes cravde some friendly ayd,
 In every countrey they were flat denide,
 Save that in England here their sute prevailde:
 Such was the furie of intestine strife,
 All Europe sought to spoyle each others life.

And as in London there was order tane,
 To make provision for the Holy Land,
 My youthfull mind that fearde no forraine bane,
 Was so admirde by might of conquering hand:
 As for a single combate they did see,
 Th' ambassadours made speciall choyse of me.

Then for the tankerd I did use to beare,
 And other things belonging to mine art;
 Mine hand did weeld Bellona's warlike speare,
 For I was armde in steele to play my part:
 Along we went to beard our daring foes,
 That soone were quel'd with terroure of our blowes.

I never left the field, nor slept secure,
 Untill I sawe Hierusalem regainde;
 To watch and labour I did still endure,
 What ist that diligence hath not obtainde?
 Yet grudging envie, valour to deface,
 By treason's malice brought me in disgrace.

The good that I had done was cleane forgot,
 Ingratitude prevailde against my life;
 And nothing then but exile was my lot,
 Or else abide the stroke of fatall knife:
 For so the ruler of the Jewes concluded;
 His grace by false reports was much deluded.

There was no striving in a forraine soyle,
I tooke it patient, though t'were causelesse done;
And to avoyde the staine of such a foyle,
That slaunderous tongues had wickedly begunne;
Where, to the holy well of Jacob's name,
I found a cave to shroude me from their blame.

And though my bodie were within their power,
Yet was my minde untouched of their hate:
The valiant faint not, though that fortune lower,
Nor are they fearefull at controlling fate:
For in that water none could quench their thirst,
Except he ment to combate with me first.

By that occasion, for my pleasure's sake,
I gave both knights and princes heavie strokes;
The proudest did presume a draught to take,
Was sure to have his passeport seal'd with knocks:
Thus liv'd I till my innocence was knowne,
And then returnde; the king was pensive growne.

And for the wrong which he had offer'd me,
He vowde me greater friendship than before;
My false accusers lost their libertie;
And, next their lives, I could not challenge more:
And thus with love, with honour, and with fame,
I did returne to London whence I came.

This valerous champion, having here made an end, bowed himselfe. Then Fame with her owne hand gently laid his head upon a soft downy pillow wrought with gold, and set with pearle; and so leaving him, and the rest, to the happinesse of their sweete sleepe, commanded Clio to claspe up the booke, wherein she had written the deedes of these nine Worthies, and (as her leysure served her) to publish it to the viewe of the worlde; that every one might read their honourable actions, and take example by them to follow vertue, and aspire to honour: "and the rather, (quoth she) because I would have malicious mindes that envye at the deserts of noble citizens, by prooffe of these men's worthinesse, to repent their contempt, and amend their captious dispositions; seeing that from the beginning of the world, and in all places of the world, citizens have flourished and beene famous: as in Rome, Cæsar; in Athens, Themistocles; and, in Carthage, Hannibal; with an infinite number more, that were, by byrth, citizens, by nature martiall, and by industrie renowned." And so they departed from Elisian: and, within a while after, Clio (according to the charge was given her) sent forth this pamphlet of her poems.

A Discourse, setting forth the unhappy Condition of the Practice of Physick in London, and offering some Means to put it into a better; for the Interests of Patients, no less, or rather much more, than of Physicians. By Jonathan Goddard,¹ Doctor of Physick, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and of the Royal Society; and a Professor of Physick in Gresham-College.

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[Quarto; containing sixty-two pages.]

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THE art of physick hath had, in common with other arts and professions, the infelicity to be abused by the professors thereof; who, either out of insatiable avarice to make the utmost advantage of gain to themselves thereby, or out of pride and state, or humour, have given just occasion to the word to judge, that they had not that care and consideration of the lives and healths of persons with whom they had to do, as, in humanity, reason and conscience, they ought to have had. Admitting this to be inexcusable, as to the persons

¹ [Dr. Jonathan Goddard was, according to Wood, the son of a ship-carpenter of Deptford, and became a commoner of Magdalen-hall, Oxford, in 1632, aged 15 years; where continuing till he was standing for the degree of bachelor of arts, he then left his college, and, as was supposed, went abroad. On 20 Jan. 1642, he was created doctor of physick by the university of Cambridge, being then a practitioner in London. He afterwards met with promotion in the parliamentary army; and after the decapitation of Charles I. went with Cromwell, as his confidential, into Ireland. By the same interest he was appointed, *an.* 1651, to the wardenship of Merton-college, Oxford, and incorporated doctor of his faculty in that university. Being elected Burgess for the university, he represented it in the 'Little Parliament' of 1653, and was of the council of state at the same time. At the restoration he was ejected from his wardenship, and retired to Gresham-college; 'where (being an admirable chemist) he had a laboratory to prepare all medicines that he used on his patients, besides what he operated for his own satisfaction. He was also a zealous member of the royal society for the improvement of natural knowledge among them; and when any curious experiment was to be done, they made him their drudge, till they could obtain to the bottom of it.' His death was occasioned by an apoplectic fit, which seized him as he was returning from an evening club of virtuosi, at the Crown-tavern, Bloomsbury, to his own lodgings in Gresham-college, March 24, 1674. He was interred in the church of St. Helen the Great, London.

Dr. Goddard has written, besides the above, another tract on the same subject—'A Discourse concerning physick, and the many abuses thereof by the apothecaries. Lond. 1668.' 8vo. *Vide* an account of this in Phil. Trans. No. 41. Henry Stubbe in his 'Campanella revived,' remarks that Goddard has written of this matter 'more warily, and with greater prudence than Christ. Merret,' who wrote 'A short view of the frauds and abuses committed by apothecaries,' &c. Lond. 1669, 4to.

Other pieces of Goddard's are,

'Proposal for making wine,'—'Experiments of the stone called *Oculus Mundi*,' in the Hist. of the Roy. Soc. 1667, p. 143, 230. 'Some observations of a chameleon.' Phil. Trans. No. 137, p. 930. 'Experiments of refining gold with antimony.' *Id.* No. 139, p. 953. 'Arcana medicinalia,' at the end of Shipton's 'Pharmacopœia Bateana.' Lond. 1691, 8vo. He left in MS. Lectures read in Chirurgeon's hall, 2 vols. 4to. &c. ready for the press.—*Vide* Athen. Oxon. ii. 538.]

² [Reprinted.]

guilty of it; yet it may be said, as to the present professors thereof, (having the legal right to practise in the city of London) and undertaken on their behalf, that there was never in any age, less grievance or cause of complaint upon any such account. However, that distinction between the vices of persons, and of arts or professions, is so clear and obvious, that whosoever transfers those of the one upon the other, must needs appear deficient in the use of his reason, or else partial and injurious.

As to the art itself, though it cannot be denied, that it is (as all human knowledge in other kinds) imperfect and defective; yet, that it should be an imposture, (as ignorance in conjunction with confidence may surmise or charge upon it,) the world doth so much abound with persons learned and judicious, and (though not professed physicians) competent to judge thereof, as to render it superfluous to go about to vindicate it from such an imputation. Neither is the imperfection and defect of knowledge in things relating to, or comprehended in the art, so great, as to render it an empty or mere notional speculation; but though it, as all other arts and sciences (the mathematicks excepted), hath too much abounded with notions and speculations wanting foundation in nature and experience; yet it may vie with any other for number of real truths and discoveries, sufficient to employ and take up the best intellectual abilities and studies of any person addicted to it, for his whole life: and especially in this age, after great improvement lately made therein, by many happy discoveries in nature, of great advantage and concern thereto.

According to the grand importance of this art, employed in the conservation of the life and health of mankind, it hath been the wisdom of princes and states to provide for the encouragement of the professors thereof, by liberal maintenance, privileges and powers, honorary and advantageous for the exercise thereof; whereby persons of eminent learning, education, and abilities might be induced to betake themselves to an art standing in need of such accomplishments; without which, in an inferior way of education, persons could not attain to any such improved judgment, as is requisite to the understanding and comprehension of the vast variety and exquisite subtilty of the things constituting the subject of that art, or relating thereto.

Accordingly, it hath been no less the wisdom of the princes and parliaments of this kingdom, to provide for the encouragement and good regulation of the profession of physick therein, especially in London: insomuch that, by law and custom, it hath had as great advantages in the kinds beforementioned, with us, as in any country in the world. And therefore it is the more to be taken notice of, that at this time it should be reduced, probably, to the worst condition that it is in any where; more than probably, to such a condition as cuts off all hopes of honourable or free maintenance of the professors thereof, or the most part of them, and of improvement in the art itself, for the future; as may in some measure appear by what followeth.

The dividing and separating of that part of the art of physick, which concerns the preparation and composition of medicaments, from the body of it, so as to put the practice of it into other hands, was never heard of in the ages of Hippocrates, Galen, and other ancient physicians; and hath been judged, by some of the chief authors in physick, to be of unhappy consequence to it, upon several accounts. Hence many physicians, while there was a good understanding between them and the apothecaries, (these keeping within their own bounds,) thinking it became them, in civil respect, to leave all to these, that belonged to their art; and so, not concerning themselves to be judicious and versed therein, became strangers to the materials and preparations of medicines; and, by consequence, less able to prescribe the making of them, to the best advantage. And this the apothecaries have not been wanting to make their advantage of, to the disparagement of the physicians; so that it is justly to be accounted an error and neglect in such physicians; who, if they had given their minds to it, might have been as conversant in, and as well acquainted with the materials of remedies, whether vegetables, animals, or minerals, and all the more considerable ways of preparations thereof, as many other physicians, or any apothecaries; by frequent viewing, inspection and observation, and chiefly by experi-

menting and exercising themselves in preparations more accurate, and of greater importance, chymical, or other: which are the ways that enable a physician authentically to prescribe.

And yet, notwithstanding such an error, and neglect of some physicians occasioned by it, the distinct practice and exercise of that part by apothecaries, as it hath been used in London, had its advantage; and was looked upon as a great ease and happiness to the practice of physick. For by this means physicians were freed from some troublesome and inferior employment; and they had the advantage of giving account, and making appear, upon occasion, all that was done on their part, by their prescriptions extant in writing; in case of any ill success, which might happen by error upon their account, or suspicion of hurt done to a patient, by any thing advised by them.

But these are really, and upon the whole account, advantages to the profession of physick, only upon this supposition, that apothecaries keep within the limits of their work and trade, not meddling with the practice of physick themselves: the prescriptions of physicians being faithfully and safely lodged with them, to the use of their patients, and the benefit of the apothecaries in their trade. Otherwise, neither the advantages before-mentioned, nor any other, can ever compensate the disadvantage and detriment, not only to the profession and professors of physick, but to the publick. In consideration whereof, it were to be accounted a small inconvenience, for physicians to put themselves to the drudgery of making all the medicaments they have use of in their practice, if need were; and to depend upon their own single reputation and credit with their friends and patients, for their vindication, as the case should require.

In comparison to physicians, it may easily be made out, what advantages apothecaries, taking upon them to practise, may have in London, upon their particular communication of all their remedies, to them; to get the whole, or so much of the practice from the physicians, as shall not leave a competency for them to subsist upon. For the apothecaries being bred up all the time of their youth as apprentices in London, while physicians are studying at the universities, and having so much the more advantage to get a numerous acquaintance, besides that, by keeping open shops, more general notice may be taken of them, when they shall be able to pretend to, and make ostentation of being masters of, or knowing all the secrets and practice of all the physicians in London; it is obvious, how much this must take with the vulgar, and with all such persons, as, being not bred up to learning themselves, cannot be sensible of the advantage of a generous education in all kinds of learning, for improving the mind and understanding, and enabling of it to exercise such a piercing judgment and large comprehension of so subtile and numerous natures and things, as the knowledge whereof is requisite to the art of physick, and therefore, though there be not so much danger of such ostentation prevailing among the nobility, gentry, and persons of learning and parts in the city; yet how far it may, amongst others, who are the great number and bulk, is not hard to conceive by what hath been experienced.

For, allowing a physician, in his youth, to have had the reason, parts, and ordinary capacity of another of his age, and then to have been bred up in learning of languages, to render him master of the knowledge contained in books written in those languages; then in arts, some whereof minister advantages to the understanding of the nature and causes of things; all do improve the mind and understanding, by exercise at least, to discern and judge of things: then, supposing him to apply his study to natural philosophy, such as is more real and solid in this age, by many happy experimental discoveries in nature; and, lastly, to the art of physick, and the knowledge of the body of man, with all the parts of it, by anatomical administrations, experiments, and observations; of the actions and uses of the same, the diseases to which they are obnoxious, with the remedies thereof; and admitting a physician to make it his continual work to improve in the knowledge of all these (which his interest must incline him to do) by the study, practice, and experience of twenty years, or more. Now, supposing all this, in the common reason of mankind, he must have a manifold advantage to the understanding of the nature, cause, and

cure of a disease, above another whose education hath rendered him incapable of any of the accomplishments beforementioned, or of any considerable share thereof; and yet many times it is found, that one that is illiterate, and can speak no reason of any thing, but only make ostentation with a few canting terms; yea, sometimes a nurse, or such kind of woman, by a confidence arising out of ignorance, shall arrogate more knowledge or ability to themselves, and shall be better thought of, among the unlearned and incompetent to judge, than such a physician as hath been described before: and how much more may an apothecary, upon the pretensions beforementioned, carry a reputation, with such people, above such a physician?

And if the art of physick, or one half of it, were the knowledge of receipts or forms of medicines to cure diseases; apothecaries might have more pretence to vie with physicians: but, to be sure, that is the least part of it, and a manifold greater proportion of judgment and skill is requisite to discover the disease, than to apply the remedy; and without such discovery, abundant and frequent mischief may be done, even to the destruction of life, by applying medicines in themselves safe, and (according to the vulgar term) wholesome: and not only so, but by the omission of the proper remedies in their seasons, through the same want of judgment; which mischiefs by omissions, as well as otherwise, whoever pretends to the practice of physick hath to answer for. In such cases, how can that be a sufficient plea which passeth for current generally, that nothing was done, but only some cordial given, or what was very safe? though at best nothing to the purpose: whereas, in the beginning of many diseases, while the opportunities of applying the great remedies, and doing to the purpose, are either only, or to the best advantage to be taken, that doing nothing but, &c. is the undoing of the patient, if loss of life be so to be accounted; there being so much difficulty and danger, in many diseases that carry the least appearance of either, as to require the first and earliest opportunities for a physician to act towards their cure.

This communication of medicines by physicians to apothecaries, whereby they come to be so great masters of receipts, is (in the plain reason and nature of the thing) a trust, whereof they are free to make the advantage or profit that belongs to their trade, by selling such medicines at valuable rates, according to their costliness, or elaborateness in their preparation; but the advantage of directing and prescribing their use, in all cases, belongs to the physician; and the hindering him herein, to the impairing of his practice, is a breach of trust, and unworthy, as well as injurious dealing by him, as may farther appear by the following consideration.

All laws of nature and nations, all justice, equity, and reason of mankind, do allow to every person the benefit of his own invention; which, if it be of that nature, that the bringing of it into use and practice doth necessarily import the discovery of it, according to our laws, patents for terms of years are granted: but, if an invention be of such a nature, that it may be concealed in the use and practice, no limitation, for private advantage or profit thereby, is set by law; it is only honesty, ingenuity, or interest, that can restrain from making unreasonable or unconscionable advantages in such case. Now, any medicines or receipts for cure of diseases, invented by physicians, or coming to their private knowledge only; or any new use or virtue of an old known medicine, discovered by any physician; in relation to those physicians, by whom they have been invented, or discovered, as far as they are of any consideration or value, are of this nature, that is, inventions that may be kept secret by them; and whereof nothing hinders them from making the advantage; the laws of the land, as well as in other countries, allowing and authorizing physicians, to practise their art in all its parts and members; and so, by consequence, to make any medicines themselves.

The case being thus: how unreasonable and unequal is it, that when a physician hath by his industry found out, or by some felicity lighted upon a discovery that hath proved remarkably successful in some particular disease or case; upon his communication of it to an apothecary, he shall have only an inconsiderable matter, not worth the owning many times, in case the patient come or send to him; or at most, an ordinary fee, in case of

visiting the patient? Whereas the apothecary, being one that takes upon him to practise, shall not only repeat the same medicine, many times over, to the same patient; but also give it to any other patients, whose case he judges to be the same, or of affinity to it; and drive a trade with it all his life-time: and so gain (as is well known, and hath been, upon occasion, by some confessed or boasted of) by one receipt, an hundred times as much as the physician's reward, or fee, for prescribing it; so that he only cures the patient once for an ordinary fee at most, and teaches the apothecary, when the same case occurs, to do it ever after.

The consequence of this, to physicians, must be the impoverishment of many; who, in regard of the charges of their education, and the use and consequence of their profession, deserve to get as great estates, as are gotten in any profession or way of trading; and yet shall scarce be able to subsist, though as learned and able in their profession, as their predecessors; who thirty or forty years ago got great estates, when the apothecaries kept within their own bounds, or inconsiderably incroached upon the physicians. For now a physician will be of no use, only amongst great persons, or persons of learning and parts to value him; whereas others that are of ability enough for estates, and would be ready to entertain him, are so amused by apothecaries, their ostentations and pretensions before mentioned, their canting upon the common notions, and terms of humours, fumes, obstructions, &c. which an empty illiterate pretender, having confidence enough, may so manage, as to make a more graceful sound than the most solid and able physician; that they are generally entertained in the beginning of sicknesses, and made judges, whether or no, and when any, and what physician shall be sent for; being accounted a check upon the physician by such a sort of people; who, for the most part, is not called, till the other is willing to go no farther, because it is not his interest, that the person should die under his cure: and then he says, it is work for a doctor; who shall have nothing to do amongst these people, but in desperate cases; whereas, as hath been hinted already, in difficult cases, the best physician may stand in need of all advantages, especially timely opportunities, to apply proper and effectual remedies for cure.

And where the apothecary hath the nomination of the physician, it is easily judged what one he is like to be; that is, one between whom and him a design is driven of mutual furtherance, or one that he knows will comply with him; that is, content to succeed him, and approve of what he hath done before; or, one that is noted, in general, to prescribe most for the apothecary's profit. Upon such accounts, some physicians are cried up, and others decried, if not traduced; of no less, or of much more, and longer approved ability, worth, and honesty. To be sure no physician taken notice of, to have and give any medicine of his own preparation, shall be called in, if the apothecary can hinder it. Persons may, if they please, be undeceived upon this account; and understand, how little reason they have, and how little it may be their interest to be ruled by apothecaries, in their choice of physicians. And if patients understood their interest, they would take no such satisfaction, as they seem to do, in the visits of apothecaries; but rather wish them in their shops, to make or oversee the making of their medicines, prescribed by physicians; which are left to their servants, many times raw and slovenly apprentices, while the masters spend their time abroad, physician-like, in visiting.

Another consequence must be utter discouragement to study, or endeavour after, or to make use of, by prescribing to apothecaries, any more excellent or effectual medicaments: since the advantage will be so inconsiderable to the physicians themselves, in comparison of what it may be to others, who have so little right thereto, and deserve so little from them. So that all encouragement to, and hope of improvement of the art itself, by the present physicians is cut off; and, for a succession, if the present state and condition of the profession continue, how can it reasonably be expected, or supposed, that persons of considerable learning, parts, or abilities, will ever apply themselves to the study of physick? And what the consequence of all may be to the publick, is submitted to their estimation, who are most competent to judge of the great concerns thereof.

The profession of physick being under so hard a condition, and not to be exercised in

the ordinary way, but upon the disadvantages before set forth, the remedies of the same, and the means to reduce it to a better state, must needs deserve serious consideration; being of importance, not only to the physicians, but also to the public good and safety, as the lives and healths of persons are considerable thereto. These may be several, and of different kinds; some relating to the higher powers, as provision of good laws, in this behalf, &c. And indeed, in this kingdom, the wisdom of princes and parliaments hath not been wanting, in providing for the regulation of the profession; according to which, no person, not legally authorized, can practise without breaking the laws in that behalf, or incurring the penalties of them; which, according to the times wherein they were set, were very high: but in these times they are easier to be borne, rendering the adventure so much less, which is a great imboldening of persons, having no legal right to practise, to run the hazard of those penalties: besides, the difficulty of discovery and proof, the tediousness in processes, and prosecution of the advantages by those laws, against delinquents, not without uncertainty in the issue, as in other cases never so just, do much more encourage such persons, till there may come a time and opportunity for supplying any defects in the laws already made.

But if there be any advantage in the power of physicians themselves, which they may lawfully, honestly, and fairly make use of, to put themselves into a better condition for the exercise of their profession, it may be of good consequence to consider thereof; since all law, equity, and reason, allows them as well as others (as was touched before) to make advantage of their own inventions; and since they are of such a nature as they may keep them secret to themselves, in the use and practice of them; they being not bound to discover them to apothecaries, or any others, but free to prepare them themselves, as hath been made appear; whether may not this course set upon, though attended with some trouble and inconvenience, be an effectual means, at least, in reasonable time, very considerably to advantage and better the condition of physicians in their practice?

In this undertaking, it is not at all necessary that any physician should be put to the drudgery or trouble of making, or overseeing the making of every medicine, that he may have occasion to use; or to have a magazine furnished with all common things, as distilled water, syrups, conserves, &c. For the practice of physick may easily, by able and judicious physicians, be managed with the tenth part of the things commonly in use, and the remedies reduced accordingly; and this reduction so far from being a detriment, that it may be a great improvement of the art.

The College of Physicians of London, in compiling their 'Dispensatory,' following the example of other societies of physicians abroad, have set down the ancient forms and compositions of Galen, and the old Greek physicians, of Mesue and the Arabians, with some other of later authors; in consideration of the reverence due to the antiquity of some, with the approved use and experience of all. And it may vie with any public dispensatories in foreign parts, as to choice and usefulness of the prescriptions it contains; being as little redundant in superfluities, and deficient in necessities, as they: but it was never intended, or pretended, that it should contain all medicines necessary to practice, or the best of them; and, therefore, the invention and use of others was ever allowed to able physicians: considering withal, at what uncertainty the translators and interpreters of those authors (especially of the Arabians) are, concerning some words, and the ingredients thereby signified; and at what disadvantage we must have, and use the medicaments produced in their countries, upon transportation so far, or production in colder climates; all which must render those compositions less certain and efficacious: wherefore they did not think themselves concerned to make that book so much their own, as that there might be no impertinencies, irrational prescriptions, or, perhaps, errors therein; whence it is no wonder, that such a foul-mouthed impudent scribbler as the translator of it (for want of better employment to relieve him in his necessitous condition) should take occasion to make such work as he hath done about it; and the more, through his ignorance and confidence, calumniating falsely in divers particulars.

This being the condition of that book, the physicians of the college have no such cause,

as the common people may think, to envy them the translation of it; nor have they any such treasure of it, as they may suppose themselves; nor is it the translating of all physick-books extant into the vulgar language, that will edify much, or enable persons of other employments to be their own physicians, whatever may be thought otherwise; or the reading of them in their own language by apothecaries, who have Latin enough so to do, that will make them physicians; since there are innumerable particular cases, that fall out every day, requiring answerable remedies, to be discovered and made out upon a habit and principles, enabling to judge and discern, not to be found in book-cases; all which put together do not reach or comprise them. And the 'Dispensatory' beforementioned, or any other, is far short of prescribing remedies for them all. And as to the forms or receipts of which it is made up, it was never judged otherwise by able physicians, but that there are in them many ingredients impertinent, and some contrary to the main intentions for which they are in use; besides irrational proportions and quantities, though, upon the whole, they have been successful; and that such physicians are far from being tied to them in their practice, as being able to invent better, more easy to be prepared, more grateful and convenient for use. For a multitude of ingredients (wherein many of those ancient receipts are luxuriant, upon a design to bring in every good thing into one medicine) is so far from bettering a composition, that it is at the best, and for the most part, an alloy to it, and renders it less effectual; whereas a judicious choice of a few ingredients is the greatest advantage to the virtue and use of it.

Whoever, with judgment, peruseth the 'London Dispensatory,' may soon estimate to what an epitome it may be reduced; how many compositions may be spared, how many ingredients, almost in every composition; and whoever, with the like judgment, considers and casts up the main intentions and indications that occur in practice, it will not be hard for him to state the remedies adequate and proper to such intentions as are of greatest importance; and, by consequence, to be stored with preparations and compositions ready made of the choicest materials, to the best advantage, for use and practice more grateful and effectual, and every way more considerable than the shop-medicines; as purges, cordials, antidotes, &c. which, by judgment and chymical art, as the case may require, may be so prepared, as to last long without impairing the virtue by keeping; and, therefore, to be always ready; to be of such form as is convenient to be given, either alone, or with some vehicle, which may easily be had, or prepared by the patient, or any about him.

And if patients knew all, they would not be best satisfied in the greatest number and variety of the medicines administered, and the most frequent plying of them therewith; for this may be (as was hinted before) of design in some physicians, to render themselves the more acceptable to apothecaries in general, as using to prescribe much physick; or upon some combination between the physician and apothecary, in hope of some answerable return; as, on the contrary, it hath been the complaint of the apothecary sometimes that the physician, of ill-will, hath prescribed little, and chargeable things; both which are great disadvantages to their bills: whereas, when they are made up of numerous particulars of things less chargeable, how much soever is gained thereby, they appear more reasonable to the patients. Now, though, in some cases, there may be need of more medicaments, in greater variety, and more frequently plied; yet, in most other cases, a rational and judicious choice of one, or a very few medicines, may signify much more to the good of the patient, than a luxuriant variety.

And it will not be hard for a physician, making use only of a servant, or servants, (who shall be no ways capable of discovering his secrets, but only fit to kindle fires, tend a still or furnace, beat at a mortar, &c.) to oversee, and, with his own hands, prepare and compound what is necessary for himself to do; and, by this means, though he be in full practice, at the expence of a few spare hours, to store himself sufficiently for all his occasions, with such great remedies and secrets of importance: and for other medicines of less value and consequence, they may be had at the apothecaries, or taught the patients, or those about them, as was said of vehicles, without any considerable prejudice to the practice of physick. To

be sure, it were far better to teach patients any medicines, than practising apothecaries; for those, if they have any ingenuity, will be sensible of the benefit, and, at most, but use it again for themselves, some friend, or the poor for charity; whereas these will not only use it, *toties quoties*, to the same patient, but make a trade of it to all others whom they have to do with, and judge in the like condition.

Nor can it be any dishonour to a physician thus to employ himself between whiles, in the making of such choice and important medicines; as it is upon record, and clearly appears, that Hippocrates and his sons, Galen, and other ancient physicians, did the like; nor is there the least appearance that they had any apothecaries, or ever wrote bills to any. And, to be sure, in our times, we see how worthy ladies, and gentlewomen of quality, do employ themselves in making confections, and medicines internal and external; and it is known, what countesses and great persons of both sexes have done the like, whence some medicines have their names, to none of which it was ever reputed a dishonour. And how then can it be to physicians, whose employment, in this kind, need not be more troublesome or laborious? And, in respect of the near relation of it to their profession, must be to the greater advantage, and more general concernment of the life and health of mankind.

If it be thought, that this expedient of physicians making their own medicaments, comes now too late for the securing of the practice of physick to themselves; the apothecaries being already so stocked with innumerable receipts for all cases, upon the communication of the practice of physicians for so many years, or some ages, that they need no more: it is to be considered what great variety of new cases do daily emerge, what diseases, and new faces and conditions of diseases, every year almost produceth, not to be found described in all physick-books extant; for which they may not have one proper receipt in all their store, or, if there be any such, it may be long enough before they find it. Nor is there any other way, but by principles and a habit of judging and discerning in a physician, to come to the knowledge of such diseases and cases, their nature, causes, and cure; so that, without farther communication to apothecaries, they must come to be at a loss, for all their great stock and store of old receipts.

And it is farther to be considered, that the consequence of physicians exercising themselves in the preparation of medicines will be the invention of such as shall be more effectual, pleasant, and convenient for use than the shop-medicines; and shall, among those that have experienced them, beget a nauseating of and aversion to the other, and beat them quite out of use or esteem.

And considering how apothecaries may and do censure the whole practice of some physicians, and of those in the fullest employment, to be upon a few ordinary or inconsiderable prescriptions; and pretend their own to be upon rare secrets or choice prescriptions of some most eminent ancient physicians, and such as have proved most successful: it is high time for physicians to go out of the road, and do something extraordinary to secure themselves from such imputation.

If upon the consideration of the great variety of diseases and cases, it be questioned, How a physician will be able to apply proper remedies, out of a few choice and effectual medicaments of his own preparation? It is answered, By composition, and by addition of others, in some cases, (though of less importance of themselves, easily to be directed to apothecaries, or any about the patient, if the physician do it not himself,) sufficient variety of medicaments, accommodated to the particular diseases and cases, may be produced: as we see what infinite variety of articulate sounds are, by various compounding or placing the twenty-four letters of the alphabet. And, to be sure, one may be at a greater loss, by confusion amongst a multitude of superfluous, impertinent, luxuriant, and inconsiderable medicaments, than amongst a small number of choice and effectual ones; with which a small closet furnished may afford more to answer all intentions, than many of the greatest shops of apothecaries, as they stand now furnished, put together; and may better enable physicians to make good that distich,

*Et, quoniam variant morbi, variabimus artes;
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.*

Besides the securing of the practice of physick to physicians, and the preventing its falling into other hands, which is a more necessary advantage; there is another of happy consequence and more honourable, which, by this course of physicians making their own medicaments, may be attained; that is, a great improvement in the art itself, hinted before. For when judicious physicians come to be more familiarly acquainted with the materials of medicaments, and also to experiment and observe operations and processes upon them; especially the more accurate and artificial, as in chymical preparations; they will discover the most advantageous ways of preparation, and the most rational proportions in order to composition; and come to contrive and invent new medicaments, exceeding others in their kinds, and improve, beyond what they can imagine of themselves, before they have entered this way, and what they can ever otherwise attain; as some learned and ingenious physicians have done. Nor can it be denied, that, in this course, some empiricks have stumbled upon very considerable and effectual medicaments, where-with, in some particular cases, they have outdone learned physicians; and, by the advantage of making their own medicaments, they bear up, and will do, till they be outdone in the same kind by such physicians.

Nor hath a physician any way of vying, upon equal terms, with an empirick, but by giving his own medicines, as well as he; and, by concealment, securing them from censure or undervaluing, as the other doth: and much less can he vie with a practising apothecary, when called in to a case, after he hath undertaken and administered according to his skill: for, in this case, it is not his interest that a physician should have better success than himself; and therefore, how faithfully and accurately the physician's prescriptions will be prepared, may be a doubt. But, to be sure, nothing is more obvious, than for the apothecary to undervalue them, and to say, that the same, and as good, or better, have been given already: which suggestions, how false soever, cannot but raise a diffidence or prejudice in the patient to the disadvantage of the success.

There is one farther advantage of great importance, by the physician's giving his own preparations; that is, the certainty he shall be at in all his medicaments, as to their efficacy, strength, and operation; much beyond what can be in the way of writing bills to apothecaries. It is sufficiently known, and most frequently experienced, that, let a physician write the same bill to several shops, the medicine shall be very different in the sensible qualities, scent, taste, colour, strength, pleasantness, &c. according to the goodness of the ingredients, or the cleanly and accurate making; which may cause great difference, and in reason cannot but some in the operation; while in the mean time the physician must answer for all, and all reflects upon him; whereas a physician, using always the same preparation or composition, will be at a certainty of the effect, on the part of the medicine; and any difference must be, in the disposition of the body on which it operates.

But how can it be honourable for a physician to sell medicaments, may be a question? To which may be answered, that for a physician to drive such a trade for its own sake, or merely for profit that might accrue to him thereby, could not be of credit: but in order to so necessary an end, as the securing of his practice, and the benefit of his own industry to himself; and to so good an end as the improvement of his art to the benefit of others, it can be no more dishonourable to him to sell physick, than to persons of honour and great estates to sell their corn, cattle, wool; or foreign princes, their wines. But another question may hereupon arise, How it may appear to satisfaction, that he deals reasonably and honestly in the prices and rates of his medicines? It may be answered, that in the ordinary dealing of apothecaries with their customers, (whom they call 'their patients,' but very improperly, except when they take upon them to be their physicians,) by their bills and the names of the particulars therein, it doth not at all appear, how reasonable their rates are: all the satisfaction is in the good opinion of their honesty, and in their assertions and protestations concerning the reasonableness of their prices; which indeed are arbitrary; and can hardly be other, because of the endless variety of medicines prescribed, not being of the cognizance of others (except physicians and apothecaries, upon

perusal of the receipts), as are the wares and commodities wherein other tradesmen deal. And, if physicians have the happiness to be thought honest men, amongst their friends and patients, they may give them as good satisfaction concerning their usage of them in this kind.

To be sure, the apothecaries, upon this account, That the medicines prepared and vended by them are not of the cognizance of the patients, or, however, are concealed from them; may make several advantages to themselves, not only of unreasonable profit, to the burdening of the patient; but also of undue reputation amongst the injudicious, to the injury of the physician. That they may set unreasonable rates on their medicines is obvious to conceive, and that they have done so is not unknown; upon discovery whereof, they justify all, by alleging their expence of time and attendance; and this clearly infers, that they in effect, by such means, arbitrarily set an unreasonable value upon their time and attendance, and such as may amount to more than the physician's fees come to, all put together, when he hath been entertained and daily attended, from the beginning of the disease to the end. And if, when by occasion of complaints of patients to physicians, notice hath been taken of such prices set upon some medicines prescribed by them, requiring no great time or trouble to prepare, as may make the apothecary a gainer at the rate of ninety in the hundred; with as good reason, when they are sole physicians, may they set yet higher prices on their medicines, in consideration of their advice into the bargain, if they be not allowed distinctly for it. Whence it is the less wonder how so many young apothecaries, as set up a-new, and open shops in every corner almost of the city, should subsist: for it requires no great sum to purchase fine painted and gilded pots, boxes, and glasses; and a little stock is improvable to a manifold proportion of what it is capable of in other trades. And it is as little wonder, if many apothecaries in any considerable time grow rich, and greater estates be gotten among them, in proportion to their number, than among physicians, upon such advantages beyond them, and incroachments upon their rights, contrary to what was ever known of old.

And they may take upon them to censure, or pretend against the prescriptions of physicians (as it is easy to carp, or find fault with what is most perfect or innocent, and most obnoxious, out of ignorance, or self-conceit so to do), and by this means puzzle and dissatisfy the injudicious; while no opportunity is afforded to the physician to give satisfaction, or vindicate himself; and by raising prejudice, hinder the good effect of the medicine, or divert the patient from the use of it.

And they may (and whether they have done so is not unknown) vary from the prescription of the physician, to impose upon him; and so, if the medicine has a good success, they can tell the patient, that it was not as the physician prescribed it, but as they have altered it for the better; knowing his constitution, &c. or, in plain English, none of his, but theirs. If it prove not successful, they can be silent, and by this means arrogate to themselves all good successes, and leave the other to rest upon the physician; which latter, by such a practice, they may be the authors of: so that, at this rate, all the reputation and success of the physician may be in their power, and at their mercy. Such most injurious and intolerable abuses there is reason to expect from practising apothecaries, who are emulators of physicians; and, indeed, no better than enemies unto, and a party against them; as some sufficiently discovered themselves in public, when time served, by their vilifying and disparaging the physicians before a committee of the house of commons. Now, how much it concerns physicians, and what reason they have to take any course, rather than so to be imposed upon by them, let the world judge.

They that can vary from the physician's prescription upon such an account, may with less dishonesty do it for saving, by leaving out, in whole or in part, some chargeable ingredients; which, in many compositions, cannot be missed to sense, though in reason they cannot be abated; pretending, if it be discovered, that the medicines may be more proper for the patient without them. And as to the goodness of their drugs, on which the due estimation of their rates depends, and which doth no more appear to others, than the

unreasonableness of the rates, they may, whether they do or not, put off such as are defective, decayed, impure, &c. and, in such respect, of little value. For (as hath been said) all failure of success, or ill success, is imputed to the physician; whence it clearly may be inferred, how much better satisfaction and security against defectiveness in medicaments, there may be in dealing with the physician than the apothecary; since the perfection of any medicine is of such concernment to the success, which is the great interest of the physician (and the more, while he acts alone,) unless he be supposed so wicked, as to be corrupted to do mischief to the patient: and, in such case, the apothecary, being corrupted, (not only when he practiseth himself, but when employed under a physician, by adding to, or altering what is prescribed, or giving one thing for another,) may easily do the like mischief, undiscovered; with the great advantage of imputation to, or reflection upon the physician.

For it often falls out in practice, that medicaments, in themselves safe and gentle, have rough and violent operations upon the body; meeting with some cause thereof within; and much more may stronger and churlish physick have the like, which a physician may sometimes be necessitated to prescribe, except he will merely trifle with the patient, and let him die: now a little alteration of such a medicine by the apothecary may be the death of a patient; wherein he cannot be detected, and therefore it must rest upon the physician.

For avoiding suspicion, where the physician may gain by the death of a patient, as of a parent, wife, or relation, to whom he may be heir, or any other, by whose death some apparent advantage may accrue to him; it hath been the prudence of physicians to decline acting alone, though no jealousy or caution on the part of the patient hath given occasion thereof; and, by this course, it is in the power of physicians to secure themselves from the suspicion, and of patients, from the practice of any such wicked design against them, whereby those may become accessory to their death. In other cases, upon consideration it may clearly appear, how much more the life and recovery of a patient is the interest of a physician, than of an apothecary, who only prepares the physick for the patient, by the physician's prescription. The apothecary may lose a customer and friend, by whom, in time to come, he might have made good advantage; the physician answerably may lose a patient and friend, who, in reason, might have been at least as beneficial to him. But this may be the least part of his loss; for, besides this consideration, upon the death of a person, especially of note, esteem, or interest in the world, all near relations, friends, and dependants taken notice of, or are inquisitive after the physician, and (though he be of eminent general repute, yet except he have the happiness to be well thought of among them, or the advantage to give them a satisfactory account) are ready to suspect some want of ability or judgment in him, to discern the disease, or apply proper remedies; or some want of care, consideration, or diligence requisite to the case; and thereupon to censure either the doing, or the omission of something, as dangerous or fatal. Hereupon they have an aversion unto, or prejudice against that physician, for the future; so, as to be inclined to make use of any other, rather than of him: which consequence, upon the death of a patient, may much more impair the physician's practice, than all he can be supposed to lose, by such a particular patient. Now there is no such consideration or suspicion, concerning the apothecary (except any thing notorious be discovered against the goodness of his medicines); whence it is seen amongst passionately affectionate persons, upon the loss of children, near relations, or dear friends, that they are averse to the sight of the physician that took care of them, though there hath not been the least ground or cause in reason so to be; and yet the apothecary is in as good esteem with them as ever. Hence, it is rational to infer, that whoever engageth a physician in an action, so much against his interest, as the being instrumental to procure the death of any person, must bid very high for it: and since his opportunity is only while persons are sick or taking physick; and, since it is so feasible, towards persons in sickness or health, by the ways and artifices of poison to dispatch them, (wherein others are more versed than the physicians of

England were ever known to be,) and which are usually managed and dispensed in diet; towards which, a cook, butler, other servants, or any that may be frequently about the person, have more opportunity than a physician, and, in reason, may be corrupted at easier rates; it may be presumed, a physician will not be made use of to such a purpose; according as there is little extant in history, and little reported of physicians, employed in such work, which others may so easily do, and have so frequently done.

As to the rates of medicines, if the physicians did to all patients, that do not undervalue them in their fees, (though giving but according to the ordinary and accustomed rate, time out of mind in England,) give all the medicines of their own preparation they should need to use; the condition of the profession must be better, than by communicating to apothecaries, to give them such advantages against themselves as have been set forth. Whence it is clear to infer, at how much cheaper rates a physician may afford medications, than an apothecary; and therefore in all reason, supposing them to be men of honesty or understanding their own interest, they will do so. And, no doubt, the event will shew it, upon dealing with physicians that take this course, when the difference shall appear, by comparing the charges, upon entertaining such a physician alone, with what hath been usual, upon making use of a physician and apothecary both together, in like cases; or upon making use of an apothecary alone, whereby many cannot but think, that great matters must be saved; whereas, if the medicines brought in by him amount to ten shillings, he may get little short of a physician's fee. But how much they multiply, and ply the patient with medicines, in such cases, is ordinarily seen; and a physician, that hath no end in favour of the apothecary, may do the work with that which amounts to far the least part of what is usually obtruded in such cases; and though he receive some fees, yet may be less chargeable to the patient, than any apothecary entertained, as well as more satisfactory to all such as allow more ability to a physician, in his profession, than to an apothecary.

It may be an objection against the course of physicians preparing medicines for their own peculiar use, that it will cut off all free communication between physicians, and render consultations insignificant. To this may be answered, that those physicians engaged in this work, between whom there was a good understanding and a free communication formerly, may as freely communicate upon their peculiar preparations; or, at least such account of them may be given, as shall be sufficient for judgment, whether they be proper in the particular case before them, or not. But it is not to be expected, that all the considerable physicians should engage in this course; some being in full practice, in combination or conjunction with apothecaries, from whom it is not to be expected, they should trouble themselves about preparing medicines; and some depending upon apothecaries, to bring them into notice and acquaintance; who must therefore comply with them not only in writing bills to their best advantage; but also, as occasion serves, enter on their leavings of practice, and perhaps consult with them. In such cases, indeed, it is not reasonable to expect, that any physician should communicate a peculiar preparation of his own to another, that can make no use of it, but by divulging it to an apothecary. But, as to consultation, it may be said, that any such physicians meeting, may proceed upon the shop-medicines to as good advantage, as formerly; neither is any physician, that prepares his own medicines, the less able, to be sure, to write bills to apothecaries, but rather the more, in that respect, as far as he is free thereto.

There remains one grand objection; that this course of physicians making their own medicines must ruin the apothecaries, who are numerous, and a company of the city of London, incorporated by charter⁴. To this it may be answered, that the apothecaries are become so numerous in the city of London, very probably, upon encouragement, by

⁴ [The company of Apothecaries was incorporated by charter from James I. procured at the solicitation of Dr. Mayherne and Dr. Atkins; till that time they only made a part of the Grocers' company; plums, sugar, spice, Venice-treacle, mithridate, &c. were sold in the same shop, and by the same person. The reason of separating them was, that medicines might be better prepared, and in opposition to divers persons who imposed unwholesome remedies on the people. *Observ. on Case of Will. Rose, sect. ii.*]

the advantages taken against physicians, to practise themselves; and against patients or customers to set as high prices as they please: and it is easily granted, that, without such courses, a great part of them cannot subsist. Whereas it may be said of all the physicians in London, having any legal right to practise, that they might live well on their practice, in the old course of writing bills to apothecaries, were it not for the practising apothecaries, and other empiricks. However, the numerousness of apothecaries doth not justify illegal and injurious advantages taken against physicians, no more than the numerousness of necessitous persons doth their indirect and unwarrantable courses of living; during which, the present course of writing all in bills to apothecaries must ruin the physicians, whose education doth cost a good estate or stock, and a great part of the time of their lives, before they can arrive to get any thing; and who in London are a society incorporated by charter; having that charter and other privileges established by acts of parliament; as the authority or privilege of them and others, to practise elsewhere, depends upon the charters and privileges of the universities, which are also established by acts of parliament: so that, for a legal establishment, the apothecaries can no ways vie with the physicians. And as to the merits of the cause, and equity, let it be considered, that the physicians did part with, and freely allow one part of their profession to be exercised by others, yet never quitted the right of exercising that also themselves; whence, as elsewhere, so in England, it hath been always free (and the law expressly allows it, and there is an express reserve in the apothecaries' charter to that effect) for physicians to exercise their art in all its parts: that, upon this, advantage is taken by apothecaries to invade the whole, by giving advice, as well as making and selling medicines; and so by consequence, if the physicians should not resume the other, they themselves must be ruined, upon the abuses and advantages taken against them before set forth: and it will soon appear, whether it be not more equal, that the physicians should preserve themselves by recovery of their own, than the others by invading theirs, and getting all from them; to which the former have all the right, and the latter none at all.

But, supposing such a course universally taken up, of physicians making their own medicines of importance for their use in practice, a ruining of apothecaries would not necessarily follow; they would yet practise upon the meaner sort, and perhaps many others, whom, for want of judgment, they would, by their canting and ostentation, and by raising prejudice against physicians, draw into a better opinion of themselves; besides the trade of their shops. But, because such practice of theirs must be gained by false suggestions, upon the ignorance and credulity of the people, and is illegal, and may do more mischief than good in the kingdom, this answer is not to be accounted satisfactory: therefore, it is to be taken notice of, that though the making of all medicines for his own use in his practice do of right belong to a physician; yet no such thing hath been here absolutely propounded or intended; but only, of some choice ones of great importance and efficacy, and so many as may secure the practice of physick to the physicians, which may be far the least part of what there will be occasion to use in the whole practice of a physician. And so (besides the sale of shop-medicines, not only by retail, but wholesale, whereby, it is known many have gotten great estates, without dispensing physicians' bills) all other medicines directed by physicians may be had of apothecaries; who, according as they approve themselves fair and faithful to physicians, will have the more furtherance in this kind from them. For what was said before, of teaching medicines and vehicles to patients, was intended to shew, how a physician, if he were put to it, might go through in a cure, without an apothecary; notwithstanding which, it is for him to prescribe all such medicines to any apothecary that he is satisfied in. And it is far from the intention hereof to brand all apothecaries, many of whom are allowed to be honest and conscientious, as well as eminently able and skilful in their profession, and such as may be trusted by physicians; any of whom, as they appear to be such, for all that hath been said, may have as much to do in their own proper work and trade, as formerly, or with a small proportion; while physicians engage no farther, in giving any thing of their own prepara-

tion, than the practice of apothecaries hath necessitated them unto. And even as to those medicaments to be prepared by physicians, they also may be lodged with such apothecaries, to be used by the physician's prescription, or allowance, and not otherwise, (for preventing misapplication by such as are ignorant of them, and ill success, or failure of success thereupon, to the detriment of the patients, and undue defamation of the medicines,) and vended at such rates, as may make him a saver: (which ought to satisfy him, since concealment is his design), and the apothecary a reasonable gainer, and yet not be burthensome to the patient. By which means, when there is a good understanding between the physician and the apothecary, and no cause or provocation given; there need be no notice taken to the patient of any such medicine of the physician's preparation administered, but all things may be supposed prepared by the apothecary. And this transaction, between such physicians and apothecaries as shall agree upon it, will bring this whole affair into as good condition for the benefit of the latter (as to their own work and trade) as ever it was heretofore, when they kept within their own bounds, and as of right it ought to be: and, therefore, should seem very desirable, and readily to be embraced by them, for avoiding greater inconveniencies and disadvantages, which by transcending their bounds, and undertaking above their capacities, while they injuriously invade the rights of the physicians, they may most justly bring upon themselves.

A POSTSCRIPT.

THIS discourse was written above five years since, not in any haste to be made public, but to give vent to, and discharge the mind of the author, of some working thoughts, wherewith it was frequently occupied, by occasion of what he had long observed, and could not but take notice of; tending to the ruin of the profession of physick, by the practice and designs of the apothecaries, if they should hold on the course they have used these many years, and nothing should be done to undeceive the world concerning them and their actings, to the disadvantage of physicians. It was some satisfaction of mind, to make out, in any rational deduction and coherence of things, what had so much exercised and taken up his thoughts, though it were but to lie by, or be communicated to private friends at most. And there being at first little thought or inclination to publish what was so conceived in writing; the plague and the fire did successively for a long time after divert from any such thoughts. If an account be demanded, why this discourse comes forth in public at this time? There shall no necessity of it be pleaded, (as the manner is with some authors) to make the world believe them, upon some account or other, necessitated to publish their works. Neither shall importunity of friends be insisted upon, though something in that kind might be alledged. And, if the author may be believed, it was no design of private advantage by gaining profit or credit, that induced him to the publishing hereof. They have been far different ways, and especially compliance with apothecaries, that have been in use hitherto, to improve a physician's practice: and therefore this, in reason, may be a course to ruin it; except he be one that hath the advantage of some reputation for approved ability and honesty, attended with some considerable success. All that the author alledgeth for this publication, is, that the causes exciting and provoking him to exercise his thoughts this way, and to put the same in writing, continuing and increasing, (that is, the invasion of the practice of physick by apothecaries, and their actings to the prejudice of physicians,) begat a presumption in his weak judgment, that such a discourse as this might do some right to the profession of physick, and might give occasion to physicians of acting somewhat towards the securing of it from utter ruin; especially while it might be coincident with the honour of the art, by improvement of that part which concerns the preparation of medicines; without prostituting or exposing what they may attain thereby, to those that have no right to make such advantage thereof; as hitherto they have done against physicians, upon their communications to them on the behalf of

patients. Another presumption was, that it might undeceive the people, in reference to the supposed advantages of good received, or charges saved; by making use of such apothecaries in place of physicians, as take upon them to practise physick.

It hath been far from the intention of the discourse to hinder apothecaries, much less to ruin them, if that were possible, in the trade that they have any right to exercise; that is, the making and sale of medicines: or to advantage the practice of physick, by the sale of any of the physicians own preparation. But, according to what was before expressed, to give occasion to physicians to consider how much it concerns them, in this age, to endeavour the invention of better than the shop-medicines, (towards which their own exercise and experience, in the preparation, will give great advantage,) and reserve them to themselves, that they may have something more than any apothecaries can pretend to be masters of, in order to improve the art, as well as secure the practice to themselves; which, by this means, is both lawful and fair for them to do. And though it be free for them to be so furnished as to be able to go through with any cure without employing an apothecary, (as the apothecaries do without physicians;) yet this is not insisted upon, except in case of just provocation, or necessitating thereto. Otherwise, the hindrance of the apothecaries, in the trade that of right belongs unto them, may be inconsiderable, or in a small proportion, according to what is offered in the conclusion of the precedent discourse; and that it should be any at all, is but what they have deservedly brought upon themselves.

As to empiricks swarming so numerously in the city of London, and all parts of the kingdom, it hath not been the work of the discourse to animadvert upon them; because, though many of them may be less fit to be tolerated in the practice of physick than some apothecaries, yet their practice is more obvious to public notice: and they, having no such relation to physicians as apothecaries have, are in no such capacity of betraying any trust committed unto them by physicians, (which the communication of their practice to apothecaries, in the nature of it, is,) or of fighting against physicians with their own weapons.

In the discourse there hath been no affectation of style or language, only an endeavour after expressions adequate to the things intended. Neither hath there been any strict observation of method; whence some things or passages, in effect the same, are more than once, upon several occasions, brought in: but all, in this kind, amounts not to so much, as to carry an appearance of a designed enlargement. If the main intention thereof prove grounded, and of any good importance to be publicly taken notice of; the defects or faults, are presumed not to be more or greater, than a candid reader may connive at or pardon.

A Cry against a Crying Sin¹: Or, a just Complaint to the Magistrates, against them who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by Killing of Men merely for Theft². Manifested in a Petition long since presented to the Common-Council of the City of London, on the Behalf of Transgressors. Together with certain Proposals, presented by Colonel Pride, to the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army, and the Committee, appointed by the Parliament of England, to consider of the Inconveniencies, Mischiefs, Chargeableness, and Irregularities in their Law.

- ‘ Therefore I said, Surely these are poor, they are foolish; for they know not
‘ the Way of Jehovah, nor the Judgment of their God.
- ‘ I will get me unto the great Men, and I will speak unto them; for they
‘ have known the Way of Jehovah, the Judgment of their God; but these
‘ have altogether broken the Yoke, and burst the Bonds.
- ‘ Therefore, a Lion out of the Forest shall slay them; a Wolf of the Evenings
‘ shall spoil them; a Leopard shall watch over their Cities: every one that
‘ goeth out thence shall be torn in Pieces, because their Transgressions are
‘ many, and their Backslidings are strong.’—JER. v. 4, 5, 6.
- ‘ The Princes of Judah were like them that removed the Bound: I will pour
‘ out my Wrath upon them like Water.
- ‘ Ephraim is oppressed and broken in Judgment; because he willingly walked
‘ after the Commandment.
- ‘ Therefore, will I be unto Ephraim as a Moth; and to the House of Judah
‘ as Rottenness.’—HOSEA v. 10, 11, 12.
- ‘ I have written to him the great Things of my Law; but they were counted
‘ as a strange Thing.’—HOSEA viii. 12.

Printed at London, for Samuel Chidley, dwelling in Bow-Lane, at the Sign of the Chequer; 1652.

[Quarto; containing thirty-four pages; in red letter.]

The PREFACE.

THIS little book reflecteth upon all those who have broken the statute laws of God, by killing of men merely for theft. Let such sinners who are the judges, or executioners

¹ [The severity of the penal laws of England, with regard to the punishment of theft, has been complained of in other times beside the present. It should, however, be remembered that every court which has power to award an execution, has also a discretionary power of granting a reprieve; a power which the magistrates of late times have fully evinced their disposition to exert. And the king, part of whose coronation-oath it is to execute judgment in mercy, may at the end of all criminal prosecutions, except in bills of attainder, and of pains and penalties passed by the whole legislature, grant a free pardon, or subject to condition, or remit part of the sentence.]

² Vide Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 295.

of such over-much justice, be ashamed and confounded, for defiling the land with blood. If they hold on this their wonted course, now the light of lawful liberty breaketh forth, will not the land spue them out? For the earth crieth against this sin, which cannot be cleansed in an ordinary way, without the blood of him that sheddeth it. This is one of the abominations of the time, for which the saints ought to mourn.

It is long since this following petition was presented to Thomas Andrews, esq. the then lord-mayor, and to the aldermen and common-council: but had they done but their duties, I had no need to print and publish these books in red letters, and present the same to them in the midst of their jollity, and to the learned judges of the land; yea, to the commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol-delivery, at the sessions of Newgate; before whom I appeared to put them in mind of their duty and of the law of God, which they had forgotten, and rested too much upon an arm of flesh: yea, if they had done what they were bound in conscience to do, and had observed that most righteous law to which they were sworn; it would have saved me a labour of going to the council of state, general council of the army, or the parliament. Now, seeing little fruit yet appears, for the establishing of the laws of God in this nation, (for the lives of men are taken away merely for unvaluable trifles,) I am once more pressed in spirit to publish the same, in manner and form following: thus sounding an alarm against the workers of iniquity, that they may repent and turn from their evil ways; so delivering my soul, and clearing myself of that blood-guiltiness which lieth upon others, and especially upon rich men, who are called to weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon others. For the bread of the needy is the life of the poor, and he that defraudeth him of it is a murderer; and the Scripture saith, 'Thou shalt take no ransom for the life of a murderer that is guilty of death, but he shall surely be put to death.' But I hope, that some righteous men will take the matter into serious consideration; these our endeavours tending not only to the good of those transgressors, who have not deserved death by the laws of God, but also of those who put them to death unjustly; lest the justice of God take hold upon those who are the causers of it, and that the like punishment be inflicted justly upon them, which they inflict upon others unjustly. And, indeed, I do admire that men who profess to be governed by God's laws, and stand against tyranny, should have a finger in such a work! Surely, such men, though they pretend never so much religion, are not fit to pray, nor to be prayed with: for, when they stretch forth their hands, God will hide his eyes; and though they make many prayers, he will not hear them whose hands are full of blood.

To the Right-Honourable the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in
Common-Council assembled.

The mournful Petition of many Inhabitants of the City of London, in the Behalf of many
thousand Transgressors.

Sheweth,

THAT, forasmuch as the righteous God exacteth no more of sinful man, than his iniquities deserve, no magistrate is to punish a wicked man for his iniquity, beyond the rule of equity; that, seeing it is evident, that whatsoever is good is of God, and the contrary of Abaddon: and that no man's will, though great, is good, unless it be correspondent to the will of Him who is greater than the greatest; nor the law of any authority whatsoever, unless it be according to the law of Him who is higher than the highest: therefore, when great ungodly men have by their own wills, and inhuman laws, for many years, destroyed not only the righteous for conscience-sake, but also the wicked undeservedly, this was iniquity to be punished by the judge, though done by judges themselves, who, by their over-much righteousness, and over-much wickedness, (the people abetting them) have brought death and destruction upon this land; and the hand of the Lord is

stretched out still, against this sinful nation, and unless they repent, they shall surely perish.

That the head of this land is the sinful city of London, who, instead of bringing forth monthly good, for the healing of the nation, doth bring forth that which tendeth to the destruction thereof; grey hairs being sprinkled here and there upon them, and they not aware: for they consider not, how many are destroyed every month by the law of man, contrary to the law of God, who hath declared, that if a thief be found breaking through, the sun being risen upon him, and be smitten that he die, blood shall be shed for him; (Exod. xxii. 3.) from whence it appeareth, that those are guilty before the Lord, who take away the life of any man, merely for stealing, when the Lord requireth, that he should make full restitution out of his estate; or, if he have nothing, that he should be sold for his theft. But contrariwise, their lives are taken away, merely for stealing; and commonly many, though found notorious thieves, yet have been discharged (with little or no punishment, either in person or purse,) to the great damage of those who have lost their goods, and to the emboldening of the malefactors, and the want of the due execution of the law of God upon them; and not setting them in a way to make restitution to the owners, tendeth to the utter destruction both of their bodies and souls.

Therefore, our desire is, That ye would take these things into serious consideration, and, in your wisdoms, take such a prudent and effectual course, that in the execution of justice, the remedy may not be worse than the disease; like those who kill their wounded patients, and wound themselves; but that punishment may be equalized proportionable to the offences, that the prosecutors or executors of the law, may have no cause to repent; and that one witness may not rise against any man, for any iniquity, but that, at the mouth of two or three witnesses, the matter may be established: and that ye would, by no means, make the wills of any men, or any human laws whatsoever, any rules for you to walk by, further than you see them agreeable to the holy will and word of God: and that ye would, according to your power, seek to remove the dishonourable badges of infamy from off your sinful city and nation, though never so ancient, familiar, common, and customary; and that ye would address yourselves to the parliament, for the obtaining of these things.

And your affectionate petitioners shall pray.

Here followeth a Letter, written to Thomas Andrews, the Lord-Mayor that then was.

Right Honourable,

London-Bridge, June 25th, 1649.

I HOPE your Lordship hath not forgotten our petition in the behalf of transgressors. Christ made intercession to God for transgressors, who were guilty of eternal death before God: we make intercessions for men, who are not guilty of temporal death before men. Divers petitions have been promoted in the behalf of saints, and it was a very good and acceptable service: this is for sinners, whom, it may be, God will call effectually: for Christ died for the ungodly, and received gifts for the rebellious. I have written this inclosed paper, to further the petition; I desire that my counsel may be acceptable unto your honour, so long as it is agreeable with God's word; and if it be agreeable to your lordship's affection, I hope you will assist in it according to your power, and prosecute it with all your might, and make haste, and not delay to keep the righteous judgments of the God of judgment, who hath promised to be for a spirit of judgment, to him that sitteth in judgment.

Right honourable, you may be pleased to remember what I said: I know no friend of mine that is guilty of theft: what I have done is in conscience to God and compassion to my native country, and in tender respect to your honour, that the heavy wrath of God may not fall upon you, and the whole nation; at least, that some of the rods of God may be taken away, or that some of his judgments may be stayed. I desire to be a good

example to the sons of men, that they may clear themselves of blood-guiltiness; I desire your lordship again to consider seriously of this inclosed writing; I have shewed it to just men, and they approve of it. Your lordship in your wisdom may take counsel of wise men, and of the ancients, concerning this matter, and hear what they say thereunto: but, above all, search the Scripture, for whatsoever is not according to that, hath no light in it; and it is a maxim in law, That all laws which are not according to God's law and pure reason, are void and null; and if so, then not binding to a citizen, or to any other under heaven, and so are no rules for me to walk by: but it is the word of God, which is binding, and yet is not bound.

Honourable Sir, I am your Lordship's humble servant,

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

Certain Reasons of weighty Consideration, in reference to the Petition to the Common-Council, in behalf of Transgressors.

ALTHOUGH there be ground sufficient enough in the petition itself to evince, that no malefactor's life should be taken away, merely for theft; when the Lord requireth, that satisfaction should be made out of his estate, and if he have nothing, that he should be sold for his theft: yet, because of the ignorance and hardness of men's hearts, and their cruelty and revenge, I shall, for their regulation, propose some things to their consideration.

To take away the life of any man only for theft (as aforesaid) is iniquity, because it is against the rule of equity; it is not good, because not of God; it is not correspondent with his will, it hath no agreement with his most righteous law, but is inhuman, bloody, barbarous, and tyrannical, and provoketh the God of judgment to execute his judgments upon the nation that abetteth the same; yea, it tendeth to their utter destruction, to destroy men by the laws of men, contrary to the laws of God: consider, I say, how contrary it is to the rule of equity, the blessed and righteous law of God.

According to the rule of equity, there is required life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe; (Exod. xxi. 23, 24, 25.) It is not life for eye, but eye for eye; nor eye for tooth, but tooth for tooth; so that if a man require more, it is iniquity; (Prov. xxx. 6.) Therefore, if a man put out his neighbour's eye, strike out his tooth, and bruise his hand, but doth not kill; he ought not to be killed for this, but must lose his eye and his tooth, and as he hath done to his neighbour, so it must be done to him; as it is written, Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again: and he that killeth a beast, shall restore it, and he that killeth a man, shall be surely put to death; and the same Lord saith, Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: (Levit. xxiv. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.) The Lord of life hath expressly declared, and it is known to all men living, That the life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment; (Luke xii. 22.) If then the life be more than meat, no man's life should be taken away for meat, much less for raiment, which is inferior; and all things, necessary for the temporal life and body of man, are comprehended in these terms, food and raiment; (Deut. x. 18. 1 Tim. vi. 8.)

The God of the spirits of all flesh hath declared plainly, in his most just and righteous law, That if a thief be found breaking through, the sun being risen upon him, and be smitten that he die, blood shall be shed for him; (Exod. xxii. 3.) And he renders this reason; for he should make full restitution, and if he have nothing, he shall be sold for his theft: and the Lord hath not said, that he that stealeth food or raiment shall be put to death, or that his blood shall be shed; but, Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; (Gen. ix. 6.) So then it appeareth, that it is murder by the law of God to kill a man merely for stealing, when the Lord saith he should make full restitution; and if he have nothing, he shall be sold, not killed, for his theft; and, amongst his statute-laws, hath stated particular cases in this as well as in other things, and made them so plain, that mean capacities may decide controversies of this nature.

And as there is no precept nor consequence in the word of God for this unjust practice; so there is no precedent in Israel, but many in England, the more is their misery: but, as that ancient father Austin saith, 'That man is miserable, who is not sensible of his misery;' which may well be applied unto this sinful and miserable nation, who are not sensible of the dangerous consequence of this one deadly evil amongst the rest. How unjust a thing it is to kill a man for stealing fourteen pence, let all men reasonable judge; for so is the law of this land, according to which the people are forced to prosecute the thieves; but, in king Solomon's time, men did not despise a thief in some case; (Prov. vi. 30.) And he who is greater than Solomon, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the prince of the kings of the earth, hath not given the least hint, that he that stealeth food or raiment, should be killed; but he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; and he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword; (Revel. xiii. 10.) But, concerning theft, it is said, Let him that stole, steal no more: he doth not say, Let him be hanged; but, rather, let him labour with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to distribute to him that needeth; (Ephes. iv. 28.) And it is expressly commanded, That he that will not work, neither should he eat; (2 Thes. iii. 10.) Many precepts, precedents, and propositions may be brought to confirm the premisses, but this is enough at this time: a word to the wise is sufficient.

A Letter written the 11th of December, 1651, by Samuel Chidley, to the Right-Honourable the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol-Delivery of Newgate.

Right Worshipful and Honourable;

ALTHOUGH I know not any of my acquaintance to be guilty of theft, yet I seek to save the lives of these sinners whom God would have preserved; and I coming down to this judgment-seat, (it being as free for me as another to see justice done,) and observing your proceedings from the beginning hitherto, how in many things you go against the very letter and equity of the law of the only Law-maker, (by whom, and by which, yourselves must be judged,) caused me to call to mind, how that great men are not always wise; neither do the aged always understand judgment.

Right-honourable, I am sorry to see you go on still in your wonted course, of arraigning men for their lives merely for theft. I have observed, that the persons who are arraigned before your honours, are poor labourers, and such creatures, who stole things of a small value, peradventure, for mere necessity; yet you arraign them for their lives, when the law of God requireth their preservation in such a way, that they may make satisfaction, and not, if disabled, to force them into a necessity of stealing again: but they are great sinners indeed, who rob men of their precious lives; and the worst of men are such, as despise and destroy thieves that steal, merely to satisfy their hunger. It seems some of the thieves you will press, for not holding up their hands at your command, or for not answering to that interrogatory, 'Guilty? or Not guilty?' Consider, I pray you, how circumstantial these things are: the weight of trials depends not hereupon, as I humbly conceive. For it is possible that a murderer, when he is arraigned, may want his hands, and another may be dumb; yet you may proceed to judgment against him, if sufficient evidence come in, and that the jury (who are judges in matters of fact, and, if they will, in matters of law,) find them guilty. Surely you must take no ransom for the life of a murderer, though he cannot or will not hold up his hand at the bar, or say, that he is 'Guilty:' for, by the law, no man is bound to accuse himself: therefore the guilty person is not bound to say he is 'Guilty,' and if he should say, 'Not guilty,' what is he the better?

This is my opinion; which I humbly leave to the serious consideration of this honourable bench. I would to God that you would try such men by the laws of God, who cast themselves upon God and the country. And Oh! that you would put the judgments of God

in execution, seeing you are his stewards: all laws being subordinate to God's laws, as the country is to God himself; then your tranquillity would be lengthened. Consider what I say, in the fear of God; for life is above liberty and estate. The jewel of one man's life all your estates cannot balance. I took notice of a passage of the lord chief-justice Rolls, and it was well observed, How that the thieves are honest before they come in gaol, and there they become naught, and learn to lye, by saying 'Not Guilty,' when they had confessed it before. If it be so, then great pity it is that they should not be in such a place, where they may be put in a way and course to make satisfaction according to the direction of the wisdom of God; by whom princes and nobles, yea, all the judges of the earth are said to rule. So, leaving these conscientious dictates to your serious thoughts, I subscribe myself,

Your humble servant, devoted to the fear of God, and service of the Commonwealth,
according to the laws of God, and not otherwise,
Sessions, Dec. 11, in the year of Christ 1651.

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

This letter was delivered unto the bench, about the third hour of the day, where, when Mr. Chidley was called, he made answer, and came to the board, and the letter was there publicly owned by him, as his own hand-writing, which he would stand by and justify, it being (as he said) a discharging of his conscience, as a testimony before them all, which he left to their serious consideration: whereupon he was commanded by the bench to depart, and was put out of the court; he speaking in the justification of the statutes of God to be right, and the precepts of men to be wrong, in taking away men's lives for such trivial matters.

After he was put out, they gave sentence against the prisoner at the bar; who was arraigned for stealing, and would not hold up his hand nor plead, but besought them that the letter might be read publicly, that all the bench might hear; "and then (saith he) afterwards I will plead, whatsoever comes of it, whether I live, or die." But they would not hearken unto him, but proceeded; and by the recorder, Mr. Steele, (who was their mouth) gave sentence against him, which was to this effect: "That he should go from thence to the place from whence he came, and be led into a dark room where there was no light, and should be stripped naked, (only his privy members and his head covered,) and his arms stretched forth, both on the one side and on the other, as far as they could be stretched; and that he should be laid along on his back, and have as much weight laid upon him as he was able to bear, and more; and, the next day, he should have only three morsels of barley-bread, without any drink; and, the day following, three draughts of the kennel-water running under Newgate as much as he could drink, and so to remain in that condition from day to day till he died."³

Psal. cxix. 126, 127, 128. 'It is time for thee, Lord, to work, for they have made void thy law. Therefore I love thy commandments above gold; yea, above fine gold. Therefore I esteem all thy precepts, concerning all things, to be right; and I hate every false way.'

To the Right-Honourable the Council of State.

The humble Petition of Samuel Chidley

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner (setting the fear of the Lord of lords before his eyes, and advancing the judgments and laws of the God of gods in his heart, before the precepts of

³ [Although this terrible judgment is directly contrary to a fundamental principle of the law of England in capital offences, an instance occurs of its having been carried into execution so late as the last reign; when a criminal, who was tried before baron Thomson, was actually pressed to death at the Sussex assizes.

Vide Barrington's Obs. on the Stat. p. 75, 4to.

The *peine forte et dure*, however, which was used to compel a prisoner to put in a plea of some kind to an indictment for a capital felony, is abolished, to the credit of the age, by stat. 12 Geo. III. c. 20.]

frail man,) was moved, in zeal to his most sacred Majesty, to discharge his conscience in the best and most peaceable way he could devise; and, accordingly, hath given testimony of the truth, at the judgment-seat before the sessions in the Old-Bailey, the eleventh of this month, as may appear unto your honours by the printed relation hereunto annexed: yet, notwithstanding, they proceed according to the usual custom, which is against the law of God, the good things contained in the solemn league and covenant of the nation, the oath of every freeman of London, reason itself, the witness of conscience well checked, or rightly rectified, and the whole creation of God.

My humble desire is, That this honourable council would be pleased, in their prudence, to take such a speedy course, that the condemned persons yet alive (who are not guilty of death by the laws of God, nature, or equity) may be reprieved, till the parliament of this commonwealth hath heard and determined this matter: so shall you find much comfort. Jehovah will be with the good.

And your petitioner shall pray, &c.

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

To the Right-Honourable the General Council for the Army.

The humble Proposals of Samuel Chidley.

Sheweth,

THAT, forasmuch as the Lord of lords hath anointed you to be the heads of the forces, which he hath mustered up for the destruction of that generation of sinful men, who are compacted together, as one man, to establish iniquity by their laws, which they have set up in direct opposition to the laws of God; and have made use of the kings of the earth, as their horns, to protect them in the exercise of their bloody cruelty: and, seeing the Lord of hosts hath, in a great measure, subdued your enemies, and that your swords are not returned empty; it concerns you, right-honourable, to testify your thankfulness by yielding obedience unto the statute-laws of God, which, at this day, in the main fundamental parts thereof, are trampled upon by those who have 'the form of godliness, and deny the power thereof' in their practices; as may appear by their putting of men to death for trivial matters, contrary to the law of God: for God's law saith, 'If a thief steal, he shall make restitution out of his estate; and if he have nothing, he is to be sold for his theft, but not killed.' Now, although my soul abhors the sin of theft, it deserving the punishment of eternal death before God; how much more the crying sin of murder? And though I know not any of them, and (for aught I know) not one of them knows me; yet, because I see no man valiant for God, nor stand to make up the gap, I (for want of a better) am moved, in zeal for God's glory, to cry out against the irrational and irregular proceedings of men, who set up or maintain a flag or standard of defiance against their own consciences, and the most righteous laws of the only Law-maker. And this I have endeavoured to do in such a peaceable way, that my transaction of this business for God may not savour of any bitterness of spirit in me, against the persons of those men, or contempt of their lawful authority, who sit in judgment, and do err therein, as I humbly conceive: but, seeing God hath said, he will magnify his law, and make it honourable; and that it hath been a usual course with him to make choice of weak instruments, to make his truth known; I, therefore, upon this account, was resolved to put forth myself, and engage my heart in this business; the consequence whereof, when accomplished, will be more than I will speak of at this time. And although I endure some reproaches for it, some saying, "What a thief is this to attempt such a work? and that none but thieves would do it:" yet I am led forward by such a spirit, as, I hope, will so carry me upon the wings of his providence in the managing hereof, that I shall not be discouraged, notwithstanding human frailty. And because I have a seasonable opportunity to acquaint your honours with this business, and to crave your assistance; I desire you, in the first place, to consider my printed papers, wherein I have shewed my dislike of putting men to death for stealing; and, for the further amplification and enlargement thereof, I desire you to consider of these positions.

1. That God is the only law-maker, and that his law is the ancientest and the best that ever was, or can be possibly invented by any parliament, to which all men are bound under pain of damnation; and that whatsoever laws and proceedings are opposite thereunto, in the smallest measure, are unjust, and the executioners thereof do sin; and by how much the greater the precept is, by so much the more do they offend that violate the same.

2. God hath no-where given liberty, but hath prohibited, that the life of any man should be taken away for stealing, and hath manifested he would have their lives preserved: therefore, to take away their lives is a sin, a crying sin; yea, I may say it is a national sin, for which God hath, and will visit them with the arrows of his indignation. Yea, the people are so blinded with this corrupt custom, that they know it not, neither will they understand; but think they do well, and that they shall have peace, though they walk on in darkness, while the foundations of the earth are out of course.

Obj. And whereas they object, that it is the law of the land to put thieves to death for stealing to the value of thirteen pence halfpenny. I answer; that no law is to be observed, if it be against the law of God, especially in the taking away of men's lives: yea, God was so far from commanding such thieves to be put to death, that he requireth their blood at the hands of them that shed it; though done in the very act of breaking through, 'if the sun be risen upon them.'

3. The putting them to death is expressly against the law of God, because it disableth them for ever from making satisfaction to the owners of the goods: yea, such is the corruption of the laws and customs of this land, that he that discovers the thief, is bound over to prosecute him, though it be to the taking away of his life; and after he has done that, the owner shall sustain damage nevertheless, and he can have no more than the life of the thief: and some men are so ignorant, cruel, hard-hearted, and revengeful, that they will take away the lives of the petty thieves in revenge; taking an opportunity, upon the advantage of the law, to exercise their bloody cruelty upon them.

And such is the corruption of the laws, that if the thief steal to the value of thirteen pence halfpenny, he shall be hanged; (as judge Byron, in his Cases, hath declared;) and sometimes their lives are taken away upon a single evidence: whereas there ought to be two witnesses to prove every fact, and one witness ought not to rise up against any man, to put him to death. So God hath said; whose word is a law amongst saints, though sinners cast the same behind their backs.

4. The law of putting poor thieves to death for stealing, that are not able to make restitution out of their estates, is against God's law; because, in such cases, God hath said they shall be sold for their theft. Now, though they are worth somewhat while they are living, yet, when they are dead, they are worth nothing; yea, 'a living dog is better than a dead lion.' Men would rather, in such cases, bury dead men, than buy them: and how unjust a thing it is to put them to death, seeing the apostle saith, 'Let them labour with their hands,' let all rational men judge. The apostle saith, 'They should labour with their hands.' No, saith the bench, they shall be hanged: tie up their hands, and he that hath benefit of clergy, and can read his neck-verse, burn him on the hand. By this he is disabled for the present, that he cannot labour with his hand; and if he would, he is forced into a necessity of stealing again, if no man will set him on work: which thing men will be cautious to do to one that carrieth such a brand of infamy upon him.

5. This murdering law is the cause wherefore many murders are committed by robbers in the act of stealing: for the thieves know it is a hanging-matter to steal, and it is no more to commit murder; and then, for safety of their lives and to hide their theft, they commit murder, for fear the party should come and witness against them, to the taking away of their lives.

6. This law is the cause wherefore many thieves escape, and persons come not in to prosecute them; because they find, that the remedy would be worse than the disease: for, if they prosecute them, they shall be put to a great deal of expence and charge, and, peradventure, the thief shall lose his life, and the parties their goods; whereas, if there were a way for restitution by them, there would be more prosecution of them.

Obj. But it is objected, What shall we do with them?

Answ. I answer: he that hath stolen, if the theft be found in his hands, is to forfeit the double: if he has made it away, he is to forfeit four-fold, and his estate is to be taken to satisfy the debt.

Obj. But what if he has no estate? It may be, he is some poor rogue, that is worth nothing.

Answ. I answer: he must be sold for his theft.

Obj. But who will buy him? Nobody will be troubled with him.

Answ. I answer: either the party who hath sustained the damage is to take him, or he may be set on work in our own country, by land or by water, being chained up; they might work in mines, heave coals, and earn three or four shillings a day; or row in gallies⁴, or be put in workhouses for to pun hemp, or other servile employments. And why cannot we put them to it here, as well as the Hollanders there, till they have made satisfaction? And not put the thieves in such places, which are a hell on earth; where they learn to be worse, than ever they were before. Or they may be transported to some of our own plantations, where some that have been in the like condition transported, have soon become honest, and, being very ingenious, have been able to teach the planters; which maketh the merchants to prize the thieves far above the ordinary vagrants, or other persons that are taken up by the spirits in the streets, because they want that ingenuity that the thieves have: for, generally, the wittiest rogues are the greatest cut-purses.

Obj. But would not this be great tyranny, that men should be sold as slaves?

Answ. I answer to that: they are not sold for ever, but only for their theft; and it is a worse slavery, yea, a great tyranny indeed, to take away their lives.

Obj. But what if they run away?

Answ. Then they contract upon themselves a double debt.

Obj. But what if they will not work?

Answ. They must not eat. And before such an one will die for hunger, doubtless, he will eat the flesh off his arm; and before he will eat his own flesh, it may be he will work. Hunger will break through stone-walls, and if any thing will force him to work, this will; for his belly requires it of him: but, if he will perish, let him perish; his own blood is upon his own head, and the commonwealth is discharged of it.

Such courses as these would be a means to terrify the thieves, and suppress theft; for many of them would rather be hanged. But, if a man would be hanged, he must not have his desire, unless the law require it: so, though thieves choose to die against the law of God, rather than to live according to it, they must be kept alive notwithstanding; and set hard at work to earn their bread, and the overplus must pay for their theft. And then, if any (as I hope many will) be converted in this their captive condition; O, how will they bless the time that ever such compulsion was used, whereby they learned to know themselves, and to remember their Creator! And he, that is an instrumental means of converting one poor sinner, shall have no cause to be sorry for it in the day of account.

7. Another abuse in the proceedings of the law of this land is, that whereas God's law requireth that the witnesses should be executioners of death on their malefactor, a condemned executioner doth it, who is the notoriousst rogue that can be found, and one that knows nothing of the business, whether he whom he hangs be an honest man or a knave: he will hang a martyr as well as a thief, but, doubtless, he hath a check of conscience as well as his masters, else why will he ask them forgiveness before he turns them off? Now all that can be alleged for the hangman is; he doth but his office, he is but an executioner of the law and sentence. And the like the judges do allege for themselves. "Alas, (say they) what can we do, we are but the executioners of the law of the land; and, till

⁴ [It is worthy of remark, that, by the 39th Eliz. cap. iv. the 'gallies of this realm' seem to have been not an unusual punishment; and Lord Coke mentions it in his 3d Inst. cap. xl. without taking notice of its being uncommon. Harrison (in his Description of Britayne) mentions three gallies, which constituted, in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, part of the royal navy, when at the same time the larger ships were but nineteen. The names of them were, the Speedwell, the Tryryht, and the Black Galley. p. 87. A.]

the parliament alter the law, we must observe our ordinary rules. Why do you come to us? What would you have us do? We have not power."

But judges ought to be men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetousness; and such as will observe God's laws, and judge according to his statute-book: and by the laws of God, no executioner ought to inflict death upon any man, unless he in the execution of him be satisfied in his own conscience, that the man ought to die; else he is a murderer after a manner, though the offender deserveth death: yet if a man be not convinced of it, he ought not to put him to death, by any command whatsoever; and if the witnesses will not do it, they must be severely dealt with. This is my opinion, which I humbly submit to the consideration of those who have more understanding than myself.

8. Another abuse, which I find in the proceedings of the law, is in the pressing men to death, because they will not hold up their hands at the bar, or say they are 'Guilty, or 'Not guilty;' upon which circumstantial nicety, they condemn them to be pressed in such a tyrannical manner, that the very sentence itself is enough to terrify the poor creatures, and make them open their mouths to confess their own guiltiness, or else to lye against their own consciences.

Obj. But it is objected, that they are pressed to death, within half an hour at the most; and that they are not kept in such a lingering condition, according to the sentence.

Answ. I answer: if they put them to death before their time, herein they go beyond their commission; but indeed the executioners do it out of compassion to the condemned, to dispatch him out of his torment; something like to a physician, that will give his patient something in pity, to rid him out of his pain, because he believeth he must die, and cannot escape his fit of sickness, so making more haste than good speed.

Now the proceeding against such malefactors who will not hold up their hands, and plead, is without examination of witnesses, yet they will take his life away *pro confesso*; but by what law I know not, unless a law of Antichrist: I am sure such precepts came neither from mount Sion, nor mount Sinai: these have out-stripped Herod and Pontius Pilate. The Gentiles, that knew not the law, did not compel man to lye, by saying 'Not guilty,' when they were guilty; nor to go against the law of nature, to excuse themselves by confessing their own guilt: but of all cruelty there is none like that of Antichrist, the man of sin, and that beast with seven heads and ten horns, spoke of in Revel. xiii. and they exercise it upon their own brethren, even the members of their church. Thus the crowned locusts, in the midst of Ægyptian darkness, are a plague to the men of the earth.

But the way to try a thief is to examine the witnesses, and if they prove matter of fact, the judge is to declare how much he must pay, and to command that law to be put in execution: that his estate should be seized, and if it will not satisfy, he must deliver up his person, not so much as to lose a limb or any member of his body, but to go immediately to the workhouse, or place where he may be safely kept with sufficient food, and work enough, as much as he is able to do, and ply it constantly early and late every day (Lord's days excepted), and to have sufficient time to sleep and rest; and when they have wrought out their theft, then to be freed; and if they steal again, to serve them in the same kind: as, if the thief steal a hundred pounds, he should pay two-hundred pounds, if it be found with him; but if he have spent the money, he shall pay four-hundred pounds. If this course were well followed, Tyburn would lose many customers; for it would much abate the number of thieves and murderers.

My desire is, that your honours would have the parliament to put God's law in execution, concerning this thing, and what it is I have declared before.

It hath been desired, that laws should be drawn up from God's word, for the government of this nation; but unless the parliament will be pleased to confirm them, what are we the better? Ordinary men cannot impose; all they can do is only to propose: only God hath declared, His testimonies must be bound up, and his law sealed amongst his disciples. But others do take upon them to make laws besides, and contrary to the laws of God: moreover, if the parliament should countenance such a thing, that certain men should be appointed to draw up laws, according to the laws of God, it will ask a great deal of time;

and it is a work that the wisest and holiest men in the world, will find too great for them to undertake to do, without errors; unless they were infallibly inspired by the Holy Ghost. Moses was in the mount with God forty days and forty nights, and neither eat nor drank; and forty days and forty nights after that likewise; neither do we read, that he saw sleep with his eyes in all that time; and after he wrote the laws and precepts for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments; he was therein guided by the immediate direction of the Spirit of God infallibly, and how long he was writing them, we know not, but they are very full and brief, and very sufficient for the government of that nation; neither had any nation such an excellent law as Israel had; neither was there so excellent a government amongst any people, as amongst the people of the Jews, so long as they forsook not the law of the Lord, nor cast aside the word of the Holy-One of Israel; their chief city was called 'the City of Righteousness, the faithful City;' righteousness lodged in it; their judges and counsellors were gods, and children of the Most High, because the word of God was committed unto them. Now may be it will be a long time before the parliament will establish the laws of God, or give way for laws to be imposed upon this nation, which are suitable thereunto; and when such a work is set upon, it will be long before it be accomplished, for whosoever taketh it upon them, must devote themselves wholly to the work: and when they have used their best endeavours, a wonder it will be, if the laws they draw up, with the manner of proceedings, will be so perfect, that they need no amendments, in respect of manner and form; and a long time will be spent in debate, before such a work be admitted to be attempted. And therefore I humbly conceive, that it is meet that this business, concerning the preservation of the petty thieves, should be concluded now, with all speed, (being out of controversy,) and afterwards to do the rest according as time and opportunity will afford. For this doth concern life, which is above person, name, liberty, and estate. And this thing, being done, will render the antichristian priests and lying lawyers, the basest of men, who have lived upon the souls and bodies of men, and have not had the fear of God before their eyes, but have made their belly their god and their glory their shame, and their end shall be destruction, unless they repent. And as a testimony of the truth of God, in this particular, I set to my hand, this thirty-first of December, 1651.

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

A Letter written to the Regulators of the Law, appointed by the Parliament, and sent, and presented to that Committee⁵.

From my mother's house in Soper-lane, London,
Feb. 25, 1651.

Honourable Gentlemen;

FORASMUCH as you are appointed by the parliament to consider of the inconveniencies, mischiefs, chargeableness, and irregularities, in your law; and that you have professed your willingness to receive whatsoever persons have to offer in relation thereunto; I hold it meet to present you with these inclosed papers, which, peradventure, may be a means to shorten your seven-years tedious work, and wherein you may observe that I have endeavoured to discharge my conscience before all: witnessing against that hateful sin of putting men to death merely for theft, although the God of nature doth teach a contrary lesson. But who is so blind as those that will not see? Surely, covetousness is the root of all evil, and gifts destroy the heart and blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the judgment of the righteous; and men in the greatest places are the greatest unbelievers, for they have not so much faith as to trust God with their substance, but use indirect means to make uncertain riches certain; as may appear by their putting thieves to death for stealing.

⁵ [A committee appointed by the parliament in January, 1651, "to take into consideration what inconveniences were in the law, how the mischief that grows from delays, the chargeableness and irregularities in the proceedings of the law, may be prevented, and the speediest way to prevent the same." No great matters however followed, owing to the hurry of the times, and the opposition of the lawyers.]

Now, when I found so little fruit in the magistrates of the city of London, (as you may see by my printed relations;) I was sorry that my endeavours produced no better effect amongst them, whose predecessors have always been very forward to put the laws of man in execution, though they were never so ridiculous, and contrary to reason and religion.

I sent, and went unto others, whom it likewise principally concerned; even to those who are called the learned judges of the land, and declared my judgment to as many of them as I could meet with, that they might not suffer their mouth to cause their flesh to sin, by pronouncing unjust murdering sentences.

I went down also to the sessions, but I could gather no grapes off thorns.

And after I had delivered a letter to the lord-president Bradshaw, to be presented unto the council of state; I remembered that the officers of the army were men professing great things, for the advancement of God's glory: so I presented some humble proposals to those honourable gentlemen, which were well resented by them, (a copy of which I have sent you here inclosed with this petition,) which should have been presented to the house; but some of the members conceive the business to be proper for you to take cognisance of, because you are appointed to consider, and make report of the evils of your law, for reformation thereof; therefore you ought to cry out against murder before you do any thing else, for this concerneth men's lives; the best of your actions herein, in my judgment, having been at the most but a tything of 'mint, anise, and cummin,' and you have neglected 'mercy, one of the weighty matters of the law:' for I am verily persuaded, that it was in your power to have put a stop to the murdering of those men which were hanged at Tyburn the last sessions, for stealing five shillings and six-pence. I hoped that you would have gone to the root, and not cropped only the branches of wicked laws. I am angry, and grieved at the heart, that you should so dally in God's matters, as not to acquaint the house with such a gross, unnatural, inhuman practice of the law, as killing of the petty thieves. I desire the Lord to give you repenting and relenting hearts, for doing his work so negligently; to value men's lives no more; for it is a sin and shame, that the land should still be defiled with more blood: and how you can answer it in the day of account, for not preventing such mischief, when you knew how to do it, and had an opportunity in your hands, I know not. In my opinion, if you follow your work never so close, if you omit this business of weight, you will make a long harvest of a little fruit: no doubt, but the time will be long before you have swimm'd through the ocean sea of your troublesome laws: for, what is the chaff to the corn, or the heap of ashes to the spark that is hid under it? May not the parliament, by the west-wind of their legislative power, blow such combustible stubble away? You sit as refiners; but time is precious, and dross is not worth the labour of refining, and a leaden law is too heavy for an honest heart; and we ought not to think that such a law, because it is a law, will be a sufficient excuse to the executioners thereof, so long as it is idolatrous, profane, rebellious, bloody, adulterous, thievish, lying, and covetous. Certainly, that law cannot be good, that forceth all men to prefer the meanest thing before the greatest; that is, a little wicked mammon with an idolatrous badge upon it, before a man's precious life: Solomon esteemed more of a living dog, than those, who have killed men merely for stealing, have (or had) of living men. Now, if God do touch your hearts, and make you thoroughly sensible of the abominations of the time, and set you in a mourning posture, that you may bewail your neglect in suffering the poor thieves to be put to death, when it was in your power to have prevented it; then, you may the better go on, like Josiah's men, (whom he set to spy out the abominations in the land,) and set up a sign, wheresoever you find a bone of Haman-gog unburied, and go on, and let the nation know the idolatry, and superstition of their law, and its profaneness, and the Sabbath-breaking thereof; the rebellion of their law, the murder of their law, the adultery of their law, the theft of their law, the lying of their law, and the covetousness of their law; and lastly, the uncharitableness of their law, which is the end thereof: and so I end,

Yours (and the commonwealth's servant) in all lawful things,

SAMUEL CHIDLEY.

Reader,

WHERE are they that are valiant for the truth, and will do the work of the Lord diligently? If thou hast any spark of love or zeal to maintain the wonderful statutes of God, which my soul keeps; I charge thee, (as thou wilt answer before the tribunal-seat of God's eternal vengeance,) that thou hinder not the publication of this to all persons, who have an ear open to hear; neither conceal this precious truth, which will maintain him that maintaineth it, and bring him into more acquaintance with God. For, doubtless, the standing for the statutes and judgments of the holy and blessed God is a most blessed work; and the establishment thereof in this nation will work a more blessed reformation, than yet hath been, or shall be spoken of, at this time.

By Mr. Chidley's appointment, who is the author of this book, one of them should have been nailed upon Tyburn gallows, before the execution, with this motto written on the top:

Cursed be that bloody hand,

Which takes this down, without command:

as a witness against such cursed proceedings of murdering men, merely for stealing food or raiment. But the party could not nail it upon Tyburn gallows-tree, for the crowd of people; and, therefore, was forced to nail it to the tree, which is upon the bank by the gallows: and there it remained, and was read by many, both before and after execution, and it is thought will stand there still, till it drop away.

The Earl of Glamorgan's¹ Negotiations, and colourable Commitment in Ireland demonstrated : Or, The Irish Plot, for Bringing Ten-thousand Men and Arms into England; whereof Three-hundred to be for Prince Charles's Life-guard. Discovered in several Letters, taken in a Pacquet-boat by Sir Thomas Fairfax's Forces at Padstow in Cornwall. Which Letters were cast into the Sea, and by the Sea coming in, afterwards regained; and were read in the Honourable House of Commons. Together with divers other Letters, taken by Captain Moulton, at Sea, near Milford-Haven, coming out of Ireland; concerning the same Plot and Negotiation².

‘ Ordered, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that
‘ these Letters be forthwith printed and published.
‘ H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.’

London; printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons. March 17, 1645.

[Quarto; containing thirty-six pages.]

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq. Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.

S I R,

Bodman, March 7, 1645.

THESE inclosed letters being brought to my hands, by Divine Providence, I held it my duty to speed to you; because of the great importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

Having some dragoons at Padstow, a packet-boat from Ireland came into the harbour: the dragoons presently endeavoured to board her; and after some small resistance, (wherein the captain and the master of the vessel were slain,) they entered; seizing upon one captain Allen: the said Allen threw a packet and divers loose letters over-board, of

¹ [Better known as marquis of Worcester.]

² [These mysterious transactions, upon which ‘History lays its finger; at least is interrupted by controversy;’ have already been introduced in Vol. IV. p. 494, where some comments upon them are pointed out. Many other tracts upon the subject might doubtless be discovered: one of the most unusual is thus intitled, and had not come to light when the late edition of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors went through the press: ‘A

‘ Letter from the Marquis of Worcester, to the Committee of Parliament sitting in the County of Monmouth, concerning his Son's landing with Irish Forces; and the Committee's Answer thereto.

‘ Ordered, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Letter and Answer be forthwith printed and published.—H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

‘ London; printed for Edw. Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons. June 9th, 1646.’]

which only these inclosed were recovered. I shall send Allen with all convenient speed, up to you, whose examination you have also herewith inclosed. I find him to be a dangerous and subtle man. I believe he has much in his breast, which may be got out of him, by reason he is obnoxious as a spy; and a man who, I perceive, loves his life so well, that good use may be made thereof, to discover, by further examination, what we have not opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your knowledge. For it appears by some of the letters, that he hath much intrusted by the earl of Glamorgan to him, to give a verbal account of. I have given captain Moulton, who is upon the Irish seas, advertisement of the enemies intentions. To say no more, you will perceive by the date of the earl of Glamorgan's letters, that he has the honour, trust, and liberty of a very good and loyal subject. I suppose you will see by these letters, what reason there is to hasten recruits with effect; which I must withal represent to be the more needful, in regard of the diminution, which cannot but attend those marches; and that hardship the army has been put to in such a country, and at such a season. I must acknowledge your provisions for this army to be very great, and the committee of the army's care, in observing your appointments, therein to be answerable. I desire I may faithfully improve your favours, as becomes an honest man, to the glory of God, and your service: and rest

Your most humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq. Speaker to the Honourable House of Commons.

SIR,

Bodman, March 6; 11 at night.

IN my last, which was but yesterday by the post, I gave you an account of the agreement made for the delivery up of Mount Edgecomb, and the disbanding of the regiments raised in those parts; and of the coming of Mr. Coriton, and divers other gentlemen of quality; which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly sending to the general, to be received into the protection of the parliament; which is now, in some measure, made known to the country, who had this day a meeting upon Bodman Downs. It was but yesterday they had notice, and one hundred of the four had not the notice come to them; yet about eight-hundred or nine-hundred appeared. And now for the occasion the meeting was desired; which was for this purpose: to let them know the army was come to protect them, not to ruin them: that the soldiers, horse and foot, had charge to defray their quarters: that, if any soldier offered violence unto them, upon complaint it should be redressed: that the gentlemen of the country (naming such and such persons) were come into the parliament; which did very much encourage the commonalty to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the service of the publick, and defence of their own county. And that which wrought the impression deepest upon their hearts, was Mr. Peters's publishing to them the pacquets taken in the Irish vessel, which I mentioned unto you in my last letter; which he not only shewed unto them, but read the same, and permitted such of them, as desired it, to read them; and told them they should have copies of Glamorgan's articles, and his other letters, if they desired them; which abundantly gave them satisfaction: and that which put it out of doubt was, that the ship and pacquets were seized on, and taken by the assistance of the inhabitants at Padstow, within their own county, but the day before. And indeed, it was a very seasonable and remarkable accident as could have happened, for the uniting of this county to the parliament; for the very thoughts of Irish and French are hateful unto them. Those letters, that were most considerable, miscarried in the water; which were the earl of Glamorgan's to the prince, sir Edward Hyde, and to another; which capt. Allen, an Irish papist and merchant of Waterford, confesseth he had from the hands of the earl of Glamorgan, to deliver as aforesaid. Upon his examination he said further, that the three-hundred Irish, desired for the prince's life-guard, were to be thus disposed: an hundred to be put into the mount, an hundred to Pendennis, and the other hundred to be a guard to the

prince. The general hath sent post to capt. Moulton, admiral of the Irish coasts, to give him notice in what forwardness the Irish were to be transported, that they may keep out ships at sea for prevention. The trumpet, that went with the summons to the lord Hopton, is not yet returned. To-morrow early, the whole army, horse and foot, advances towards Truro; all passes, bye-lanes, and fords being, for the most part, barricadoed or blocked up: so that, if the enemy should slip by, (which we no ways fear,) their marches will be so slow, that their rear will be engaged before they get half through the passage. Before this comes to your hands, without peradventure, the business will be very near decided by a treaty, or retreat into the sea. There came seven or eight of the prince's servants this day for passes to go home; much lamenting the sudden carrying the prince on ship-board, when they dreamed not of it. At Foy we took thirteen pieces of ordnance mounted, besides arms and powder: the first night the town stood upon their guard, but the next morning repented of their folly; and, without dispute, admitted our forces to come in. Be pleased to hasten down monies to the army, and match and powder with all speed to Lyme: neither of these will admit of delay. And hasten recruits, that they may meet us when we face about.

Your most humble and faithful servant,

JOH. RUSHWORTH.

The examination of Allen is sent up by this bearer, who can inform you more of the carriage of the man. I hope the bearer will come safe with the letters: he is enjoined to have great care; he comes far with such a trust.

To the Prince his Highness.

May it please your Highness,

SINCE my coming from his majesty on the fourteenth of October last, I have gone in such untrodden paths, as have not afforded me the possibility of making any address unto your highness, until this opportunity; which hath made me live under no small affliction, lest my actions should have been misrepresented to your highness, and lessen me in that good opinion of yours, which I value as the greatest blessing of my life. I shall not presume to trouble your highness with so tedious a narrative, as the reasons of my coming from the king, and the relation of my adventures since, must needs be: but I have done it at large to sir Edward Hyde, and I most humbly beseech your highness to give him leave to entertain you with them, at such leisure times, when he shall find that you can admit of it with least trouble; which that you may the more easily grant me, I shall not importune you myself with any thing more at this time, than this sincere protestation, that while I have the honour to live in your highness's thoughts, in this favour I shall think myself above all misfortunes, how miserable soever otherwise; and I doubt not but your goodness will, by preserving me so happy in your memory, encourage me in that which you cannot hinder me, from being

Your highness's most humble and most faithful servant,

GEORGE DIGBY.

To Sir Edward Hyde³, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

My dear Chancellor,

I SEIZE with much joy this occasion, that flatters me with the hopes of conveying safe unto you, and by you unto the rest of my friends there, an account of my adventures since you

³ [Sir Edward Hyde in a letter to secretary Nicholas, written in 1647, says, 'I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to their favourite Glamorgan, which appears to me inexcusable to justice, piety, or prudence.' He adds a little below, 'Oh! Mr. Secretary, these stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes of war which have befallen the king.'—Clarendon State Papers, ii. 337.]

heard from me: these inclosed papers will give you a very particular relation of all matters of fact. I make no question, but my unsuccessfulness in that employment will give occasion to my enemies to accuse me of a great disservice to the king, in having been the loss of so many of his horse, not in the conduct of them (for I apprehend not malice itself in that point) but in putting them upon so desperate a design. This point I desire you to clear, by letting all, with whom you shall find the objection, know, that although I was of opinion, that the king himself ought to have ventured, when he was at Welbeck, the passage into Scotland, in case there had been a certainty of my lord of Montrose's being on this side Forth; yet, when that was once diverted, upon both my intelligence and advice, I had afterwards the least share of any man in the council in adventuring any part of the king's horse upon so hopeless a design, as that of Scotland was, while we were doubtful of my lord of Montrose's condition: but the Northern horse, being disgusted with Gerrard, refused absolutely to march back southward to Welbeck; and so, rather than they should disband, it was thought fit to try, whether they would be engaged to adventure to Montrose, who in all his letters had seemed much to resent the neglect of him, in not sending him a supply of horse, assuring, that with the help but of one-thousand, he could carry through his work. The proposition being made to sir Marmaduke Langdale, he at first point-blank refused it, as an undertaking which had, by Gerrard and all the rest, been declared desperate, even with all the king's horse; but, upon second thoughts, finding that all his horse would disband, if they were drawn southward; he and all the Northern gentlemen came to the king, and told him, that if he would lay his commands upon me to take the charge, and to go along with them, they would adventure it; otherwise, not. Whereupon, I having declared my obedience to whatsoever the king should impose upon me, his majesty commanded me positively to that charge, using (besides his pleasure) this argument to me, "That if I succeeded in it, I should reap much honour; if not, I could incur no prejudice by failing in that which was at first given for desperate." And so, at half an hour's warning, having (I protest to God) not dreamed of the matter before, I marched off from the rendezvous with an addition only to the Northern horse of such as would voluntarily choose to go with me, which proved to be a matter of three-hundred; with which I made that progress, which you will find related in the inclosed papers. But here I am sure you will wonder, how I (holding that place I did near the king, and having the honour of so great a part in his trusts, especially at a time when he had scarce either counsellor or penman about him,) should be put upon so extravagant and desperate an employment. To this I must let you know, and such only as you shall think fit, that though I had no thought of the present action, yet the king and I had long before (that is, ever since his affairs were made so desperate by the loss of Bristol) concluded it most for his service, that I should absent myself from him for some time, in case I could find a fair and honourable pretence for it. I believe the accidents since befallen at Newark, with prince Rupert and Gerrard, will have given you a light of some reasons of my remove. The truth [Here follow many lines of characters.]

Over and above these urging reasons, as to the time, upon the main of the king's condition and mine, I found the king likely to suffer much by my stay near him; the weariness of the war being so universal, and the despair of any improvement in his condition being so great in all about him, I found it almost every man's opinion, [Here come in more lines of characters.]

I thought it then high time to watch an opportunity of freeing his majesty from an attendant so pernicious to his honour and interest: and this, my dearest friend, is as much as I think necessary to say unto you upon this subject; hoping, that by your dexterous conveyance of it to his highness the prince of Wales, it will have the same impression with him, which I cannot doubt of with you.

Since my coming out of England, I staid a month, for a wind, at the Isle of Man: which time I cannot think mispent; having there received great civilities from my lord of Derby, and had the means of a particular acquaintance with his noble lady, whom I think one of the wisest and generousest persons that I have known of her sex. From thence, I and my

company were very securely conveyed hither in a light frigate of his lordship's, where I found all things in a great forwardness; the conclusion of which was expected within few days, and great forces (as was pretended) already in a readiness for England, under the command of the earl of Glamorgan, the confederates' great general and favourite: but his lordship being sent for by my lord-lieutenant and myself, to confer about the ways of disposing those aids most to the advantage of his majesty's service, the business contained in the inclosed papers broke forth in such a manner as you will find there set down, and obliged me to that part in the king's vindication, which was thought could not so properly be performed by any as myself. You will find the whole business so fully stated in the transactions themselves which I send you, and in my letter to my brother secretary, that I shall need to say no more upon the subject, only let me ask you, whether, according to the rules of policy, I have not carried my body swimmingly; who, being before so irreconcilably hated by the puritan party, have thus seasonably made myself as odious with the papists? Well; my comfort is, that the very few honest men that are in the world will love me the better; and whilst I do the part of a man of integrity and honour, I am willing to trust God with the rest.

I must not conclude without telling you, that if I had been brought hither by far greater misfortunes, I could not have repined at any thing that had given me the happiness of so particular a knowledge of, and friendship with, the marquis of Ormond; who, if I can judge at all of men, is not only the wisest young man, but the most steady, generous, and virtuous person that I have ever known. I conjure you, as you love virtue and as you love me, who have so little a share of it, build carefully by a diligent application upon those grounds which I have laid for a friendship between you: for, indeed, I love him so much, as I cannot be at rest till we make up the triangle equal on all sides, to that perfection wherewith I am

Dublin, Jan. 4, 1645.

Yours,

GEORGE DIGBY.

Pray fail not to let my father partake of what I write to you, and general Goring also, as far forth as you shall judge necessary.

roth

To Secretary Nicholas.

My good Brother,

YOU will receive by this dispatch a particular account from my lord-lieutenant of the state of the treaty here, and of those conditions upon which he was hopeful suddenly to have concluded such a peace, as would have afforded his majesty powerful and timely aids from this kingdom, had not the unfortunate madness (for I can give it no other name) of my lord of Glamorgan, and the necessary proceeding thereupon, cast all things back into a posture as uncertain and more dangerous than ever. You will receive from my lord-lieutenant, and the council here, a punctual relation of the matter of fact; and it is referred to me to convey unto you, and by you to his majesty, the circumstances and reasons of the whole proceeding against his lordship.

About ten days since, matters of the treaty growing near to a conclusion; and, in confidence thereof, preparations being made by my lord of Glamorgan and the Irish, as they assured us, for the speedy sending over of three-thousand men for the relief of Chester, which were to be made up ten thousand before the beginning of March: it was thought necessary that we should confer with the said earl of Glamorgan, and some of the Irish commissioners, to the end that, before my lord-lieutenant's final consent to the articles of the treaty, the business of the king's supply might be reduced from discourse to a certainty, and directed, in the most advantageous way for his service; to which end (we little suspecting then what was since discovered) the said earl of Glamorgan, and some of the Irish commissioners then at Kilkenny, were earnestly invited hither, both by my lord-lieutenant and myself.

Upon Monday last (the day before the said earl of Glamorgan was expected in town)

my lord-lieutenant received out of the North, from an honest and well-affected person, the copy which is sent you of my lord of Glamorgan's articles and oath, with the confederate Catholicks, assured to have been found in the titular archbishop of Tuan's pocket; killed in October last at Sligo. At first, the thing appeared so impossible, as that we were apt to think it a forgery and plot against the king of the parliamentary rebels; till, considering the circumstances, formalities, and punctualities thereof, we grew to apprehend somewhat more in the matter: and soon after, a second and third copy of the same coming to other persons, all with letters to the effect of this inclosed, it was then thought high time to take the business into most serious consideration: which being done by my lord-lieutenant and myself, (assisted by some of the wisest and best affected persons here,) we soon concluded, that if these things were once published, and that they could be believed to be done by his majesty's authority, they could have no less fatal an effect than to make all men so believing conclude, all the former scandals cast upon his majesty, of the inciting this Irish rebellion, true; that he was a papist, and designed to introduce popery even by ways the most unkingly and perfidious; and, consequently, that there would be a general revolt from him of all good Protestants, with whom this opinion could take place.

Now, when we considered the circumstances convincing the truth of this transaction on my lord of Glamorgan's part, and how impossible almost it was for any man to be so mad, as to enter into such an agreement without powers from his majesty, and there being some kind of a formal authority vouched in the articles themselves; we did also conclude, that, probably, the greatest part of the world, who had no other knowledge of his majesty than by outward appearances, would believe this true, and do according to that belief; unless his majesty was suddenly and eminently vindicated by those who might justly pretend to know him best. Upon this ground it was also concluded by us, that less than an arrest of the earl of Glamorgan, upon suspicion of high-treason, could not be a vindication of his majesty eminent or loud enough; and that this part could not properly nor effectually be performed by any other person than myself; both in regard of my place and trusts near his majesty: that the business of Ireland had passed, for the most part, through my hands: that I attended his majesty about the time of the date of his majesty's pretended commission: that since that time I had, by his majesty's command, written to the Irish commissioners a letter (whereof I send you a copy) so diametrically opposite to the said earl's transactions: and, lastly, in regard that my lord-lieutenant (to whom, otherwise, his majesty's vindication in this kind might properly have belonged,) was generally thought to be unworthily cozened and abused in the matter, in case there was any such secret authority given by his majesty to the earl of Glamorgan.

This being our unanimous judgment of what was fit to be done, and by whom; the only question, then remaining, was to the point of time; in which we were also of opinion, that if it was deferred till the business, growing public otherways, should begin to work its mischief, his majesty's vindication would lose much of its force, and be thought rather applied to the notoriety, than to the impiety of the thing, and rather to the pernicious effects, than to the detestable cause itself: notwithstanding, I must confess unto you, that the consideration of frustrating the supplies of three-thousand men, which were so confidently affirmed to be in readiness for the relief of Chester, (in case the condition of that place could not bear the delay which this might occasion,) wrought in us a very great suspension of judgment, whether the proceeding against my lord of Glamorgan should not be forborne till that so necessary supply was sent away? But, the case being more strictly examined, we found, first, That by the lord of Glamorgan's oath, the forces were not to be hazarded till his majesty's performance of the said earl's conditions. And, secondly, That the said supply was never intended by my lord of Glamorgan and the Irish, till the articles of peace were consented to; which the lord-lieutenant durst in no wise do without a preceding vindication of the king's honour; since this transaction of my lord of Glamorgan's was known unto him, and known to be known unto him by those who wanted neither art nor malice to make use of it: so that the necessary forbearance to conclude the treaty frustrating as much the relief of Chester, as the sudden and vigorous

proceeding against my lord of Glamorgan could do; our resolutions did, in the end, determine upon that course:—when, at the instant (to remove all objections) information was brought us, that the thing was already public throughout the town, and began to work such dangerous effects, as, in truth, I do not believe that my lord lieutenant, or any of the king's faithful servants, could have been many hours safe in the delay of this his majesty's and their vindication; which hath now been so seasonably applied, as that it hath wrought here not only a general satisfaction in all moderate men, but even such a conversion in many less well inclined; that whereas before a peace with the Irish (even upon those unavoidable conditions, upon which my lord lieutenant must needs, within a few days, have concluded it,) would hardly have been published in this place without very much danger; men's minds are so secured and settled by this proceeding, as that, I believe, the peace now would be embraced upon those, and, perhaps, upon harder terms, without much mutiny or repining. This being so; our chief remaining fear is, lest what hath been done against my lord of Glamorgan, should so far incense the Irish, as to drive them to sudden extremes: things here, on his majesty's part, being in so ill a condition to enter again upon a war unto this danger, the best preventives we could think of are applied, this inclosed letter written to my lord of Muskerry by my lord lieutenant; apt persons employed to Kilkenny, to acquaint them with the reasons and necessities of this proceeding: and, lastly, the articles of peace sent unto them with my lord lieutenant's assent, in the very terms proposed, and acquiesced in by themselves in the last results of this long treaty; which, in all probability, will have one of these two effects, either to make them conclude a peace, (notwithstanding this intervening accident,) whereby Chester may be speedily relieved, and his majesty further supplied this spring; or make it break so foully on their side, as to divide from them the most considerable of their party. Whatever the event be, my lord-lieutenant and I shall comfort ourselves with this satisfaction, that we have done what belonged to men of honour, faithful to their king and to their religion, and as wisely as ours and our friends' best understandings could direct us; leaving the rest to God Almighty, whom we beseech [⁴ to direct] his majesty to that course herein on his part, which may be correspondent to our faithful endeavours; and that he will bless them with as good effects upon the minds of all honest men, towards his majesty's vindication in that kingdom, as I make no doubt but what we have done will have in this; when seconded and pursued by those further directions from his majesty, which I am sure his own wisdom and princely indignation, to find his honour, conscience, and piety thus infamously traduced, will dictate unto him without further advice from

Dublin, Jan. 4, 1645.

Your

I believe you will be as much startled as I was, to find the signet mentioned in my lord of Glamorgan's transaction: but it seems that was mistaken; and that he now pretends to some kind of authority under the king's pocket-seal, which I certainly believe to be as false as I know the other.

⁴ Some such words should be supplied to make it sense, though they be not in the original.

Articles⁵ of Agreement, made and concluded between the Right-Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan, in pursuance, and by virtue of his Majesty's Authority, under his Signet and royal Signature, bearing Date at Oxon, the twelfth Day of March, in the twentieth Year of his Reign, for, and on the behalf of his most Excellent Majesty of the one Part; and the Right-Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Lord-President of the supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, and Nicholas Plunket, Esqs.; Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet; Dermot O'Brian, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffrey Browne, Esqs.; for, and on the Behalf of his Majesty's Roman-Catholic Subjects, and the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, of the other Part.

Imprimis,

THE said earl doth grant, conclude, and agree, on the behalf of his majesty, his heirs and successors, to and with the said Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, and Nicholas Plunket, esqs.; sir Robert Talbot, baronet; Dermot O'Brian, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffrey Browne, esqs.; that the Roman-catholic clergy of the said kingdom shall, and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever, by them respectively enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed, at any time since the twenty-third of October, 1641; and to all other such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments, belonging to the clergy, within this kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his majesty's Protestant clergy.

Item, It is granted, concluded, and agreed on, by the said Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, and Nicholas Plunket; sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Brian, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffrey Browne, on the behalf of the confederate Roman-catholicks of Ireland, that two parts in three parts to be divided, of all the said land, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever, mentioned in the precedent article, shall, for three years next ensuing the feast of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1646, be disposed of, and converted for and to the use of his majesty's forces employed or to be employed in his service; and the other third part to the use of the said clergy respectively: and so the like disposition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the said clergy, during the wars.

Item, It is accorded and agreed by the said earl of Glamorgan, for and in the behalf of his majesty, his heirs and successors, that his excellency, the lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, or any other or others authorized, or to be authorized by his majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman-catholic religion in the present possession and continuance of the possession of their churches, lands, tenements, tithes, hereditaments, jurisdiction, or any other the matters aforesaid, in these articles agreed and condescended to by the said earl, until his majesty's pleasure be signified, for confirming and publishing the grants herein articulated for, and condescended unto by the said earl.

Item, It is accorded and agreed by the said earl, for and in the behalf of his majesty, his heirs and successors, that an act shall be passed in the next parliament, to be held in this kingdom, according to the tenour of such agreement or concessions, as herein are expressed; and in the mean time, the said clergy shall enjoy the full benefit, freedom, and advantage of the said agreements and concessions, and every of them. And the earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his majesty's royal word and public faith unto the said lord viscount Mountgarret, and the rest of the said commissioners, for the due observation

⁵ This is the true copy of the articles sent by the lord George Digby to secretary Nicholas, to be by him communicated to his majesty.

and performance of all and every the articles, agreements, and concessions herein mentioned, to be performed to the said Roman-catholic clergy, and every of them. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals, the twenty-fifth of August, *anno Dom.* 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of John Somerset, Jeffrey Browne, and Robert Barry.

WHEREAS, in these articles, touching the clergy's livings, the right honourable the earl of Glamorgan is obliged, in his majesty's behalf, to secure the concessions in these articles by act of parliament: we holding that manner of securing these grants, as to the clergy's livings, to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his majesty, than by doing thereof, and securing these concessions; otherwise, as to the said livings, the said earl undertaking, and promising in the behalf of his majesty, his heirs and successors, as hereby he doth undertake, to settle the said concessions, and secure them to the clergy and their respective successors, as another secure way, other than by parliament at present, till a fit opportunity be offered for securing the same, do agree and condescend thereunto. And this instrument, by his lordship signed, was, before the perfection thereof, intended to that purpose, as to the said living: to which purpose we have mutually signed this indorsement. And it is further intended, that the Catholic clergy shall not be interrupted by parliament, or otherwise, as to the said livings, contrary to the meaning of these articles.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera, collata fidelitèr cum originali.

Tho. Cashell, F. Patricius, Waterford, & Lismor.

WHEREAS much time hath been spent in meetings and debates, betwixt his excellency James lord marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant, and general-governor of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, commissioner to his most excellent majesty, Charles, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. for the treating and concluding of a peace in the said kingdom; of his majesty's humble and loyal subjects, the confederate Roman-catholicks of the said kingdom of Ireland, of the one part, and the right honourable Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, and other commissioners, deputed and authorized by the said confederate Roman-catholic subjects of the other part: and, thereupon, many difficulties did arise, by occasion whereof sundry matters of great weight and consequence necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his majesty's said commissioner, for the safety of the said confederate Roman-catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the conclusion of a firm peace and settlement in the said kingdom. And whereas the right honourable Edward earl of Glamorgan is intrusted and authorized by his most excellent majesty, to grant and assure to the said confederate Roman-catholic subjects farther graces and favours, which the said lord lieutenant did not, as yet, in that latitude as they expected, grant unto them. And the said earl, having seriously considered of all matters, and due circumstances of the great affairs now in agitation, which is the peace and quiet of the said kingdom; and the importance thereof in order to his majesty's service, and in relation to a peace and settlement in his other kingdoms: and here, upon the place, having seen the ardent desire of the said Catholicks to assist his majesty, against all that do or shall oppose his royal right or monarchic government; and having discerned the alacrity and cheerfulness of the said Roman-catholicks, to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preserve their religion, and other just interests: In pursuance thereof, in the twentieth of his reign, granted unto the said earl of Glamorgan, the tenour whereof is as follows, *viz.*

CHARLES R.

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To our Right trusty and well-beloved Cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, greeting.

WE, reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal, to all intents and purposes) authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman-catholicks, in our kingdom of Ireland; if, upon necessity, any thing be to be condescended unto, wherein our lord-lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at this present publicly to own; and therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant, with all possible secrecy. And for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise (on the word of a king, and a Christian) to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you, and under your hand and seal; the said confederate Catholicks having, by their supplies, testified their zeal to our service. And this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant.

Given at our court at Oxon, under our signet, and royal signature, the 12th day of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644; to our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, Edward, earl of Glamorgan.

It is therefore granted, accorded, and agreed by and between the said earl of Glamorgan, for and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the right-honourable Richard lord viscount Mountgarret, lord-president of the supreme council of the said confederate Catholicks, and the said Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Alexander Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, esqs.; sir Robert Talbot, baronet; Dermot O'Brian, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffrey Browne, esqs.; commissioners in that behalf appointed, by the said confederate Roman catholic subjects of Ireland, for, and on the behalf of the said confederate Roman-catholicks of the other part; in manner following: that is to say;

Imprimis, It is agreed, accorded, and granted by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, his heirs and successors, that all and every of the professors of the Roman-catholic religion in this kingdom of Ireland, of whatever estate, degree, or quality soever, he or they be, or shall be, shall for ever hereafter, have and enjoy, within the said kingdom, the free and public use and exercise of the said Roman-catholic religion, and of the respective functions therein.

Item, It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his majesty, his heirs and successors, that the said professors of the Roman-catholic religion shall hold and enjoy all and every of the churches by them enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed, at any time, since the twenty-third of October, 1641; and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his majesty's Protestant subjects.

Item, It is granted, accorded, and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, his heirs and successors, that all, and every of the Catholic subjects of Ireland, of what state and condition, degree, or quality soever, shall be free and exempt from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy, and every of them; and that the Catholic Roman clergy of this kingdom shall not be punished, troubled, or molested, for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective Catholic flocks, in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

Item, It is further accorded, granted, and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, his heirs and successors, That an act shall be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, the tenour and purport whereof shall be as followeth, *viz.* 'An act for the relief of his majesty's Catholic subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland.' Whereas, by an act made in the parliament held in Dublin, in the second year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth, intituled, 'An act for restoring to

' the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolish
 ' all foreign power repugnant to the same;' and by another statute, made in the said last
 mentioned parliament, intituled, ' An act for the uniformity of common-prayer and ser-
 ' vice in the church, and the administration of the sacraments;' sundry mulcts, penalties,
 restraints, and incapacities, are and have been laid upon the professors of the Roman-
 catholic religion in this kingdom, in and for, and concerning the use, profession, and ex-
 ercise of their religion, and their functions therein; to the great prejudice, trouble, and
 disquiet of the Roman-catholicks in their liberties and estates, to the general disturbance of
 the whole kingdom. For remedy whereof, and for the better settling, increase, and con-
 tinuance of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this kingdom of Ireland; his majesty, at
 the humble suit and request of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled,
 is graciously pleased, that it may be enacted: and be it enacted by the king's most excel-
 lent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament as-
 sembled, and by authority of the same, That from, on, and after the first day of this session
 of parliament, it shall and may be lawful, to and for all the professors of the Roman-ca-
 tholic religion, of what degree, condition, or quality soever, to have and enjoy the free and
 public exercise and profession of the said Roman-catholic religion, and of their several and
 respective functions therein; without incurring any mulct and penalty whatsoever, or
 being subject to any restraint or incapacity concerning the same; any article, clause, sentence,
 or provision in the said last-mentioned acts of parliament, or in any other act or acts of par-
 liament, ordinance, laws, or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And be
 it also further enacted, That neither the said statutes, or any other statute, act, or ordinance
 heretofore made in your majesty's reign, or in any the reigns of any of your highness's most
 noble progenitors or ancestors, and now of force in this kingdom; nor all, nor any branch,
 article, clause, and sentence in them, or any of them, contained and expressed, shall be of
 force and validity in this realm, to extend to be construed, or adjudged to extend in any
 wise to inquiet, prejudice, vex, or molest the professors of the said Roman-catholic re-
 ligion, in their persons, lands, hereditaments, or goods, for any thing, matter, or cause
 whatsoever touching and concerning the free and public use, exercise, and enjoying of their
 said religion, functions, and profession. And be it also further enacted and declared, by
 the authority aforesaid, That your majesty's Roman-catholic subjects in the said realm of
 Ireland, from the first day of this session of parliament, shall be and be taken, deemed,
 and adjudged, capable of all offices of trust and advancement, places, degrees, and digni-
 ties, and preferments whatsoever, within your said realm of Ireland, any act, statute,
 usage, or law to the contrary notwithstanding; and that other acts shall be passed in the
 said parliament, according to the tenour of such agreement or concessions, as herein are
 expressed; and that, in the mean time, the said Roman-catholic subjects, and every of
 them, shall enjoy the full freedom, benefit, and advantage of the said agreement or con-
 cessions, and of every of them.

Item, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the said earl, for and on the behalf of his
 majesty, his heirs, and successors, that his excellency the lord marquis of Ormond, lord
 lieutenant of Ireland, or any other, or others, authorized by his majesty, shall not disturb
 the professors of the Roman-catholic religion in their present possession, and continuance of
 the possession of their said churches, jurisdiction, or any other the matters aforesaid in these
 articles agreed and consented unto by the said earl; until his majesty's pleasure be signified
 for confirming and publishing the grounds and agreements hereby articulated for, and conde-
 scended unto by the said earl. And the said earl of Glamorgan doth hereby engage his
 majesty's royal and public faith unto all and singular the professors of the said Roman-
 catholic religion, within the said kingdom of Ireland, for the due observance and perform-
 ance of all and every the articles, ground, and clauses herein contained, and the conces-
 sions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

Item, It is accorded and agreed, that the public faith of the kingdom shall be engaged
 unto the said earl, by the said confederate Catholicks, for sending ten-thousand men to
 serve his majesty, by order and public declaration of the general assembly now sitting.

And the supreme council of the said confederate Catholicks shall engage themselves to bring the said number of men armed, (the one half with muskets, and the other half with pikes,) unto any port within this realm, at the election of the said earl, and at such time as he shall appoint; to be by him shipped and transported to serve his majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the said earl of Glamorgan, as lord-general of the said army. Which army is to be kept together in one entire body, and all other the said officers and commanders of the said army are to be named by the supreme council of the said confederate Catholicks; or by such others as the several assembly of the said confederate Catholicks of this kingdom shall intrust therewith. In witness whereof, the parties of these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals, the twenty-fifth day of August, 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera, collata fidelitèr cum originali,
Thomas Cashell, F. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

I EDWARD, earl of Glamorgan, do protest and swear faithfully to acquaint the king's most excellent majesty with the proceedings of this kingdom, in order to his service, and to the endearment of this nation; and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his majesty) obliged myself to see performed: and in default, not to permit the army intrusted to my charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his majesty, and by his majesty, be performed.

Sept. 3, 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera, concordans de verbo & verbis cum originali.
Tho. Cashell.

To the Lord Hopton.

My noble Lord,

Waterford, Feb. 28, 1645.

IF the report of the many difficulties wherewith I have struggled, in compassing my designs for his majesty's service, have not before this reached you, a faithful relation of the whole will be made to you by the bearer hereof, capt. Allen, whom I desire your lordship to present unto the prince's highness, as an honest man, and one that proposeth a course for intelligence to pass between this country and his majesty's quarters; whereof there is great need. Now (God be thanked) the business is brought to that upshot, that the ten-thousand men are designed for his majesty's service; six-thousand whereof are ready for transportation; the means for which are wanting, unless your lordship will please to solicit his highness the prince for transmitting what shipping those parts are furnished with; that all possible expedition may be used. We hear (God be thanked) that as yet Chester holds out; to relieve which the 6000 men are ready for transportation. This bearer hath intimated the prince's desire for having three-hundred men hence for his highness's life-guard; which may be transported to his highness by the return of such shipping as shall be sent hither for the aforesaid service. By his return, I desire to learn from your lordship the king's present state and being, that we may shape our designs accordingly. Thereby I should be most glad to know of the prince's and your lordship's good success and prosperity; for which none can be more solicitous than I, who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate, humble servant,

GLAMORGAN.

Right Honourable,

Dublin, Jan. 2, 1645.

I HAVE hitherto been so far from troubling you with many letters, that I can scarce abstain from excusing this address: but as I hope you will do me the favour to believe, that those omissions have proceeded out of a tenderness to molest you unnecessarily, and not out

of any slothfulness in things essential to my duty, so in my own opinion I were now too much to blame, if after so long time and some late hazards, I should not take this occasion to repeat unto you the assurances of my most humble service, proceeding from the due sense I have of your goodness to me: which howsoever I have been deficient in expressing, as to the outward, I assure your honour I preserve the memory in a very sure cabinet; as a treasure there laid up wholly for your service, whenever you shall think me worthy the trial.

For what concerns the affairs of this kingdom, my lord gives you so full and particular an account thereof, that I cannot add to your knowledge of them. Therefore, I shall sufficiently have observed the decorum of the place, and complied with my duty too, when I shall have made these few reflections upon the general condition of those parts; and especially of the English quarters, which in my judgment is very sad; they being not only reduced within a very narrow compass of ground, but totally ruined: the whole country waste and uninhabited, farms and villages burnt down to the ground, not a garrison of his majesty's, 36. 45. 188. 23. 27. 58. 24. 12. 66. or any wise 5. 69. 11. 13. 38. 57. 61. 59. 70. 37. 71. 63. 40. 6. 5. 59. 72. just 66. 84. 45. 36. Provisions of all sort very scant. The corporations: 8. 35. 55. 16. 62. and 49. 63. 46. 68. 12. 2. 49. between 36. 4. 25. 15. 63. 6. 67. 29. 87. 4. 19. 34. 58. 42. 13. 11. 6. 66. 45. the 8. 16. 35. 67. 62. 51. 67. 70. 11. 29. 40. 20. 2. 15. 70. 16. 5. 31. 36. equal to either. The army in 66. 3. 55. 40. 29. 23. 12. 2. 34. 71. 38. 10. 62. as 300. 3. 22. 11. 6. 68. 29. 5. 58. 56. 37. 20. 39. above 45. 5. 35. 30. 59. 66. thousand 27. 58. 46. 2. 66. 48. 19. 40. 49. 16. 69. 12. foot, and 66. 67. 28. 34. 2. 62. 69. hundred horse, garrisons and all, and those for the most part of 51. 52. 6. 4. 2. 3. 42. 2. 49. 71. 27. 39. 24. 26. 67. 68. 55. 56. 29. This place itself in a manner blocked up by the parliament-ships, riding continually without it; and no less pinched at land by the Irish quartered within a very few miles of it. This condition of his majesty's quarters here, compared with that of the Irish, contrary to it almost in every respect, may seem unlikely, upon any conditions offered hitherto, to further such a peace as must dispossess them of great advantages gotten by the war; and such a peace as thwarts the ambition and covetous desires of all those of the long-robe (whether they be their clergy or laity), and the sway and authority of their nobility, and the unlimited liberty of the people: the pope's interest consisting in being head, not of a militant, but triumphant church; and (it may be) the secret negotiations, which they have, and do still entertain with foreign princes. It is true, the duty that subjects owe to their prince should out-balance all such considerations; but I doubt, that duty is taught at Rome, with as many limitations as at Edinburgh, or in Westminster itself. And, as for those reflections that should be made upon the future, they are not for every capacity, but for understanding men only; and such may (for aught appears to me to the contrary) see as fair and promising hopes for themselves in our embroilments at home, as we can see for our advantage in their refusal and obstinacy. To which I may add this further consideration, how they will be able to suppress Inchiquin, assisted and supported from England; and maintain their own too, against the Scots, if they shall once have parted with ten-thousand of their best men, and with so many arms; since it is plain that, since the cessation, they have made no great progress against either of the two, with their entire strength. For, as for any assistance they can expect from my lord lieutenant, it is inconsiderable; and these garrisons must not be drained for fear of insurrections within, where we find much wavering, and such a hatred even in the soldiers themselves against the confederates, that I can promise myself but little good from their conjunction. Thus your honour may see what probability my lord lieutenant, though never so good a gamester, hath of the game in hand, between the danger of war, and the difficulty of procuring an useful and honourable peace for his majesty by this treaty. The proceedings whereof I leave to his lordship's relation, resting,

Sir,

Your Honour's most humble, affectionate, and obliged servant,

JOHN POINGDEXTER.

To the Lord Culpeper.

My Lord,

Waterford, Feb. 27, 1645.

HAVING overpassed many rubs and difficulties, the long expected work is at last compassed, which by what means it was retarded, your lordship, perhaps, before hath learned; and will be more faithfully and amply related by the bearer, captain Bamber, whom I have employed to his highness the prince, to give an account of the state of affairs here, and in what a mist we are for want of intelligence; whereby we might be ascertained of the king's and prince's condition; which one Allen a merchant of Waterford proposeth to undertake a course for. And his highness's desire, which moved for three-hundred men for the prince's life-guards, which the Irish party is willing should be sent him by the return of such shipping as (I have humbly desired from his highness) might be sent hither to Waterford for to waft over the men, whereof six-thousand are in a readiness for the relief of Chester (which yet we hear holds out); and the other four-thousand, by the first of May, are to follow. Your lordship would extremely further the service by your representing to his highness the necessity of a course of intelligence, that we might not, as we are now, be buried in ignorance of his majesty's and the prince's being and condition; of which I hope your lordship will vouchsafe me some light, that our motion may be according thereunto; by which likewise to be ascertained of your lordship's welfare and happiness would be most welcome news to,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

GLAMORGAN.

These several Letters and Papers, coming from Ireland, were taken at Milford-Haven, by Captain Moulton.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, for the Committee of the Admiralty, and Cinque-Ports.

Right Honourable,

Aboard the Lyon, in Milford-Haven, Jan. 23, 1645.

THESE contrary winds have, much against my desire, detained me still in this harbour, so that my intended voyage for Ireland hath not the free nor speedy passage I wished; but the first opportunity of wind, that offers itself, shall be laid hold of. Yesterday a barque, that stole away from Dublin, came in hither, wherein I found the inclosed letters, committed to a passenger; which I send unto your honours, to be disposed of, as to your honours shall seem good: this place being barren both of news and action to produce any, makes me forbear to give your honours any further present trouble, save to assure, that I am ever

Your Honours' affectionate, humble, and most obedient servant,

ROBERT MOULTON.

To Colonel Pigott.

Worthy Cousin,

Dublin, this 5th of Jan. 1645.

I HAVE here sent, inclosed, two letters, to the countess of Glamorgan at Ragland, her lord being lately confined here to the castle of Dublin; and lest her ladyship may take things too much to heart, these letters are sent to add some comfort. Both my lord and I shall acknowledge our thankfulness unto you, if you be pleased to use the best and speediest course you may, for conveying them to my lady: you were wont to honour noble ladies, especially in distress, and I am assured now, more than ever; having the happiness of enjoying so noble a lady of your own. Your father, mother, and friends in

Leix are all in good health, and daily expect to hear good news out of England: thus, not doubting of care herein, with my best wishes of happiness to yourself and your noble lady, not unmindful of your good friends all, I remain

Your assured loving cousin to serve you,

ROGER BRERETON.

To the Countess of Glamorgan.

Madam,

Dublin, this 5th of Jan. 1645.

I PRESUME that some rumours of my lord of Glamorgan's being confined to the castle of Dublin, for some matters laid to his charge by the lord George Digby, have, before this time, come to your ladyship's hearing; I thought fit therefore, by these few lines, to let you know, that my lord is in perfect health, hearty, and very cheerful; not doubting to give a satisfactory answer, to what may be laid to his charge. I have so much confidence in your ladyship's accustomed discretion, that I know there need no dissuasive arguments to your ladyship, from either grieving, or taking any reports you may receive to heart too much; not doubting but his lordship will before long see your ladyship, when you may partake of all things more fully, than may be by writing. My lord your uncle is in health at Bunrally, and with him there, the earl of P. my lord John, and my lady Honora. I wish your honour all health and happiness, and am

Your Ladyship's still faithful servant and kinsman,

ROGER BRERETON.

Lord Herbert, pretended Earl of Glamorgan, his Letter to his Lady.

My dearest Heart,

I HOPE these will prevent any news shall come unto you of me, since my commitment to the castle of Dublin; to which, I assure thee, I went as cheerfully and as willingly as they could wish, whosoever they were by whose means it was procured; and should as unwillingly go forth, were the gates both of the castle and town open unto me, until I were cleared; as they are willing to make me unserviceable to the king, and lay me aside, who have procured for me this restraint. When I consider thee a woman, as I think, I know you are, I fear lest you should be apprehensive; but when I reflect, that you are of the house of Thomond, and that you were once pleased to say these words unto me, "That I should never, in tenderness of you, desist from doing what in honour I was obliged to do;" I grow confident, that in this you will now shew your magnanimity, and by it, the greatest testimony of affection that you can possibly afford me; and am also confident, that you know me so well, that I need not tell you how clear I am and void of fear, the only effect of a good conscience; and that I am guilty of nothing that may testify one thought of disloyalty to his majesty, or of what may stain the honour of the family I come of, or set a brand upon my future posterity. Courage, my heart: were I amongst the king's enemies, you might fear; but being only a prisoner amongst his friends and faithful subjects, you need doubt nothing, but that this cloud will be soon dissipated by the sun-shine of the king my master; and did you but know how well and merry I am, you would be as little troubled as myself; who have nothing that can afflict me, but lest your apprehension might hurt you; especially since all the while I could get no opportunity of sending, nor yet by any certain probable means, but by my cousin Brereton's, Mr. Mannering's, our cousin, constable of the castle, and my lord-lieutenant's leave: and I hope you and I shall live to acknowledge our obligation to them; there being nothing in this world, that I desire more, than you should at least hear from me. And believe it, sweet-heart, were I before the parliament in London, I could justify both the king and myself, in what I have done: and so I pray acquaint my father, whom I know so cautious, that he would hardly accept a letter from me; but yet I presume most humbly

to ask his blessing, and as heartily as I send mine to pretty Mall; and I hope this day, or to-morrow, will set a period to my business, to the shame of those who have been occasioners of it. But I must needs say, from my lord-lieutenant and the privy-council here, I have received as much justice, nobleness, and favour, as I could possibly expect. The circumstances of these proceedings are too long to write unto you, but I am confident, all will prove to my greater honour: and my right-honourable accuser, my lord George Digby, will be at last rectified, and confirmed in the good, which he is pleased to say, he ever had of me hitherto; as the greatest affliction that he ever had, did do what his conscience enforced him unto; and indeed did wrap up the bitter pill of the impeachment of suspicion of high-treason in so good words, as that I swallowed it with the greatest ease in the world, and it hath hither had no other operation, than that it hath purged melancholy: for as I was not, at the present, any way dismayed, so have I not since been any way at all disheartened. So I pray let not any of my friends, that is there, believe any thing, until ye have the perfect relation of it from myself. And this request I chiefly make unto you; to whom I remain

A most faithful, and most passionately devoted, husband and servant,

GLAMORGAN.

Remember my service to my brother, my cousin Brown, and the rest of my good friends.

To Thomas Piggot, Esq.

My dear Friend,

11th of January, 1645.

I HAVE very much to write to you concerning this place, and yet know not what to write. You have heard, I do believe, of the earl of Glamorgan's agreement with the Irish, by which he undertook they should have all the churches within their quarters, and all other churches in the kingdom, not actually possessed by the Protestant party; as also all the lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments belonging to the clergy, not actually possessed by the Protestant party, and that they should be free from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy: for which wild undertaking, my lord Digby accused him of high-treason; for which the earl doth now stand committed in the castle. What further effects this will produce, I am not able to judge; but the Irish give out, that they will treat no further with us, if that he be not set at liberty. It was part of his agreement with them, that they should send into England ten-thousand men, to assist his majesty; and a great part of them was ready to be shipped, where he was committed, which were thereupon staid. We are in a very sad condition here, environed with enemies of all sides, and in a very weak posture to defend ourselves; but the God of Jacob will I hope be our refuge. Your father and the rest of your friends are in good health. I would you had known my thoughts, or that I were with you for some time to unburden myself. God keep you and us, in the midst of these streights; and so in haste I rest

Your assured loving friend,

MAU. EUSTACE.

This gentleman hath some business to Bristol, I pray you to be favour him therein: some estate is there fallen to him, and he is gone thither in pursuit thereof.

My own and my wife's service to your noble lady.

*A Letter to a Country-Gentleman*¹ : Setting forth the Cause of the Decay and Ruin of Trade. To which is annexed a List of the Names of some Gentlemen who were Members of the last Parliament, and now are (or lately were) in public Employments.

London ; printed in 1698.

[Quarto ; containing twenty-four pages.]

SIR,

YOURS I received, bearing date the third of the last month ; by which I find you seem to be much afflicted to see the trade of the nation ruined, and your native country brought into so great calamity as now it is ; and desire me to give you some account, if possible, how, and by what means, all these evils have been brought upon the whole kingdom ? Which I shall endeavour to do, in as brief a manner as I can : and, in order to it, shall relate to you some public transactions in relation to the late war, and then leave you and all rational men to judge, who it is have been the grand instruments of bringing all these evils upon us.

For the situation of our country and the constitution of our government, we have always been esteemed the happiest nation in Europe : and no people in the universe ever enjoyed a longer series of peace and plenty than we have done. Yet, during the time of the late war, we have seen the trade of the nation (some ages a raising) almost totally ruined ; and a general poverty and distress brought upon the whole kingdom ; and that in the reign even of the best of princes.

Trade has ever been the universal mistress of mankind, courted and caressed by all civilized nations ; many bloody wars having been carried on by those that have been rivals for her favour ; for she never fails to bestow invaluable blessings upon her admirers ; being always attended with riches, honour, power, and all other earthly blessings. Those nations that obtained her favour, and have not had the wisdom and prudence to retain her, we see have grown weak and despiseable, and lain exposed a prey to other nations, which appears to be the present case of Spain.

Our forefathers enjoyed a large share of her favour, which they carefully handed down to us ; but we, like unthrifty and undutiful children, have been so far from following their footsteps, that we have been (as appears by our actions) great enemies to trade ; and used all manner of violence to make her fly the nation, wherein she had long cohabited with us, and seemed unwilling to depart, till our continual acts of violence were such as they grew insupportable ; so that she has now taken her flight into the neighbouring nations, (*viz.* Holland² and Ireland,) by whom she is highly caressed, and not like to return in haste : and unless she do return, we can expect no other than to be a miserable people ; land itself having a dependence upon trade, and rises or falls as that ebbs or flows.

¹ Vide Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, N^o. 514.

² The Dutch having grown rich by the late war, and improved themselves eight millions : they are a wise people, and, among themselves, strict observers of justice ; never suffering any to grow great out of the ruins of the publick : as Sir William Temple well observes in his Memoirs, and which is the true cause of the flourishing condition of their state. [Sir William Temple's 'Memoirs' of what had passed in his public employments, especially those abroad, will be found in the folio collection of his works, of which they form a very entertaining part.]

But before we can expect that, it is necessary to be known what way and means it was we took to make her to desert us. Unless we do so, we can never expect her return; for she is coy and nice, and will not bear the least affront, but cleave to those who treat her best.

The first ill-usage, trade appears to have met withal from us, was at the breaking out of the late war. Ever since, all manner of persons, things or matters, that have had relation to, or were interested in trade, have been evil treated by those whose immediate duty it was to have encouraged and protected them.

It is well known our ships (under God) are our greatest security, and the glory of our isle; and the sailors our myrmidons, whom we ought to cherish as the apple of our eye: yet, all the time of the late war, they were most barbarously treated, even as if they had not been of the race of mankind, but a sort of vermin fit to be rooted out; for, what by their evil treatment on-board ship, and frequent turning over without pay, the unjust pricking them *Run*, and being harrassed with the uncertainty of payments; many thousands of these poor wretches and their families have been destroyed, and great numbers constrained to leave their native country and betake themselves to foreign service; or, which is worse, turn pirates.

This evil treatment of the poor sailors, though in itself highly wicked, seems to have been one of the least of the crimes committed in the government, tending to the destruction of trade³; for it appears, there were articles brought into the house of peers (the highest court of judicature in the nation) against the lords of the admiralty, the commissioners of the navy, and the commissioners for the sick and wounded seamen, by one Mr. Crosfield, in the year 1694. Upon which, their lordships examined divers witnesses at the bar of the house, and were very zealous in the matter; but it seems the articles were drawn out of the house, by the commissioners for stating the public accounts, who never proceeded therein, though their lordships issued out two successive orders for them so to do. But for your better satisfaction, and that posterity may see the wickedness of the age; I here give you a true copy of those articles, and which are as followeth:

‘ Article 1. That the present commissioners for sick and wounded seamen, and exchanging prisoners at war (depending on the admiralty) not regarding instructions, or the good of the government, have committed gross enormities; as holding or conniving at an unlawful correspondence with the French, and wronging both the king and subject in their accounts, with other great miscarriages. All which has been, about a year since, laid in writing, before the secretary of state, by one Mr. Baston, and by the king’s command, examined before the lords of the admiralty, &c. And it will appear, that the said commission has been very injurious to the poor sailors in particular, and very detrimental to the government in general.

‘ Artic. 2. That the lords of the admiralty and commissioners of the navy have acted contrary to the public good; by countenancing, supporting, and preferring criminals: and, on the contrary, persecuting the discoverers, and turning just men out of their offices.

‘ Artic. 3. That their lordships have had great discoveries laid before them of embezzlements, and other great frauds committed in the king’s yards, attended with forgery and perjury.

‘ Artic. 4. That it is manifest, some of the commissioners of the navy have, in that office, advanced themselves from salaries of thirty pounds *per annum* to vast estates; having passed great frauds, and totally discouraged the discovery of embezzled stores; to the great waste of the public treasure.

³ For the first five years of the war, it appears we were seldom free from an embargo upon shipping; few or no ships were allowed to sail, till they got protections or permits, to the great charge of the merchants and damage to trade in general: as little care was taken to protect our shipping, not any one person having been so much as appointed to examine sea-commanders’ journals, all the time of the late war; but they were left to their own genius, to act and do as they pleased. And thus, by the lords of the admiralty’s and commissioners of the navy’s wise conduct, and prudent management of affairs, we lost above a hundred ships of war, with many hundreds of merchantmen, to the great honour of the nation.

‘Artic. 5. That it has been a long practice in the navy, to make out false tickets and powers, suspending and delaying the poor sailors in their just payments; to the general discouragement of them, and starving their families.’

The commissioners of the Post-office appear to have as much contributed towards the ruin of their country, as any persons living, having all along supported their officers in all their evil actions; as corresponding with known papists, and others disaffected to the government; stopping the king’s mail, breaking open persons of quality’s letters; all along countenancing and supporting a smuggling trade, by bringing in the mail, and other ways, vast quantities of Flanders lace⁴, &c.; being resolved, it seems, to make as plentiful an harvest as they could, so long as the war lasted. Withal, they were not wanting to use all indirect means to ruin such of their officers or others, that detected the crimes.

All these matters relating to the foregoing articles, and the commissioners of the Post-office, were long since published in print, by divers hands, wherein a more large and ample account has been given of them; and they were dedicated and presented to our late representatives in parliament; who took no more notice thereof, than if these things had been acted and done in the Great-Mogul’s country. Moreover, there appears to have been laid before our late representatives many other matters of the greatest importance.

First, In reference to the Toulon squadron getting into Brest: it having been declared by the house, the government had timely notice given, whereby the said fleet might have been intercepted.

Secondly, In relation to the Mint; it did appear to the house, the moneyers in the Tower had committed foul crimes, and that several dyes had been conveyed away for coining false money abroad.

Thirdly, In reference to the disbanded troopers, that served in Ireland and Flanders; who, by their petition, appear to have been most barbarously treated, contrary to his majesty’s express commands.

Fourthly, In reference to the evil actions of the commissioners of the Victualling-office.

Fifthly, In relation to the twenty-seven sail of victuallers being taken by the Dunkirkers; the house having declared, the lords of the admiralty had timely notice given them, whereby they might have prevented their falling into the enemies hands.

These, with a multitude of other matters that lay before the house, were dropped by our late representatives, who took no manner of care to do the people justice⁵. Indeed, the house appeared very zealous in the prosecution of Mr. Duncomb; who (as they alleged) wronged the king of about three-hundred and sixty pounds, by the false endorsement of Exchequer-bills; though, at the same time, it plainly appeared, the king and kingdom had been wronged, by means of the Treasury⁶, to the value of twenty-thousand pounds, in relation to Exchequer-bills. Yet, all they did therein, was to take care how to wash them white: and while the war was on foot, our late representatives seemed to be very zealous for an act to be made against the buying and selling of employments; but when once we had obtained an honourable peace, they soon dropped the matter; as con-

⁴ Indeed, these gentlemen have since been very instrumental in causing a late act to be made, the better to prevent the bringing in foreign bone-lace; as likewise have been the lords of the admiralty, and commissioners of the navy, in procuring an act to prevent the embezzlement, and stealing his majesty’s naval stores; and therein they have done wisely: when the steed is stolen, to shut the stable-door.

⁵ Sad it is to consider, how all complaints of abuses done in the government have been stifled, for want of a committee of grievances, according to our ancient laws and customs, to be sitting, during the session of parliament, to hear the grievances of the people; which, it is plain, was not done all the time of the late war.

⁶ The public treasure, in all ages and nations, has ever been accounted as sacred as the king’s person; and those that have been found to purloin, waste, or mispend the same, have been severely chastised: and it must be acknowledged, (as every man will do, who is not a professed atheist,) we are obliged by the dictates of nature, and that holy religion we profess, to do all such acts as tend to the good and benefit of mankind in general. What ground of fear then can any man have, that lays open public crimes, in order to their being examined in a judicial manner? And if the law, which favours and countenances the act, shall not be able to protect him, little reason can any man have to flatter himself of being secure; the public peace and tranquillity not being long to be maintained by any other means, than a due administration of justice.

ceiving the people then better able to bear their pack⁷, than they were before. There is a matter, wherein it appears, the king has been wronged several thousand pounds, that was designed to have been laid before the late house of commons; but the gentleman, who intended to have done it, was dissuaded from doing it, by a member of the house; who plainly told him, of all their members, they could not make above a hundred or a hundred and ten at most, in the whole house, that seemed to have any regard to the welfare of the nation: saying, one had one employment, another another, touch one and touch all, and said they did and would support one another⁸; and so by all means advised him to decline it. Now I conceive, it is obvious, by what means and by whom, the trade of the nation has been brought to so low an ebb, and so many public debts contracted; by the consequence of which, many thousands of honest industrious families in London, &c. are reduced to extreme poverty; at the same time, not knowing the true cause from whence their evils have risen. These things are very harsh to flesh and blood, when we consider how all our calamity appears to have been brought upon us, by those very persons, in whose hands we entrusted our lives, liberties, and estates.

We find king David complained he could not do the justice he would have done; the sons of Zeruiah were too strong for him: no wonder then, if we see our prince⁹ under the same circumstance, who has had so many sons of Zeruiah to deal withal; who were sensible of the great interest they and their friends had in the several corporations, and how they were able thereby to support one another in whatever they should act or do; and put it out of the power of any, even the king himself, to call them to an account for their actions. It is evident, ours is a mixed government, wherein the people have a large share; and if we will not act our part, in reference to the choosing of members of parliament, great pity it is we should ever be relieved, but remain as we are.

By this, we may see what a great duty there lies upon all gentlemen that live in, or near any corporation and the principal inhabitants thereof, to inform the meaner sort of people therein (who, in most corporations, have votes) the absolute necessity there is of choosing gentlemen of good estates to be their representatives, as have not been in any (or long since declined) public employment, during the late war; there being no other means possible, whereby to make them sensible of these past miscarriages, or we to have such members, as will be able to rectify them, and do the king and kingdom justice¹⁰: public leaks being not to be stopped by the hands that made them.

It is sufficient to make any Englishman blush, to consider how strenuously our forefathers withstood those who made a breach of the law, and how indifferent and careless we appear to have been therein, ever since the late happy revolution: not at all considering, how mankind are generally more liable, and in greater danger of being ruined by the falsehood and treachery of friends, than open enemies; and that those who lay the foundation of great estates, for the most part raise themselves by fraud, oppression, and injustice. And how in all ages they that were in public employments, or ambitious of honour and preferment, likewise generally have been found too ready to abuse their prince's ear, and trample the laws under their feet.

⁷ Vide 'England's Calamities discovered,' sold by — Fox, in Westminster-Hall, &c.

⁸ Those gentlemen, that have been in public employments, have had great opportunity to execute their malice against them that detected or publicly laid open their crimes; and have not been wanting to use all arts and means whereby to bring them to ruin: by which means, several honest ingenuous gentlemen have died through grief, and many others through grief and want; and who may all truly be said to have died martyrs for their country.

⁹ Whatever Englishman duly considers, how great and glorious the actions of his majesty have been, and to what hazard he exposed his royal person for our sakes, and the great things he has done for us; cannot but be moved with grief and anger, to see how unfaithful, in his absence, he has been served, and his people oppressed.

¹⁰ It is hoped the citizens of London and Westminster, who correspond with all parts of the kingdom, will be so just to themselves, their king and country, as forthwith to send this and other things of the like nature, to the several corporations: for it will be as they make their choice, we may conclude, we shall be either happy or miserable.

We may see by the bishop of Salisbury's pastoral letter, burnt by the common hangman, what sycophants these sort of men are, who care not what evils they bring upon the rest of mankind, so they may but advance themselves: and weeds commonly are apt to grow so fast, as to overtop the corn.

Thus, sir, have I given you a short relation of such matters of fact, which plainly appear (as I conceive) to have been the true cause, all the blood and treasure spent in the late war, for want of justice, in a manner has been lost, like water spilt on the ground.

Our trade being in great measure ruined, and the nation miserably plunged in debt, and in danger of being involved in a new war, about the succession of Spain; in which (according to the present circumstance, and management of affairs) we are in no condition to engage: so, you may see the fatal consequence that attends the actions of men, when they leave the paths of virtue, and go along with the multitude to do evil. I am, sir, his majesty's faithful subject, a true lover of my country, and,

London, July 16, 1698.

Your most humble servant,

G. W.

A List of the Names of some Gentlemen who were Members of the last Parliament, and now are, or lately were, in public Employment or Trust.

A.

SIR Edward Askew, knt. commissioner of the prizes, for Grimsby, Lincolnshire.

Sir Matthew Andrews, knt. gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and master of Trinity-house, Shafton, Dorsetshire.

Matthew Aylmer, esq. a flag-officer in the fleet, Dover, Cinque-port.

B.

The honourable Peregrine Bertie, vice-chamberlain, Boston, Lincolnshire.

The honourable Hugh Boscawen, governor of St. Maw's castle, &c. county of Cornwall.

William Blaithwait, esq. secretary of war, one of the council of trade, and one of the clerks of the council, Bath, Somersetshire.

Nathaniel Bond, the king's serjeant-at-law, Dorchester.

William Bridges, esq. secretary to the commissioners for paper and parchment, Liscard, Cornwall.

John Burrard, esq. governor of Hurst castle, Lymington, Southampton.

John Burrington, esq. commissioner of the victualling, Oakhampton, Devonshire.

Thomas Blofield, esq. receiver-general of the excise for the county of Norfolk, Norwich.

The honourable George Booth, esq. late commissioner of the customs, Bostney, Cornwall.

The honourable Charles Bertie, esq. treasurer of the office of the ordnance, Stamford, Lincolnshire.

C.

The right-honourable Lord Coningsby, late lord justice of Ireland, Leominster, Herefordshire.

John Conyers, esq. one of his majesty's council at law, East-Grimstead, Sussex.

Sir Robert Clayton, knt. late one of the commissioners of the customs, London.

Edward Clark, esq. commissioner of the excise, Taunton, Somersetshire.

The honourable John Lord Cuts, Baron Gouram, governor of the Isle of Wight, and colonel of foot, Cambridgeshire.

Sir Robert Cotton, knt. post-master-general, Newport, Isle of Wight.

William Culliford, esq. surveyor-general of his majesty's customs, Corfe-castle, Dorsetshire.

William Coward, esq. king's serjeant at law, Wells, Somersetshire.

William Cowper, esq. king's council, Hertford.

D.

Edward Dummer, esq. surveyor of the navy, Arundel, Sussex.

Thomas Done, esq. auditor of the imprest of the exchequer.

Thomas Dore, esq. lieutenant-colonel to col. Gibson's regiment, Lymington, Southampton.

Sir Robert Dashwood, knt. and bart. commissioner of the excise, Banbury, Oxfordshire.

Sir Ralph Delaval, late a flag-officer in the fleet, Great-Bedmin, Wilts.

E.

Sir Stephen Evans, knt. commissioner of the excise, and commissioner for wine-licenses, Bridgeport, Dorsetshire.

Thomas Earle, esq. major-general of the army, governor of Portsmouth, and colonel of two regiments of foot, Warhaw, Dorsetshire.

F.

Sir Stephen Fox, knt. lord of the treasury, Westminster.

Sir Thomas Felton, bart. master of his majesty's household, Orford, Suffolk.

Sir William Forrester, one of the commissioners of the greencloth, Northumberland.

William Farrer, esq. one of the king's council, Bedford.

The right-honourable Viscount Fitzharding, a teller in the exchequer, Windsor, Berkshire.

Sir Thomas Frankland, bart. post-master-general, Heydon, Yorkshire.

The right-honourable Lord Fairfax, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, York.

Charles Fox, esq. pay-master to the army, Cricklade, Wiltshire.

G.

Sir Henry Goodrick, lieutenant-general of the ordnance, Burrowbridge, Yorkshire.

John Gauntlet, esq. clerk of the signet, Wilton, Wilts.

Charles Godolphin, esq. commissioner of the customs, Helston, Cornwall.

Sir Rowland Gwyn, late treasurer of the king's chamber, Tiverton, Devonshire.

Francis Gardner, esq. an employ in the mint at Norwich, Norwich.

The honourable Ralph Grey, esq. auditor of the exchequer, Berwick.

Sir Bevil Granvil, governor of Pendennis castle, and colonel of foot, Fowey, Cornwall.

John Gibson, esq. colonel of a regiment of foot, and deputy-governor of Portsmouth, Portsmouth.

H.

The honourable Sir Robert Howard, knt. auditor of the exchequer, Castlerising, Norfolk.

Henry Haveningham, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, Dunwich, Suffolk.

Robert Henley, esq. commissioner of the customs, Lime-Regis, Dorsetshire.

Thomas Howard, esq. a teller of the exchequer, Bleching, Surrey.

Sir Joseph Herne, patentee for copper half-pence, and trustee for circulating exchequer-bills, Dartmouth, Devonshire.

Sir John Hawles, knt. solicitor-general, Wilton, Wiltshire.

Sir Henry Hobart, bart. commissioner of the customs, county of Norfolk.

James Herbert, esq. treasurer of the Prize-office, Ailesbury, Bucks.

Simon Harcourt, esq. secondary in the Crown-office, Abingdon, Berkshire.

J.

Sir Henry Johnson, knt. a great builder of ships for the king by contract, Aldborough, Suffolk.

Sir Jonathan Jennings, commissioner of the Prize-office, Rippon, Yorkshire.

K.

James Kendal, esq. lord of the admiralty, Port-Pigham, alias West-Loe, Cornwall.

John Knight, esq. late auditor of the first-fruits, Weymouth, Dorsetshire.

L.

Sir Thomas Littleton, bart. lord of the treasury, New-Woodstock, Oxfordshire.

James Lowther, esq. clerk of the stores of the Tower, Carlisle, Cumberland.

William Lownds, esq. secretary to the lords of the treasury, Seaford, a Cinque-Port.

Sir John Lowther, bart. for many years past lord of the admiralty, Cumberland.

M.

Charles Montague, esq. chancellor of the exchequer, under-treasurer of the same, one of the lords of the treasury, &c. Westminster.

Sir Thomas Mompesson, knt. one of the commissioners of the privy-seal, in the absence of the earl of Pembroke, New Sarum, Wilts.

John Methuin, esq. lord-chancellor of Ireland, Devizes, Wilts.

Christopher Montague, esq. commissioner for paper and parchment, Northampton.

Sir Charles Musgrave, bart. master of the robes to the queen dowager, Appleby, Westmoreland.

N.

Thomas Neale, esq. master of the Mint, and groom-porter, Lurgeshall, Wilts.

O.

Foot Onslow, esq. commissioner of the excise, Guildford, Surry.

Charles Osbourn, esq. lieutenant-governor of Hull, Hull, Yorkshire.

P.

Thomas Pitt, esq. master in Chancery, Old Sarum, Wilts.

Thomas Pelham, esq. lord of the treasury, Lewis, Sussex.

The honourable Henry Priestman, esq. lord of the admiralty, Shoreham, Sussex.

Thomas Papillon, esq. commissioner of victualling, London.

R.

The right-honourable Lord Edward Russel, treasurer of the chamber, county of Bedford.

Sir Robert Rich, lord of the admiralty, Dunwich, Suffolk.

The right-honourable Lord Robert Russel, clerk of the pipe, Tavistock, Devonshire.

The right-honourable Richard Lord Ranelagh, pay-master-general to the army, and governor of Chelsea-college, Chichester, Sussex.

S.

The right-honourable John Smith, esq. lord of the treasury, Andover, Southampton.

George Sayer, esq. lieutenant of the yeomen of the guards, Canterbury.

Sir Cloudsly Shovel, admiral of the blue, commissioner of the navy, and colonel of a marine regiment, Rochester, Kent.

James Slone, esq. secretary to the chief justice in Eyre, Thetford, Norfolk.

The honourable James Stanley, esq. groom of the king's bed-chamber, secretary to the household, and colonel of foot, county of Lancaster.

T.

Sir William Trumball, knt. late principal secretary of state, Oxford university.

Sir Thomas Trevor, knt. attorney-general, Plimpton, Devonshire.

John Taylor, esq. book-keeper to the treasurer of the navy, and usher of the receipt of the exchequer, Sandwich, Kent.

Charles Trelawney, esq. a major-general in the army and colonel of a regiment of foot, East-Lox, Cornwall.

Henry Trelawney, esq. a colonel in the army, East-Lox, Cornwall.

Joseph Thurbarne, esq. king's serjeant at law, Sandwich, Kent.

U.

The right-honourable J. Vernon, esq. principal secretary of state, Penryn, Cornwall.

W.

Sir Joseph Williamson, keeper of the records of state, Rochester, Kent.

Sir William Wogan, one of the king's serjeants at law, Haverford-West, Wales.

Richard Woolliston, esq. receiver-general for the county of Hertford, Whitchurch, Southampton.

The honourable Good Wharton, esq. lord of the admiralty, Cockermouth, Cumberland.
Edmund Webb, esq. gentleman-usher to the prince of Denmark, Cricklade, Wilts, &c.

Taxes no Charge : In a Letter from a Gentleman to a Person of Quality : shewing the Nature, Use, and Benefit of Taxes in this Kingdom, and compared with the Impositions of foreign States ; together with their Improvement of Trade in Time of War. Licensed, Nov. 11, 1689.

London, printed for R. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1690.

[Quarto ; containing thirty-four pages.]

The Preface to the Reader.

UPON the receipt of the following letter, concerning the nature of Taxes and levying of money upon the subject, I immediately resolved to commit it to the press ; as conceiving, that it might be instrumental towards the removal of that popular argument, which the malecontents of the age are so industrious to instil into the minds of the common sort, viz. That frequent taxes are an insupportable grievance and oppression to the nation ; and this by so much they the more successfully propagate, by how much it is a received opinion among the populace ; and such as, either for want of parts, or not accustomed to serious reflection, have not thoroughly considered this affair. Whence it comes to pass, that this vulgar error has obtained so general a consent and approbation, that it needs not to be much inculcated. This the disaffected party to the present government are sufficiently sensible of, and therefore are not unactive in the establishment of an untruth, which has the advantage of making a deep impression upon such, whose biassed and prejudicate sentiments render them fit objects of their design. *Sed dato, & non concessio* ; but supposing, and not granting, that taxes were really a burden to the nation, yet, if it be true, that *è malis minimum*, 'of two evils the least is to be chosen ;' it will thence follow, that it is better for the kingdom to have purchased its redemption from popery and arbitrary power, though at the price of some part of the estates and fortunes of the subject, rather than to have lost all at one throw by a tyrannical invasion upon their religion, laws, and liberties. I presume, that even some of those busy agents, who sow these seeds of discord and division among us, would have been content to have bought their safety almost at any rate, whilst the storm was imminent ; and now that it is happily blown over, and nothing appears at present, but a serene sky and fair weather, why should they either endeavour a reduction both of themselves and others to their former danger (to which their turbulent devices do immediately tend), or strive to create unreasonable dissatisfactions against so just an expedient, as each one's discharging a few pence for an insurance of the public peace, and quiet settlement of the nation ?

It is, surely, very unaccountable, that those men who discovered so great an alacrity and forwardness in opposing of popish tyranny and arbitrary power, should now endeavour to enslave us under the same uneasy yoke; but with this additional aggravation to our former servitude, that whereas we were then allowed some, we must now make 'brick without straw.' This seems so wild a notion of obedience (the result of the passive doctrine), and that the chief wheel in that unaccountable engine of absolute sovereignty, as is destructive of all government; inasmuch as it is utterly irreconcilable with the preservation and common interest of human society. But these murmuring, seditious spirits, after shamefully retracting from their early officiousness, in their encouragement of the late expedition of the prince of Orange, are not content with a complete enjoyment of their properties, under the even steerage of this great and skilful pilot, who so justly manages the helm of the present government, as not to invade the rights of any man; nor yet to retain their particular sentiments within their own breasts, but they must needs vent and divulge them to others, by which they become the public incendiaries of the nation. But as I cannot enough admire both the folly and ingratitude of these men, who strive to disseminate so poisonous a contagion; so have I not room left for wonder and surprise, to observe divers innocent, well-meaning persons so unwarily caught and infected by it; when, not many months ago, their lives, religion, liberties, all that was dear or acceptable unto them, lay apparently at stake. For, Which, I pray, do they account the more advantageous? Whether their properties to be infringed, their religion violated, their laws subverted, their estates confiscated, and they, with their wives, children, and relations, to be exposed to the fiery trial? Or to be seasonably freed from these amazing terrors, ready to overwhelm them in a full career; when they received a signal and miraculous, as well as a gracious deliverance, and that as much above their hopes as it has since appeared to be beyond their desert?

What would not every honest man, or good Christian, have given, at that time, to have had that security 'under his own vine and under his own fig-tree,' the liberty of his religion, the full enjoyment of his property, and an equal and just administration of the laws, which he enjoys under the benign influence and protection of the present government? And then, with what face can he deny to contribute his respective share and proportion, not only to the assuring of his own particular right, but also that of the general interest; together with what is infinitely preferable to either, the Protestant religion in the three kingdoms?

All this, and much more which might be offered and insisted upon, (were not prolixity improper in a preface, especially to so small a discourse, as is that of the following letter,) seems exceeding reasonable, upon the former hypothesis, if taxes were really a burden and oppression to the nation: which the following sheets do abundantly evince that they are not; by shewing, that they are so far from being a diminution of, that they really add to the trade and riches of a state.

This the author has fully proved, from the opulent condition of those countries where taxes are most numerous: and after several copious parallel instances, derived from foreign monarchies and republicks, shewing their great advancement by taxes and frequent levies upon the subject, he undertakes to demonstrate the practicableness, as well as equal advantage of the same to these kingdoms. This I thought to be of such seasonable and public importance, in reference to the present state of affairs, as well in order to the rectifying the afore-mentioned general prejudice and mistake, as to the silencing of all intemperate and unreasonable murmurers against the proceedings of the grand council of the nation, in the methods taken for a supply of the naval and land-forces, that I thought fit to usher it into public view; as considering that, if these men, who most inveigh against taxes, could be brought to believe that they naturally tend to the advantage and interest of the state, and do really conduce to the enriching and improvement of it; they must needs cease from their seditious clamours against, and satirical reflections upon the government, in this respect. And that this would not be the sole advantage which would accrue from the clearing up of this mistake; but that all honest and good men will join more cordially

than ever in their unanimous and cheerful contributions to its support, when they are made sensible, that not only the common duty of subjects (that indispensable obligation of a perpetual gratitude, which they owe to their deliverer,) and the natural instinct of self-preservation ought to quicken and excite them thereunto: but, besides all this, that they are really gainers by this course, and, consequently, what they expend upon that account does (after a due circulation) return to them with a considerable improvement and augmentation.

Worthy Sir,
PURSUANT to my promise, at our late conference, I here present you with a short essay, concerning Taxes, which I submit to your private censure; and shall not limit you from sending it to the press, if (in your opinion) it may prove serviceable to the publick.

That tribute, or (as we now call it) Customs, Taxes, &c. were originally a mark of servitude, is evidenced by the interrogatory of an infallible Author; 'Of whom do the princes of the earth take tribute?'

But as government became more humane, the savage exaction upon strangers was less rigid; and the Romans, who were then masters of civil government in the world, found it conducing to the establishment of that overgrown and prodigious empire, to make every part of their conquest easy to the people; and that, in point of taxes, they should be universally equal, which seems to be confirmed by that of Augustus, when he ordered 'all the world to be taxed;' wherein we find no exemption of a Roman above others. They were, indeed, invested in divers other privileges; but in the matter of taxes, we find the wisdom of that empire to make a distinction from any that were under their conquest and government. In imitation of whose equal and prudent conduct, all succeeding governments have been guided in tempering of their conquests; and not, as in the first ages, making both persons and estates the purchase of victory. By this means, civilities, laws, and Christianity have been propagated in the world with that advantageous success, to which they could never have attained, if conquest had been pursued; and employed as in former ages, in all the inhuman acts of slavery, violence and rapine.

The Romans were the first we read of, that regularly paid their armies; before them, the Barbarians might sometimes divide the spoil of their enemies, and other savage ways they had, to satisfy their herds of men, but no exact payments were in use, until the Romans: and for the maintenance and encouragement of so good a government, they imposed taxes; that so, in intervals of peace, their armies might not be exposed to the necessity of committing the like ravage they did in times of war, and public hostility.

They soon became artists in taxing the people, inventing ways to bring in money. That of Augustus Cæsar, in taxing the whole empire, seemed to be in the manner of a poll with us. There was also a tribute imposed upon passengers, going from place to place; and a custom levied upon goods and merchandise. They had also an art of raising money from aliens, upon the account of being admitted to the privileges of Romans; and many other ways and devices they had to advance money, which (if duly considered) was the chief, if not only reason, why they were so famed in the world for good government; because that they paid their army and ministers of state so well, that they lay not under the temptation of violence or bribery.

I shall here come to a close, in relation to taxes and impositions, under the heathen Roman emperors; and only, in order to the making good my position, That taxes are no charge, infer from this done by the Romans, that it was none in their days; inasmuch as it kept the people from violence, and ravage of the soldiers, and the worse exactions and corruptions of civil magistrates.

We will now make an enquiry into the taxes and impositions of Christian princes, and then compare them with those of these kingdoms.

First, then, let us look into the impositions of commonwealths; the greatest and most

ancient is Venice. None will say, that they are a poor state, though all must own, that they lie under heavy taxes; insomuch that it is believed in those countries, that the Christians under the Turks are subject to less impositions, than such as live under the Venetians; where, besides great customs upon all merchandise, they pay excise for every bit of bread and meat, nay, for the very salt they eat; and, after all this, the poorest labourer pays his poll-money. And yet, where is there a richer people? And no government, either Christian or heathen, in the known world, of such antiquity, and without charge, though pestered with continual wars, at one time, for the space of seven years, had all the Christian princes in Europe in a league and war against them, except England.

We will mention the next commonwealth, in power and riches, the United Provinces. I need not particularize their taxes; few there are of our kingdoms, but know them; and that they are so great, that it is believed, the poorest labouring man in Holland adds to their *intrado* four pounds sterling a year; so great is the excise on every thing they eat or drink: besides, upon the occasion of any war, it is usual to raise the fortieth penny upon their whole estates; yet these people vie with all nations, in matter of trade and riches; and it is matter of controversy, which of the two, whether they or Venice, in proportion to their extents of land, are the richer. They of Holland outdo them in their common people, as to wealth and coin. Now, then, it must be allowed, that taxes there do no harm, since the very peasants (*Bores* they call them) are so rich, as frequently to give a ton of gold, which is ten-thousand pounds of our money, in portion with their daughters.

The naming of these two commonwealths may serve for all under that distinction. I shall now come to taxes under monarchs. To nominate some few, as instances to supply the rest, I will begin with the empire; where taxes are generally low, and consequently the people poor: for it will be so, (as I shall hereafter demonstrate) wherever the rich gentry and others have nothing to fetch money out of their coffers, but their own expence, by which the commonalty can have little opportunity to improve themselves.

Spain follows much the steps of the empire in their taxes, and although there are numerous causes assigned for the poverty of that part particularly, under the name of Spain; yet, that of their irregular and uncertain taxes does powerfully contribute to the indigent state of that kingdom; for that the country cannot be planted, by reason of the armies living upon the spoil of it, not having a penny pay for six months together: by which means, the country feels little difference from the conquest of their enemies, and the quartering their own forces.

Portugal is more craving in its taxes; impositions being heavy on importations, which are of the worst sort, yet better than none: and, seeing it raises a considerable revenue, their army and officers of state are well paid, and their country much richer, and more populous than Spain, that borders upon them.

I shall put a period to that part of my discourse, referring to the taxes of foreign princes, with that of France; which is rather the abhorrence, than example of any Christian prince: his tyrannical impositions being grown to an unlimited exaction upon all men, both sacred and civil; and yet so, if the barbarity of the thing could have been separated from the effect, those unbounded taxes would not have impoverished the country; if the money had not been spent out of his dominions in foreign conquests, which rarely prove beneficial to the country that invades.

If we consider France, in the beginning of their invasions on their neighbours, we shall find them not so rich as they were seven years after; notwithstanding that part of their taxes were sent out of the kingdom to raise men, and more spent in paying the army in the enemy's country, and buying of towns. Now, at first view, this may seem strange and unaccountable, that impositions upon a people, and a great part of them carried out of their country, should make them thrive. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming paradox, it is a certain truth; as in the sequel of the discourse, will be fully evident: and, that France might have managed a war with all Europe, and not have beggared the kingdom,

as now it is, if they had not destroyed it by their fierce persecution of the Hugonots; for that has evidently been the ruin of that kingdom. Whereas, had the French Protestants been encouraged and maintained in their rights and religion, they would have been their best and most loyal men, both in peace and war; for so they proved in the minority of this king, in the general defection of France; and had they been now possessed of their religion and rights of France, it is to be feared, we had not so easily commanded the seas; most of the French seamen being of that profession.

We now come to compare the taxes of these kingdoms with those of foreign princes; and, to save multiplying of words, will reduce all under two heads:

First, The laws and manner of imposing taxes upon their subjects: and,

Secondly, The *quantum* and duration of such taxes.

For the first, the laws and manner of imposing taxes; that is as different as the climates which they are under. I shall not trouble myself, or the reader, with naming of all the kingdoms in Europe, but shall only instance some of the most considerable: in order whereunto, I shall begin with Germany, the impositions of which country may be brought under two heads; that of the tenure and obligation of the princes, nobility, and free cities, to furnish a certain number of men in the wars against the Turk.

The second, by levying money in the dyets; neither of which, if compared with those of England, can be thought easy. That of furnishing men is little better than tyrannical in the lords and nobles, who arbitrarily force their tenants, and perhaps neighbours, to complete their numbers, without any relief in the greatest abuse; having none to make complaint or application to, to redress their grievances and violent usage. Then, for their dyets, they are so few for the commonalty, and so much influenced and overpowered by the predominant interest of their grandees; that the impositions can hardly be laid with any equal or just regard to, or right consideration of the poor.

Taxes in Spain are yet more arbitrarily imposed; the people having no vote there, but all the duties laid in effect by the king and his council. In some cases, they will advise with the nobility and other communities, but it is no more than mere compliment, or matter of form; for whatsoever the king and council enact, that they must acquiesce and agree to; and the truth is, it appears so by their irregular, vexatious, and yet most unprofitable way of taxes, in which they are much short and inferior to any government in Europe.

France makes a fair show to the people, and yet makes a better market for the king. He imposes duties under the pretence of the parliament's of each province laying it on the people; but, at the same time, it is only the king's word that makes the ordinance of parliament; not as here in England, where it comes last to the king, for the royal assent. But there the king sends the parliament word, that he will have so much money; and all the favour that they can obtain from him, is, to place it on such commodities or ways, as they think most expedient. And it is not unworthy observation to remark, that these parliaments of France are, in effect, no more than courts of judicature, in matters of right, betwixt man and man, hearing and judging causes; and their places bought from the king, not elected by the people. So that, from such parliaments, nothing can be expected but the king's dictates.

The great-duke of Muscovy is above all tyrannical in his impositions, charging on the subject what he pleases; and yet (which is more oppressive to his people) forestalls the chief commodities of the kingdom, or what comes from others, and sets what price he thinks fit upon them; by which he destroys his own merchants and dealers: and where other kings make themselves and their subjects rich, by raising money on them; he makes himself poor, and his subjects miserable slaves, barring them of all industry, by shutting them out from trade; and, agreeably to such oppressions, his vast dominions are thinly planted, and poor to a prodigy; and had they the liberty of seeing other countries, he would yet have a smaller stock of inhabitants; but he keeps what he has, by making

it death for all the kindred of such as go out of his dominions, without his licence and permission.

Next to him, in arbitrary impositions, is the duke of Florence; who is not bounded in his taxes, and likewise ingrosses several trades, and sets what price he pleases, upon his own commodities; by which his country would also be made poor, but that he has the opportunity of other helps, which the great-duke of Muscovy is not assisted with; *viz.* a country placed in the garden of the world: and by his making Leghorn a free port, made it the centre of trade, and by that, got the start of all princes in Europe.

The kingdom of Sweden has many advantages of raising money from the country, rather than people, and yet they are not exempt from taxes; all which contributes to the enriching of that kingdom, which has little of arts or trade to improve it, only that which nature produces: and she indeed has been liberal to that great kingdom, in mines of all sorts, though least of gold or silver; but abounds in copper, tin, iron, &c. of all which, the king has a tenth, as also of cattle and corn: he has likewise the vast demesns of bishops and church-lands, out of which he only allows a small competency to his own bishops; and after all this, he has liberty, by the laws of the land, to raise money on the subject, in case of war.

The king of Poland is restrained, and can do nothing, but by the decree of the dyet; yet has, by that, power (upon occasion of sudden streights and emergencies in war) to raise money upon the people, by his own command; without assembling the dyet.

Denmark has a provision for its support, above any kingdom in Europe; God Almighty having as it were, out of a particular providence, supplied that kingdom, out of its own production; seeing there is little in it, either of arts or nature. The toll of the Sound is a considerable revenue to the crown; and (as before-mentioned) such as no prince in Europe has the like: for that, in all other kingdoms, taxes are raised on themselves; but this of the toll from ships, passing the Sound, is from strangers, that only pass by his country, and cannot re-imburse themselves there. Whereas, duties imposed on foreigners that bring in their commodities to another country, is no more than laying it on themselves; only with this difference, that they make foreigners the first collectors of it. The other duties on Denmark are not considerable: that on cattle, which they sell in Germany, is of most value; as their *intrado* is not great, so is their country poor.

I need not mention the manner of laying taxes in commonwealths: it is always with the consent of the people; who are too apt to censure their representatives, if they give not satisfaction to the populace. And, notwithstanding that of Venice is aristocratical, yet have they such numbers in their senate, that no tax can be laid, but for the good of the commonwealth; there being, at least, two-thousand five-hundred gentlemen of Venice, which are all the senate: and although many of them are engaged in the wars, and foreign employments; yet there there can never be less, if but one quarter of them, than our great council the parliament.

Thus I have given but a succinct account of the nature and impositions of taxes in foreign kingdoms; which now in a few words let us compare ours with, and we shall see how happy a people we are above the best of our neighbours.

And, first, let us consider who it is that lay impositions upon us: It is men chose by ourselves. The difference indeed is great, in the *modus* of our taxes from other kingdoms, and also in the use of them. For the *modus* in other kingdoms, they generally consider only the nobility and gentry, that impositions may not touch or affect them; and care not how insupportable or grievous they are to the commonalty: but with us the taxes reach every man in proportion to his quality and expence. In other kingdoms they place taxes only to raise money, and have no regard to the trade of their kingdoms, that so their taxes may not prejudice their commerce: but in England, care is always had, that impositions may not impede our trade and manufactories.

Now, as to the use and employment of taxes in other kingdoms, they also differ much from ours. In some kingdoms they are imposed to enslave the people, and keep them

poor, as in Muscovy; in other parts taxes are laid to enrich the nobility, as in Poland; in others, to fill the coffers of the prince, as in Florence. Whereas, none of these uses take up our taxes: they are with great care and caution laid out, and by the same law that raises them, appropriated for a particular service, and last no longer upon the people, than the necessity of the nation requires; for that we never have money raised, but for the defence of the kingdom: though (as I shall shew in the close of this discourse) it would redound to the advantage of the kingdom, if there were more taxes raised; and these assigned to public uses in peace as well as war.

I shall now come to the chief design of this discourse; which is, to demonstrate, that taxes are no charge either to the kingdom in general, or to particular persons; but, on the contrary, a gain to all.

But to render this matter the more plain and intelligible, I shall proceed after the following method:

- I. Shew who in the kingdom pay the greatest part of the taxes.
- II. What use is made of the taxes; and how they circulate in the kingdom.
- III. How trade is improved by taxes.
- IV. That the poor are employed by them.
- V. That a set of men, of no use in the kingdom, are by taxes made profitable in the commonwealth.
- VI. That taxes, especially when trade is stopped by war, is the only remedy to keep the trading and mechanic hands of the kingdom employed.
- VII. That taxes will enrich the nation, and disperse in it as much treasure, when there is no foreign trade, as when it is open.

To begin then with the *first* head; Who it is that pay most of the taxes? They are the worst members in the commonwealth, *viz.* the extravagant and debauched. The greatest duties are, or should be, laid upon commodities for pleasure and sumptuousness, as silks, gold and silver lace, &c. Now these are worn in the greatest excess by the extravagant of the kingdom, both men and women. A debauchee shall spend more out of an estate of a thousand pounds a year, than a regular man will from the annual income of five times that proportion; and a miss lay out more on clothes, than a countess: so in the excess to indulge the belly, as well as providing for the back. The vast consumption of wines and strong liquors is by this sort of men; nay, the poorest debauch that can rise no higher than to beer and tobacco, pays ten times as much in the year, in proportion to his income, as the greatest peer. It will hardly gain belief, that there are many of the meaner people, labourers and mechanicks, that by their expence, when they are (as too many be) extravagant, pay to the public taxes, above one tenth of their daily profit: as, supposing that a labouring man may earn sixteen pounds a year, he will expend, though not very extraordinarily profuse, one half of it in drink and tobacco; upon which, the duty of customs and excise is, at least, two pounds of the eight, which he lays out in idle expences. Now, it would be vehemently decried and exclaimed against, as the greatest oppression upon the poor imaginable, if by a poll or land-tax, this man, that virtually pays forty shillings, should actually, and above-board, pay so many pence by the year. Thus we see, that most of the duties and impositions on the kingdom light upon such as do least good with their substance; and since they imprudently fling it away upon their extravagancies, it is certainly a benefit to the kingdom, that there are taxes to catch something out of it, for the improvement of better disposed men: as we shall see in the next paragraph.

The *second* particular is, What use is made of these taxes; and how they circulate in the kingdom? In order to which, there are but two ways, in which they are employed: one is for the king's court, the other for provisions of war, in the maintenance of naval and land forces. Now, both these are as well the employment of trade and artisans, as they resolve into the security of the kingdom, and the preservation of the public peace. There is no money which circulates so fast, as that which comes into the hands of seamen and soldiers. Other men that get money, frequently lay it up, and so it becomes of no use or benefit in the kingdom: but men that live by their pay, generally spend it faster than it.

comes in, by which means the money of the kingdom, like the blood in the veins, has its regular, circular motion; and every member in the body is warmed and refreshed by it, which gives life and motion in the whole. And thus, I presume, this second instance of the use of taxes proves, that they are of advantage and profit to the kingdom.

Thirdly, How trade is improved by taxes. Upon this head, there is much to be said: and first, it will be requisite to say something of the nature of trade, how it affects the kingdom; for that trade may in some cases prejudice a nation, and make it poor; as the trade of Spain does that kingdom. Trade may also effeminate and debauch a country, as it does Italy.

Now, it is certain, that we are not free from both these public mischiefs and inconveniences in England; though our fortune is such, that being islanders, and masters of one commodity, which no kingdom has in that perfection as ourselves, which is wool; that hath put our people upon manufactories, which is the treasure of this nation, and keeps our exports to a balance with our imports; otherwise, this kingdom would have been as poor as Spain, and as effeminate as Italy: but the employment of our milder sort in manufactories at home, and the more robust, at sea abroad, keeps us a people in action, and so preserved from the luxury and effeminateness of Italy, and poverty of Spain. I need not spend time to prove how far we are tainted with the mischiefs before-mentioned. Our trade with France, in all ages past, sufficiently proves, that a kingdom may be made poor by trade; as we should have been by the vast treasure, their linens, wine, silks, toys, and salt, drew from this kingdom, if our other commerce in the world, had not balanced our loss there. Nor are we free from the effeminateness of Italy, which I take to be the returns of our gentry's travels: a mischief to be lamented, rather than expected a reformation of, since we are arrived to that height of vanity, as to think that man not accomplished, who is not become master of the delicacies of Italy and extravagant modes of France.

But to return to my province, How trade is improved by taxes? For the proof of which assertion, it seems plain, that some trade may impair a kingdom, and such taxes and impositions may abate, by imposing such duties as they cannot bear. So far then it will be allowed, that they improve trade; as we commonly say, Saving is gain: so if we keep out a destructive trade by duties, we may allow that an improvement of our own. But to come near to the matter: Taxes improve trade, by employing numbers of idle men in naval and land service, that would otherwise be of no use; but, on the contrary, a pest and charge to the commonwealth. We seldom see any enlisted into the army, that are men of industry, or labour: such persons are the wens and excrescences of the commonwealth, that deform, but not strengthen the body; and these being paid by the taxes of another sort of creatures, (as before I mentioned,) are of no use in the state, but to throw abroad the treasure left them by their fathers, is virtually an improvement of trade; for that all, like the rivers in the sea, terminate in the hands of industry and trade. And, perhaps, if duly considered, more men, and with more certain profit, make voyages within this island upon this fund, than there do to most of our foreign trades. And in this place I must touch again upon the nature of trade, to shew that private hands may raise their fortunes by a trade, that may yet be a loss to a kingdom, as in that of France, although insisted upon, many (I was like to say, too many) have acquired great estates by. Now, all the hands, employed in that trade, were no better than robbers of the kingdom, in carrying away our treasure, as we use the Moors, giving us gold for glass-beads.

There is another sort of trade, that though it may not immediately carry away any of the stock of the kingdom, yet it does hurt, in taking off hands that might be employed to the advantage of the kingdom. Now, in both these, the trade of taxes, (for so I will call it for the future,) has the advantage; for that it carries nothing out of the kingdom, nor yet takes off hands that would be better employed; but, on the contrary, takes away the disease of the country, idlers; and makes them at least so profitable, as to spend money, which they would not be able to do, if the public revenue were not their stock.

Fourthly, The poor are employed by taxes, and are, by that means, taken off from being

a charge to the kingdom. Many men of broken fortunes are brought into the hospital of the revenue, which may be so accounted, since it is generally filled with persons that are reduced to such necessities, as qualify them for charity. This is one way, that taxes employ the poor, but not the main thing I mean; which is, that the trade of taxes employs the poor artisans and mechanicks, and that in a greater measure than our Virginia and plantation-trade, we (with so little reason) so much boast of, in these kingdoms.

By the observations I have always made in my traversing the world, I find that those parts have been most opulent, and the people safest, that filled their own hives, and kept their swarms at home. That little commonwealth of Lucca to me seems a pattern for all the princes of Europe, and is as practicable in the greatest dominions, as that little spot, whose land and cities, having Lucca joined to it, are all circumscribed within the limits of six or seven miles square; yet in that compass they are able to raise about twenty-thousand horse and foot: a thing almost incredible, but known by all that have travelled that way, and were curious into such inquiries. These people are of wonderful industry, and enrich themselves by their manufactories, which they go not abroad to seek a market for, but mind their work at home, and so become more considerable, than those that spend their time in travels; being, by their settled living, able to afford their commodities they make, cheaper than the Genoese and Florentines, their neighbours. When I see in foreign parts, how rich and powerful a little seigniory, commonwealth, or state, is made by husbanding their people, I often lament the misfortunes of my native country, that might certainly abound with the greatest, and most formidable people in Europe, if they followed their steps.

I have taken up some of your time in this discourse of trade, which may seem foreign to my subject of taxes; yet I must be obliged to do it in all my future arguments, because taxes both arise out of trade, and maintain trade. To return then to where I left off, that the poor are employed by them in their several occupations. How many thousands of tradesmen have we, that are supported by our land and sea-forces, which could have no vent for their commodities, if they were not taken off at home? Saddles, bridles, swords, guns, &c. have no foreign market; yet they employ thousands of hands, who are paid by taxes.

Fifthly, There is a set of men, who, like rats in a ceiling, live upon prey, and do no good in a commonwealth, which these taxes ferret out of their holes; those impositions, I mean, which our parliament has, with great wisdom, now laid on stocks by poll: for nothing but land-taxes will reach usurers and misers, who spend nothing but for the supply of the necessities of nature. Now these men are the moths of the country; it being more mischievous to the kingdom in general to hoard up money, than for robbers to take it by force; and though the law protects these silent thieves, yet they are real criminals, that lock up the tools of the industrious; many suffering through want, that could be profitable both to themselves and others, had they but money to set them at work. Usurers are, by too many, thought a vermin in the commonwealth: I cannot but have a better opinion of them, and think that the pest and plague of the nation is a sort of pious extortioners, who declaim against usury as unlawful gain, but will buy for half value any thing they can meet with from a person in extremity: and, next unto these, are such as adore their bags, and will, upon no terms, part with these deities; their bags are no thoroughfare, only a way in, but none out. These men are, by taxes made, against their wills, small benefactors to their country; and it were to be wished, that our great and wise council of the nation would yet pursue them farther, and lay a double imposition upon money locked up in chests, more than what is out at usury; which, being employed, is on the duty it was made for; but the other is in captivity, and the poltroon should be punished for his cruelty.

Sixthly, Taxes, especially in time of war, are the only preservation of all men employed in trades and manufactories; and, perhaps, not much inferior to foreign trade, if in all respects considered: for, as to what is spent in the kingdom, if it bring nothing in, yet it carries nothing out; and so far the taxes are profitable, in that the kingdom is not the poorer for money so raised, and so spent; and, in times of war and prohibition of trade

abroad, if money were not raised by taxes, and that employed amongst our mechanicks and manufactories, men would be forced to seek their bread abroad, and the loss of men is the greatest misfortune that can befall a kingdom. The practice of the Dutch, in burning their spices when they have such quantities as would lower the price, might be something in direction in this case, and seems a better government to employ all our hands in time of war, as fully in their manufactories, as ever they were in a free trade, though, when they were made, they were burnt; it being of dangerous consequence to discontinue trade. There is no adjourning labour; and mechanical arts, in a few months, will either lose the men, or they their trade by some other course of life.

Seventhly, That taxes make the kingdom rich, and, in time of war, disperse as much money in the nation, as trade does in time of peace.

Here I must touch again upon trade, and inquire what trade brings us in bullion, gold, or coin; for we have some of all, though, considering the value of our native commodities, it is wonderful that we should have so little; and that of those numerous trades which our navigation entitles us to, we should, by carrying in our ships our own manufactories, out of all those advantages add so little to the treasure of the kingdom; and bring home no bullion but by our trade to Spain, and some little from the Levant, our Guinea-trade; and, for some years past, Buccaniers in the West-Indies. But that, which is our best fund, is the trade of Spain and Portugal: the former is made considerable to us by our East-India commodities, which fetch from Spain more than we send out in specie: though some believe the East-India company does us hurt, by carrying out the gold of the kingdom. Now then, if the greatest part of our trade consists in bringing in commodity for commodity, then all the benefit of that trade is, that it gives employment to our common people in their mechanic arts; and if we can do that by our own expence at home, it is more the profit of the kingdom, than by sending them abroad; for that we avoid the hazard of the sea, and other accidents abroad. It seems then, that taxes do that, since they issue forth money for payment of our artisans and mechanicks, that are employed in making commodities for our own use; and at the same time, enough for that foreign trade, which furnishes us with bullion: and by that it appears, that we are much greater gainers by the trade of taxes, than by all our foreign trade, which brings in nothing but commodity for our own expence. We see that the care of our parliament is, to prevent the importation of foreign commodities, and to encourage that commerce, which brings us in money for our own. This, then, is the surest trade, I know for that purpose, of laying such impositions as may fetch out the misers' hoards, which are as remote and foreign to the employments of the kingdom, as those in the mines at the Indies: and I know no difference betwixt bringing treasure out of an iron chest by a good law; and plowing the seas, by long and dangerous voyages: only the advantage seems greater, by getting it from an enemy at home, than a friend abroad. But undoubted it is, that the kingdom is as much increased in its common stock, as is brought out from the moneyed men.

It would exceed the limits of a letter to evince what I am morally sure of, that the pole and land-taxes, passed this last session, have actually brought into the bank of trade, more ready money than came into the kingdom during the late king's unhappy reign: and it is a vulgar error, to believe that taxes, even to the meanest man, is a charge; for that his mite is, with increase, returned by the expence of that, which would never have seen day, but by the force of a law: so that public taxes, expended in our own country, may be accounted the poor and the mechanick's bank, by which they are employed and maintained; and as the meaner sort have advantage by taxes, so have they of better quality: the landlord has his rent the better paid by the quick returns of money; the merchants, and other traders, find it in their payments and receipts; the country-farmer in the sale of his corn and cattle. For this is certain, that most men's expence, either in clothes or food, is according to their money or fortune, not appetite or vanity; many men content, or rather confine themselves to a three-penny ordinary, that would spend twelve-pence, if they had it. So that, after all the noise and clamour that is made in the kingdom, inveighing literally against the heavy taxes, which are on the subject, this unreasonable declaiming is made for them that no man loves, the

gripping misers, that hoard up money. For he, indeed, seems only aggrieved, that pays out to support trade, in which he never had the heart to do good; and even this man would be a gainer too by taxes, if he were not separate from human society, and trusted neither God nor man: whatever he has to do in the world, is to see that he runs no hazard in it, and whoever he deals with must be sure to him, though he cannot be so to himself. And besides this extreme earth-worm that hoards, there is another set of men that do little good in the commonwealth; and that is, such as have more money by them than they can employ, and, perhaps, would gladly put it out to interest, but cannot. These are less faulty than the former, yet should be obliged to do some good with their treasures; and the best way seems, to lay a round tax upon that money. It is with reason believed, that there is now ten times the proportion of money in the kingdom, as was in the reign of king James the First; yet no more stirring in the kingdom, but what is brought out by customs and duties. Then, would it not be as beneficial to trade, by taxes upon the misers and hoarders of money before-mentioned, to fetch it out from them, as with ships, to get it from foreigners? We have rich mines at home, that may keep us in full trade these ten years, if we had none abroad; and nothing but such impositions, as may supply the want of trade, can keep our artisans and manufactories together.

Thus I have huddled together a mixed discourse, which I fear may be troublesome to collect and shape for your apprehension; but your greater judgment will unite its incongruities. I can only justify the matter to be, in the main of it, collections from the practice and usage of other places: for what relates to this nation, you are a better judge than I am, who am guided by the practice of trade, and that is, I doubt, too often exploded by ministers of state. I confess the fatigues of government are above the conduct of a mercantile head; and therefore I acquiesce, without much inquiry into them, only sit often down with doubtful conjectures of the issue of our present affairs. I mean not of the present distractions which an inconsiderable number of malecontents fling among us, whose profession more immediately obliges them to the characters of peace-makers, than it does other Christians. These will cease with the Romish interest, that masks itself under them; but that, which I fear, is a distraction of the trades, manufactories, and industry of the nation, because I see none concerned for it. The tumour of the times looks more like the rifling of a camp, than improvement of trade and commerce; most men in court and city pursuing employments, civil or military; which I take to be an ill omen, and doubly to be blamed: first, for men of fortune and employment in trade, to take away that which should be bread for the decayed man. And then, secondly, it is mischievous to the commonwealth, to have men, that can employ themselves in it, to be taken off from promoting the publick in their proper station.

Having thus run through the nature and use of taxes, with the reasons that seem persuasive, as to the great help they are to the support of this kingdom; you may, perhaps, expect I should say something of the way, how taxes may be most beneficially, and easily laid; but, in that, I am barred by some impertinent pens, who are every day printing their follies; to which is added an unaccountable boldness, (not to say more) by their designing to direct the great council of the nation. I could name several that have taken pains in this matter: but, omitting others, I cannot but name a paper I saw the other day, intitled, 'Proposals humbly offered to the consideration of this present parliament; being a soft and easy way for raising of money, in order to the perpetual maintaining and defending of this kingdom.'

The author there tells you, how the nation shall be supported by a miracle; and, if it were only so, I might not think it impossible. But as our faith must be above reason, yet not against it, so I think are miracles: but, perhaps, that gentleman has another fund for his invention out of the Turk's opinion, that lunaticks and idiots are inspired; and such may be thought so, that propose to break the most ancient tenure of England, and to raise up a treasure, which (to use his own words) nobody ever thought of before; a stock of honesty to pay fleets and armies. He is only short in not proposing a way, how to make

that treasure saleable; for he that has it, will not part with it; and they who have it not, are seldom in love with it, nor will take it in payment, without the gentleman's token that found out this unknown treasure.

I beg pardon for this digression, which I make only to shew the cause why I am loth to crowd in among the politicks; as he, that gives this advice to the parliament, often mentions. But though I dare not presume to direct the best and most profitable way of taxes; yet I will here name such as, I think, are not the most desireable; and then mention such as, in other parts of the world, are thought most agreeable.

For, such as I take to be uneasy to the people, and not most profitable to the state, are, First, Those that are levied on the subject, by way of fees in offices. This, that in its original, was either to be a profit to the crown, in bringing in money to the king's exchequer; or an ease to the crown, in saving the charge of salaries, for officers about the law, &c. is now become neither. Perhaps, if an estimate was made, there would be found some millions sterling raised in this kingdom on offices, of which there comes not the thousandth part into the king's treasury; nor that which is more strange, not a penny saved of the king's charge, in maintaining those officers. Some have thousands a year, in fees and perquisites, that yet have a large salary from the king: others have offices, whose fees, when first established, would but afford an honest livelihood to the officer that officiated; but in process of time, it is advanced to ten times that value, and now is managed by a deputy, perhaps, for less than a twentieth part of the profit of the office. This seems a grievous tax, and would be thought so, if appropriated to any particular use of the crown. As for example, if the parliament should give a certain tax to the king, for maintaining a war with France; and this tax, contrary to expectation, amounted to five times the charge of that war; would it be thought reasonable for the king to demand a farther supply from the people? Or rather, would it not be thought equal, to ease the subject of so much of that tax, as is surplus to the charge? The case seems parallel in offices: and if inquired into, there may be thought almost enough there to save the kingdom from other taxes; but I would not be understood to invade any man's property. The wisdom of the nation might find expedients to do a general good, without a particular injury to any man.

Secondly, Poll-money seems an unequal and unprofitable tax: unequal, if it be by a general way, all heads to pay alike, the cobbler with the lord; and unprofitable, if it be by a distinction of qualities; for that it gives great opportunity of frauds in collection, and not without some, in point of estate and quality; broken men thinking it, and too often affecting, a credit, by being returned in the poll-book of that value, which in truth they may not be.

Thirdly, Such as are raised by benevolence, are the worst of taxes; and this of free gift is of double consideration: first, as it is from the subject to the prince, and then as it is from the people, one to another.

Benevolence from the subject to the prince is dangerous, in that it brings men under discrimination: he that gives not largely, perhaps, beyond his ability, will be looked upon as disaffected. And such is the unlimitedness of this way of taxing, that men have no rule, whereby they may be safe; but shall (it may be) be compared to men of twice their estates, or, that which is worse, with sycophants, fools of the times, who are extravagant in their contributions to that government, which refunds them equally to their service.

That of benevolence one to the other is a frequent tax in the kingdom, and in my opinion one of the greatest mistakes in our government. There is nothing more common than this, given by authority, for losses by fire, and other general calamities. I seldom see it for losses at sea; though they are yearly much greater than those by fire. But to return: this way of raising money by benevolence, to relieve one another, is a tax on the best men and an impunity on the worst. Good men are apt to commiserate the necessities of their neighbours, when bad men too often rejoice at them, and seldom give any thing to relieve them: it is God only that can regulate the affections; man can compel the outward conformity. And there seems in nothing a greater want of the aid of govern-

ment, than in this of payments to any public use; the want of which renders honest men a sacrifice for uncharitable misers. I have sometimes thought the collection for the poor at church-doors no better: for, till men be alike virtuous or vicious, that can be no equal levy that leaves men at liberty. The government are best judges of what the poor should receive, and the rich pay; and if that were thought convenient, it seems to me most equal, where every one should give to the relief of his distressed neighbour, according to his worldly substance, not Christian charity.

Fourthly, Impositions upon men, for their religion, seems no good way of taxes. Indeed, the truly conscientious man will think that well bestowed, which purchases the exercise of his religion; but that is no warrant for imposing it. We may say, under the Gospel, that which David could not under the Law: that he would not serve God with that 'which cost him nothing.' I so much doubt my judgment in my own province, that I dare not intrude into that sacred one of divinity; but think it allowable to take any choice of opinions in this matter: and with those I join, that think no error, in fundamentals, should be allowed in a Christian church; nor any difference, in circumstantial, purchased by money.

Fifthly, Monopolies are an ill way of raising money; for any set of people, to have the particular selling of any commodity, or using any arts, though they pay a great rent to the government, is yet a great prejudice and tax to the people, where no industry should be restrained. Yet I am of opinion against them, that think the Turkey, Hamborough, East-India, and other companies, for foreign trade, a monopoly. The case is vastly differing, and so far from hindering a public good, that they preserve those trades in the kingdom, which would be torn to pieces, by a confused and general trade. It was evident in the time, when the East-India trade was at large; but this requires an ample discourse of itself.

Sixthly, I take the alteration in the value of money to be a tax, and no good one. We are less afflicted with that, than any people in the world: yet some little touches we have had, rather by accident than design, so needs the less to be said on them; but where-ever it is used, the subject is the sufferer: for, call money what you will, it has its standard in the world, and is no more than what other nations account it, according to its intrinsic value; not what name any king or government gives it. Now, if a prince (as the French often do) raise money in name; the landlord and officer, that receive fees and pensions, are the losers. The merchant and tradesmen lose but once, by as much as they have in their hands, at first coming out of the charge; but those men of real estates are losers, as long as it lasts, for that they must take it for what the government calls it: but the merchant and tradesmen will not; because they put a value upon their commodities accordingly. If the government makes twenty shillings three and twenty, the merchant will have three and twenty shillings, for twenty shillings worth of commodities: so that he must value it according as it bears with the intrinsic value; for in proportion to that, he buys and sells throughout the world, however kings and governments give names to their several coins. So we see it in France, where they reckon their cash by livres or crowns; and in Holland, by guilders and pounds Flemish: yet still the merchant rules himself by the standard in England, which is thought the best in Europe.

Seventhly, Raising money from travellers and passengers, over bridges, and through cities, as they do much in Holland; seems an unequal tax, and subject to great frauds. I take it to be unequal, because generally it is the poorest and most industrious that are liable to it; and perhaps, it often reaches those that are travelling to find out charity, or labour for a living. Now, to exact from them, before they have purchased it, is a severity equal to that of making brick, without straw or stubble. It is liable to great frauds; since it is impossible to have a check; so that the gatherers are under great temptations, and the collectors, being men of mean quality, are apter to be seduced. Those taxes seem most beneficial to the government, which pass through few and most solvent hands. And as it is secure for the state, so it is most easy for the people; and the better that impositions are collected, the more are the people disburdened from new levies.

I shall now come to shew what are thought in other kingdoms most advisable, and they are these:

First, That of excise, which is most used in the United Provinces; which we should here think intolerable, to be laid on every bit which we eat; but there it is found useful, and time has made it natural to the people: so in Venice and other parts. The great- duke of Florence does the same, by raising most of his revenue upon consumptions in his own dominions, which indeed seems, of all taxes, the most equal; for that no man by it can be said to be oppressed, he being his own assessor, and pays but what he pleases, according to his expence: but laying it, as they do in the United Provinces, upon the food of the poor, might be thought a grievance. If that, and one defect more, could be remedied, there could be nothing said against this tax; and that is, the rich miser, who starves his miserable body, goes most free: therefore, as to him, I have before given my opinion how he might be reached. Where this excise is most used, importations and exportations are most eased; by which means, trade is greatly improved, and at the same time, the levies to the king or state much augmented; for that the expence of those merchants and seamen that repair thither, though they sell nothing, but come to see a market, is considerable.

Secondly, In other countries, Jews are particularly taxed, and for which there seems good reason, for that no tax hardly reaches them; but, like the misers before spoken of, they are indeed beyond them, for that excise toucheth not them. They neither eat nor drink with Christians; a few eggs or herbs are most of their food; live sordidly, and spend little: have no lands or rents to be reached by any tax; nor is their trade profitable to a kingdom or advantageous to the revenue, dealing most in bills of exchange, jewels, and concealable commodities, that pay no duty. These men should be reached by a particular tax, and so made profitable to a kingdom.

Thirdly, In some places, the government maintains play-houses and matters of sport and recreation, paying the actors salaries, and taking the profit into their treasures. And in other parts, as in Holland, the publick have one that takes part of what is given by spectators; so that they make a gain out of that waste money: for no better can I term it. If a calculation was made of all the money spent in England by such diversions, it might be thought, a round sum might be raised to the king. Does it not seem an omission, that a play-house which receives twenty-thousand pounds a year, should pay nothing to the publick; when a coffee-house, that receives not one-thousand *per annum*, pays twenty pounds? And so it is in musick-houses, bear-gardens, and plays in fairs, &c.

Fourthly, In some parts of the world, as Italy, France, and Spain, a tax of labour upon malefactors condemns such, as we here punish with death, to the galleys and mines; which is a punishment of greater terror and longer example than death, and, at the same time, of profit to the kingdom. I have often thought upon this particular, and spent hours in debate with myself; and therefore shall beg your patience, if I trouble you with a tedious harangue of but part of my conceptions.

I have inquired first into the law of God, then into that of other kingdoms; and find that we differ from both in our punishment for felonies. The law of Moses, which is more severe than ours in many things, (as that of adultery, and disobedience to parents; the latter of which is by our law not so penal as a broken head) yet in felonies, not so extreme as we are; so far from making it death, as not to inflict a corporal punishment. The restoring of four-fold was directed by the great Judge of heaven and earth; and if the thief had nothing to make satisfaction with, he was to be sold. But our laws and customs differ much, when we punish the kingdom for the fault of an evil member. It will not be denied, but that the treasure of men is of more value than that of money. Now, to take away the life of a man is, in its proportion, equal to a man's cutting off a limb, because it is sore. A thief is a diseased member, better to be cured, than destroyed. It will be thought an extravagant fancy, yet to me it seems a real truth, that a thief is less mischievous to a body-politick than a miser; for he only makes a wrong transferring of riches: the other (I mean the miser) keeps all buried, so that the community is wronged by him, and only

particular persons by the other; and as the taking away the life of a man weakens the kingdom, so does it injure the person robbed; for that, if the thief were not able to pay, then might he be sold, and kept at work in mines, or other penal labour; both for satisfaction to the person injured, and corporal punishment to the offender. And it may be thought to be of more terror, to have a spectacle for many years labouring with a shaved head in chains, than an execution of half an hour, that is oftentimes soon forgotten.

I have named but these four heads, for all the foreign use in taxes; because I do not remember, amongst the numerous ways they have, any other practicable and profitable in these kingdoms. The two latter of these we do not use: but I presume, if they were taken into the consideration of better heads than mine, they might find a way to make something out of them; for as much as I am able to judge, a great revenue might be made to accrue to the kingdom, out of the vermin of the nation, lewd persons of both sexes, which now pass as if tolerated in their enormities; and only one set of them, that the law seems severe against, punishing them with death: which by so much appears to be the worse, by how much we suppose nothing too rigorous for offences against ourselves, and nothing too little or indulgent for crimes committed against God.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

A Disputation: Proving, That it is not convenient to grant unto Ministers Secular Jurisdiction; and to make them Lords and Statesmen in Parliament.

London; printed in the Year 1679.

[Quarto; containing thirty-six pages.]

It is not expedient to grant unto Clergymen Secular Jurisdiction.

I. **I** DO not undertake to prove that it is simply unlawful: and the worthy and judicious bishop Davenant¹ doth grant and assert, that the law of prudence and equity itself doth forbid kings to burden clergymen with it; so far as it will let and avocate them from their spiritual office and function.

2. It will be demanded, Who must be judge what is, and what is not expedient? To which the forenamed Davenant makes answer, That is to be accounted expedient which a wise man shall so judge and determine: whereunto I assent. He afterwards adds, That which a wise and religious prince shall so determine. Neither do I dissent in this, provided it be soundly understood: for that which a wise and religious prince shall judge to be expedient, if it be so indeed, all wise men will (at least they ought so to) think; for sound wisdom is the same in all. But it is too possible for the most wise and prudent prince to enjoin things not good and expedient. King David thought it most prudent to number the people; who was a most wise prince; but in that his wisdom failed him. Joab, his general, that was much inferior to David in goodness and heavenly wisdom, thought it very imprudent; and the event proved Joab to be the wiser man in that.

¹ [Bishop of Salisbury, temp. James I. Vide Biog. Brit.]

3. Some things are more evidently, other things are less evidently expedient. The scales may hang so even and equilibrated, that a wise comparing judgment can scarce tell whether is the heavier end, and whether part hath the stronger reasons; and the scales may be so odd and unequal, so much solid reason may be said for the one side, and so little for the other, that, to a wise comparing judgment, the case is not doubtful to decide. Now I shall manifest that it is evidently inexpedient to grant secular jurisdiction to ministers and clergymen; that is, that the same person be a minister, bishop, or pastor of souls, and a magistrate or coercive judge; one that beareth the sword; Rom. xiii. 4.

4. *Arg. I.* Jesus Christ did not see it meet to exercise any such power, while he was upon earth: being moved to be a kind of worldly judge between two brethren, he refused, saying, 'Who made me a judge or a divider over you?' Luke xii. 14. As if he should say, (says Davenant upon the words,) Neither by divine nor by human ordination do I exercise judiciary power over private persons, much less over kings. By which argument the same Davenant goes about to prove the nullity of the pope's power in temporals. Now, if his argument be of force against the bishop of Rome, I see not but it is of equal force against worldly jurisdiction in all bishops and pastors whatsoever. Now, if Christ saw it not meet for him to exercise worldly jurisdiction, methinks all bishops and pastors of souls, who have their office and calling particularly from him, should see it meet to learn of him and imitate him herein; and princes themselves should not think it expedient to burden ministers with that, which Christ himself refused, and put from him, as either unlawful in itself, or inexpedient. (Mat. xi. 29,) 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me.'

5. *Arg. II.* The apostles, and the successors of the apostles, the bishops and pastors of the churches for the space of three-hundred years unto the time of Constantine, had no temporal jurisdiction, nor did exercise any: and those are counted the best and purest times of the church. If we may not make the apostles of Christ, and their immediate successors, the bishops and pastors of the churches for the first three-hundred years, our pattern; what shall we make our pattern, and by what law and rule shall we determine what is, and what is not expedient? Can we better govern ourselves and the churches than they? Have we more wisdom to invent and find out ways of good governing the church than they had? Have we more holiness, and goodness, and faithfulness to God, ourselves, our calling, and the church, than they had? If the church did well, and best subsisted when it had no magistrates but what were pagan, infidel, and Jewish, many of whom were great persecutors, all of them deniers of the Christian name: will it not well and better subsist, (if better can be,) where magistrates are Christian, and defenders of the faith; if bishops and pastors, (contenting themselves with no more but the episcopal and pastoral office, and refusing all worldly jurisdiction,) shall wisely and faithfully behave themselves in their office, as those first and most ancient bishops and pastors of the churches did?

6. Unto this, the worthy Davenant makes answer, that those times and ours are not alike. Those times were exceeding holy and good, ours are exceeding bad. There needed no secular authority in pastors then; there was so much holiness and piety, the word and discipline were abundantly enough: but now the Christian world is so exceeding corrupt and degenerate, that, unless ministers be armed with secular jurisdiction, their authority will be despised, and the discipline, which God hath appointed to be in his church, will be scorned as base and contemptible, rather than be revered for any good it will do: *Non tam usui esse, quàm ludibrio*; those are his very words. Davenant is the man whom I do highly esteem, and so do all that are wise and knowing in the things of God; but, in this, Davenant hath fallen much below himself; and the feebleness of his reasoning doth much confirm me in my judgment and persuasion, that the cause which he oppugneth, and which I do here defend, is too strong to be overthrown.

7. His answer is partly not true, not to say it is directly and flatly false. For, let any impartial man make a due estimate of things, and compare the pastors and churches under the apostles, (I except the persons of the apostles themselves) and, during their abode upon earth, and their successors the pastors and churches immediately following to the

time of Constantine: I say, compare these with the pastors and churches of our times, and it will be found that there is no such inequality as he suggests. Bradford and Philpot, and Rogers, and Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and Hooper, and Bilney, and Sanders, and other of the English martyrs were worthy and famous martyrs of Christ, as well as were those first and most ancient martyrs. And Grindal, and Jewel, and Usher, and Davenant, and Gataker, and Vines, and Hildesham, and Preston, and Sibbs, and Dod, and Joseph Allen, and many more of our own and foreign divines were able to vie with the ancient bishops and pastors of the churches, such as died not martyrs. And the private Christians, and families, and congregations of our times, are not much inferior to those ancient ones both Greek and Latin, and even to those we have mention of in the New Testament; namely, the seven churches of Asia, those of Galatia and Judea, that at Corinth, and others.

8. Admit it were true, which, questionless, is not: I should rather think, that the way to reduce an unreformed church and people from heresy and unholiness, to soundness in the faith and holiness; is for pastors to content themselves with the work of pastors, and give themselves wholly to it, and suffer no lets. Will the sword convert souls, or awe men's consciences? Would it likely do more good, if a minister should come into the pulpit with a sword in one hand, and a Bible in the other? The sword is not appointed of God for the conversion of souls; the office of the magistrate is to make way for the work and office of the minister. It is the 'sword of the Spirit' which is 'the word of God,' which must cut in pieces men's lusts, and breed in them sound faith, holiness, and reformation, and not the sword of the magistrate. Let the magistrate do or not do his duty, let him be pagan or persecutor, and let the people be more loose and unreformed than they are; let but pastors and ministers do their duty well, and we shall soon see that God's word and discipline is of the same force now that ever it hath been: otherwise, there is a change in God, and his promise fails, and Satan is stronger now than he hath been, and Christ and the Holy Ghost are much weaker. Read and consider well these Scriptures; Matt. xxvii. 18, 19, 20; 1 Pet. iii. 13; Mic. ii. 7; Isa. xlv. 19; Isa. xlix. 4, 5; 1 Cor. xv. 58; Psal. lxxxiv. 11; 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16; 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2; 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, 6; to name no more: and let but ministers be wise and faithful, and try if it be not the best and speediest way to reform what is amiss in the church; contenting themselves with no more but their own office, and leaving all force and secular authority to the magistrate.

9. If we be the same that the ancient pastors were, be sure God and God's word will be the same; we cannot do God's part, nor the magistrate's part, nor the people's part; we can only do our own part, which we may do, if we will: do our own part, and be sure God will be with us and do his. What hinders but pastors may be as wise and holy as they have been of old? If we be not, it is our own fault. The more corrupt the times are, the more need pastors have to bestir themselves, and to double their diligence, and lay out themselves more vigorously, to be more exemplary, to abound in the work of God, to be mortified, to lose no time, to suffer no let. To make them magistrates were to let them, and take away much of their time; and rather hinder and distract, than further them. If the pastors' office be as much as they can wisely and faithfully do; would it further them in their work to have another office and work added to them? Ministers of the Gospel are not so fit as others to be worldly coercive judges and secular magistrates; for their office is purely pastoral, and is to have no terror in it, but the terror of God's word, and spiritual denunciations; that the people may have no temptations to withdraw their love and esteem from their pastors. A thief at the bar had rather have a minister, than a judge, to reprove him; though both should pronounce the same truth, and hit upon the same words, and have equal wisdom and integrity. For properly magistrates are for outward terror to evil doers, and for outward defence and protection to them that do well; (Rom. xiii. 13. 1 Pet. ii. 14:) but ministers are to be gentle to souls, even as a nurse cherisheth her children, and to exhort and comfort, and charge every one as a father doth his children; (1 Thes. ii. 7, 11.) But, if parents and nurses, and tender mothers should

rule their children by the sword too; that would not add to their office, nor further their work.

10. *Arg. III.* If it be so, as Davenant says, That unless ministers be armed with secular jurisdiction, their office and authority in the church, and the Lord's word and discipline, as administered by them, will be despised and trod upon; then necessarily all ministers should be made magistrates, and princes are to blame, if they do not put the sword into all their hands, and make every minister, throughout the nation, a justice of peace, or a sheriff, or a judge; by giving him power to imprison and lay fines and penalties upon offenders, and to use coercive means. And then the Scriptures themselves, even the wisdom of God, will be found faulty; if he have ordained and appointed no such thing in all the Bible; as I no where find that he hath done. And, by the same reason, magistrates may say, they also must be ministers; and there will be a confusion of offices, and the bounds and banks of order in church and commonwealth will be thrown down; and if order be not observed, good government cannot be. For good government is nothing but the observance of right order; when magistrates do the duty of magistrates, and meddle with no more but what comes within the compass of their office; that is right order, and it breeds peace; 1 Cor. xiv. 33, 40. And, when ministers and pastors do their duty, and what properly pertains to their office, meddling with no more; this also is right order, and the way of true and good government of the church, and produceth peace. But, if you leave this way and order, you err; and where your error may stop, and what mischiefs and inconveniencies it may produce, who is able to declare? For there is no safety, but by keeping in God's ways, and close walking by his rules: *Uno absurdo dato sequuntur mille*, is as true in practicals, as in doctrinals.

11. *Arg. IV.* Either Christian faithful magistrates are a help and defence to God's church and to ministers, in their calling and office, or they are not. If they are, then methinks, if the church and ministers did well, when they wanted such helps, they should rather do better, (at least, they should do as well, or not be much worse,) when they have such helps. But to say, they cannot do at all; or that ministers and their discipline, and ministration barely without secular jurisdiction added to them, will be of no use, but rather a scorn and mockery under Christian magistrates, is stark shame and reproach to all such ministers; and they should rather be cast out of the church as intolerable, and as dung, and dead unsavoury salt, than be made magistrates. What should they do as magistrates, that are not able, by all they can do, to preserve themselves from sordid ignominy and contempt? Or, if not this, it is an intolerable shame to all, excepting ministers, both magistrates and people, that they should be so extremely wicked and graceless, (neither fearing God, nor regarding men,) as to despise and scorn all the wise, and holy, and faithful pastors in the church, that are but mere pastors. According to this opinion, one of these two wickednesses and absurdities will follow: either, that all the pastors in the church, that are but mere pastors, are shamefully wicked and intolerable, and most unworthy to be pastors; or, that all besides in the church, that are no pastors, princes, rulers, and people, are extremely wicked; even scorers and contemners of God's ministers, worship, word, discipline, and holy institutions. If Christian magistrates, and such as be faithful, be not a help and defence to God's church and ministers, in their office; then it is a contradiction to desire their office, as an help and expedient to the church, and that ministers might be armed with the authority of a magistrate too. And then it is no blessing, but rather a curse, to have faithful kings, princes, and magistrates, and then we should not pray for them; and then it were all one to have persecutors as protectors, Julian as Constantine, Nero, Dioclesian, queen Mary, and bloody popes and tyrants, as Theodosius, Josias, queen Elizabeth; and wise, and just, and faithful governors.

12. *Arg. V.* Either you would have pastors and their authority in the church revered, or you would not. If you would have them revered, what must it be for? You would have the same man to be a pastor and a magistrate, and so to be revered. Very good; if, then, the same man as pastor be base and vile, and worthy of no reverence;

how shall we do to reverence the same man as a magistrate? Shall we say, that the same man is worthy and unworthy, vile and honourable, faithful and unfaithful? Will you say, that he hath two souls or two consciences, one as a pastor, and so he is a worthless wretch, to be contemned of all; and the other as a magistrate, and so he is honourable, and to be had in esteem by all? If the same man as pastor be damned; what shall become of the same man as a magistrate? If pastors be worthy men, all men will reverence and esteem them: at least, God will, and all that are taught and instructed of God. Even an Herod will reverence a John Baptist. Wisdom and holiness will be revered in all; and folly, and vice, and wickedness will be revered in none. But, especially, wisdom and holiness will be revered in pastors; and vice, and folly, and hypocrisy, and unfaithfulness will be thought not so odious and unsavoury in any, as in pastors and bishops. For it is of them especially, that God saith, 'Them that honour me, I will honour; and they that despise me, shall be lightly esteemed;' (1 Sam. ii. 30.) If a minister be truly worthy and honourable, he shall be honoured. All right esteeming men, if there be any that fear God, and make conscience of his commands, will reverence and esteem him very highly in love for his work's sake; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. But, if he be but the mere name and outside of a bishop: if he be a Bonner, a hater and persecutor of good men, foolish, wicked, ambitious, slothful, worldly, self-seeking, contentious, heretical, ignorant, scandalous, and unfaithful, nothing, that you can do, will uphold his reputation; make him a lord or prince in parliament, heap all the dignities and honours that are among men upon him, make him the greatest man for office in the kingdom, next to the king himself, his vices and corruptions will shame him before the world; no covers, formalities, and worldly eminencies and additaments, will be able to hide the spots and deformities of his soul, and win him reputation with any but fools, flatterers, and knaves. For it is 'Righteousness, (and it only) which exalteth a nation or person; but sin is a reproach to any person or people.' Prov. xiv. 34.

If you would not have ministers, and their authority in the church, revered and esteemed, then you contradict yourselves, who would have ministers to have worldly jurisdiction, as a means to procure them reverence and esteem in the church; and then it is no sin not to esteem those that be worthy of esteem; and then Judas and Peter are alike worthy, and we are to be as thankful for, and rejoice in, an Arius as an Athanasius, a Bonner as a Bradford, an antichristian murdering wicked pope, as a Peter and Paul, and the most holy pastor and bishop upon earth.

13. *Arg. VI.* In defence of ministers being made magistrates, sundry instances out of the Old Testament are urged, which are of God's ordaining: as we read of Melchisedeck, king of Salem, and priest of the most high God; and of Eli and Samuel, who were both priests and judges in Israel. The answering and clearing of this will make for the advantage of the truth; and, therefore, I put it in the number of my arguments. These instances may be of some weight to make one think, that the thing in itself is not simply, universally, and absolutely unlawful. But what if I should say, that these are cases extraordinary, and will not warrant an ordinary and general practice. That Melchisedeck was a person extraordinary, a special and singular type of Christ, is clear from Psal. cx. 4; Heb. v. 10. vii. 17. Cuneus '*de Republicâ Judæorum*,' to my remembrance, holds him to be Christ himself; but that is thought to be an error by most. Certain it is, he was a great man; great, I mean, in the sight of God, as well as great before men. For he blessed Abraham, the father of the faithful; 'and without contradiction (says the apostle) the less is blessed of the better;' Heb. vii. 6, 7. Moreover, in those times, the church was much confined to families; and the head of the family was both priest and governor of the family. Job sanctified his sons, and offered burnt-offerings for them; Job. i. 5. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were priests, and parents, and magistrates in their families, and over their households: for, if a murder had been done in any of their families, they were bound by God's law (Gen. ix. 6,) to execute vengeance upon the murderer. And, as for Eli and Samuel, they were both priests and judges. Now judges, in those times, were a peculiar and extraordinary sort of magistrates and commonwealth governors, raised up by God himself;

and sometimes there were none. His office was neither elective, nor successive: when he died, his office died with him. When the order of kings was instituted and took place in Saul and David, the government by judges ceased. Now to argue from these extraordinary and rare cases to an ordinary practice, I suppose will not hold.

Besides, those times and ours do very much differ, as to many things pertaining to church-matters. Every parent among the Jews (by the Law, I suppose,) was to circumcise his male-children; Exod. iv. 24, 25, 26; Gen. xvii. 10. But, under the Gospel, it is made a part of the office of pastors to baptize children; and for parents to do it is a sacrilegious invasion. Under the Law, all their ministers were chosen out of one tribe, the tribe of Levi; it is not so under the Gospel. The Jews' commonwealth was a theocracy; it was divine and from God. Not only their church-laws and institutions, but even their political, judicial, and civil statutes and sanctions were from God. And it was the same thing or office among them, to be a divine and a lawyer; to declare what was religion and divinity, and what was law and right between party and party. And thence it was, that the high-priest and other inferior priests and Levites were made not coercive and revenging judges and magistrates; (Deut. xvi. 18; Ezra vii. 25.) but a sort of spiritual lawyers and casuists, to teach the people what was law, right and wrong, and to decide in cases and questions, concerning matters ecclesiastical, and civil right; as seems evident from Deut. xvii. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 2 Chron. xix. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. In those times, it was counted for a heinous crime for any man to invade the priest's office. Uzzah, for putting his hand to uphold the ark when the oxen shook it, was smitten dead: and king Uzziah, for attempting to burn incense in the temple, (which was not lawful for any but the priests to do,) was withstood by fourscore valiant men who were priests; and the Lord smote him with leprosy for his insolency, and he continued a leper to the day of his death; living in a several house. And I think, it cannot be proved, that it was ordinary with God's people then to make magistrates ministers, and ministers magistrates; but these offices were kept distinct and entire, and no man ordinarily was intrusted with both.

I do further add, that those laws and customs of the Jews do not further oblige Christian people, than they are significative of the law of nature; and so are laws universal, founded in natural equity, and are laws and rules of perpetual order and observance. Jew and Gentile, by the coming of Christ, are made one. The Jews' temple, commonwealth, church-rites, and institutions, are ceased and expired, and an end is put to them. There is a new ministration come in and substituted in their room, more glorious and excellent, more proper for and suited to the church universal, consisting of Jew and Gentile, of nations, and people, and languages throughout the world. There is now but one law, and that is the law of nature and Christianity; which is not two, but one entire law, or way of governing mankind under Jesus Christ, supreme under God in heaven and in earth; by kings and princes as supreme, and subordinate rulers and magistrates under them; and by Christian pastors, guides and bishops of souls: magistrates to do what is pertaining to their office, and no more; pastors also to do what pertaineth to their office, and no more.

Besides, the Jews having their judicial and political laws shortly and compendiously framed into one body by God himself; it was no distraction to the priests and clergy then to study those laws as a part of their divinity, and become able to decide in causes and questions of civil right and judicature; but, with us of this nation, the study of the law is become very laborious; some are ready to say, *Prius vitiis laboravimus, nunc legibus*. A man cannot be a good judge, chancellor, nor justice of peace, nor bear any considerable office in the commonwealth, without insight into the law, the statute-law, (which is a vast body of laws, and every parliament is adding new ones,) and the common-law and customs of the realm, and of particular courts and places; the knowledge whereof cannot be attained with little pains, and time, and study, and without some experience. We have inns of court among us. It is made a distinct profession and order of men among us, to be men skilled in the law. The laws and customs of England are so intricate and hard to be well known, that it would be a great distraction to a divine to give himself to those studies;

and when he has done, he might, perhaps, attain to some scraps and pieces to make him a Sciolua, a novice therein, so much as might serve him for his own private use; but hardly could he attain to so much as to make him ripe, and judicious, and knowing enough to be a judge or magistrate; and *Ignorantia judicis est calamitas innocentis*: an ignorant judge, or magistrate, cannot but do much wrong, and pervert judgment, for want of knowledge. A lawyer may far better be a divine, than a divine can be a lawyer. Indeed, no man can be a good divine or lawyer, that is not a good Christian, and learned in the laws of God, the law of nature, and Christianity; that it is to be under law to God, and live under his government. To be a right divine is to be a heavenly lawyer; but this a man may be, and be ignorant of a thousand quirks and points, and matters in the laws and customs of England. They are so many, and so intricate, and so uncertain, and so out of the road of divinity, and the knowledge and study of universal right; that it would be against conscience and faithfulness, in a minister, to give himself to the study of them; and without giving himself to the study of them, he cannot attain to the knowledge of them, competent for an English judge, and political magistrate.

14. *Arg. VII.* There are able men enough to be judges and magistrates, but there is a great defect of ministers: and therefore it cannot consist with wisdom and expediency (I say not with conscience and honesty) to rob the church, to make the state and commonwealth luxuriate. That there are able men enough to be judges and magistrates, and to serve in all offices of the commonwealth, is either true; or it is some reproach to the nobles, gentry, and commons of England. Cannot you do all the offices of the commonwealth serve as magistrates, judges, and rulers; and bear the sword, and see to the common peace and quiet of the nation; having the direction, advice, and endeavours of pastors, both in public and private, as pastors and no more; unless, withal, pastors be made judges and magistrates too, and come in to your aid? Surely, then, you are a degenerate seed; you are not Christian nobles, gentry, and commons. Let us pray for you, and pity you. If there be able men enough to bear the sword, and serve in all offices of the commonwealth; why should ministers, bishops, and clergymen be called from their employments and spiritual functions, when there is an unobserved want of ministers throughout all the nation? The work of a bishop, minister, and pastor of souls, is to do all the ordinary Lord's-day work in public; which to do well and substantially will take up no small part of his chiefest time, thoughts, and pains. But this is not all, nor near all of his work; for he is to watch over every soul; he is personally to instruct, and catechize, and confer with all of his charge; he is to visit the sick; he is to admonish, reprove, comfort, counsel, warn, and charge every one night and day, with tears, as a father his children; he is to assist in neighbour-meetings, and church-associations of pastors and brethren, for concord and communion; he is to hear all such causes as need due and regular discipline. And is any one man able to do all this, as it should be done, to any of those parishes in city or country, which abound with multitudes of souls; that would find work for many ministers, to do it faithfully? Whereas, if there be one in a parish, and, in some, one with a reader or curate, that is thought enough. I confess, at that rate, that many do the work of the ministry; it is an easy matter for one man to be a pastor to a parish of a dozen-miles' compass in the country, and St. Giles's in the Fields, St. Martin's, Stepney, and Cripple-gate in the city of London: but to do the work of a pastor faithfully and entirely, to all the souls within any one of these, and such-like parishes, would require a whole college and combination of ministers. We see in a troop of horse, of but about forty or fifty men, there is a captain, and a lieutenant, besides other officers. In a regiment of fifteen-hundred, much more of fifteen-thousand, what a vast number of officers is there! Captains over thousands, captains over hundreds, captains over fifties, and captains over tens; Deut. i. 15. Every tenth man was to have a captain or officer; but there is many a parish in England, that may have ten-thousand souls in it, and but one or two pastors appointed to look to all these souls. When king Solomon built his temple, he set threescore and ten thousand to be bearers of burdens, and fourscore-thousand to be hewers in the mountains, and three-thousand and six-hundred to be overseers, to set the people at work; (2 Chron. ii.

18.) but, in the building of the Lord's spiritual temple, there is not one pastor to a thousand souls, in many parishes of England. I know, many will think there are too many ministers. I think there are too many bad ones; but I never read, or heard of any kingdom, or place, or people, to this day, that had too many faithful ministers: and I shall think it a holy and happy thing, when such a thing is; but I despair to see it in this world. Were it not, that there are not ministers enough to do all the pastoral work of each congregation, I should think most of the godly ministers in England notoriously guilty before God, of gross neglect and unfaithfulness, for want of personal and private oversight of all their people: though, I think, a great deal more might be done by many, than ordinarily is.

Well then, there being so great a want of ministers, and no want of magistrates; would you have ministers to turn magistrates too? Must those few that are, be hindered and distracted, by calling them off to worldly and secular businesses? Is it not enough, that ministers have more work upon their hands, than they can do? And would you make them more? and that, too, diverting and alien work, extra-episcopal; and almost, if not altogether, pragmatical work? What is this, but to serve Satan in the name of Christ, and under pretence of order, to pull down order, and make the church more low and weak by much, than it is? The holy apostles of our Lord were of another mind. When they saw they could not both look to the corporal necessities of the poor, and the spiritual necessities of souls too, they contrived an expedient for both: they appointed a new office of deacons in the church, to see to the bodily necessities of the poor: but, say they, We will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of God's word; Acts vi. 2, 4. Far unlike to those that leave the word of God and prayer, and give themselves to the doing of worldly matters and secular businesses, and teach men so, and plead for it as their privilege, and a means of advantaging the church, and of promoting holiness and peace:

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget. —*

15. *Arg. VIII.* Those who maintain it to be good to have clergymen armed with secular jurisdiction, do urge, for reason, the practice of the ancient bishops' churches for the first three-hundred years; while the church was without Christian princes and magistrates. It was usual, in those times, for the people to refer their dissensions about worldly things to the decision and arbitration of their bishops; who, to prevent going to law before heathen magistrates, and to prevent and compose differences and strifes, and keep peace among their people, would give themselves the trouble to hear and arbitrate causes, and pleas, and worldly differences, referred to them. And hence it is argued, that if it was lawful for clergymen to be arbitrators and elected judges, to decide between brethren, it is lawful for clergymen to be judges, made and constituted by authority, and commission from the higher powers.

16. As to this, I take it to be true as to matter of fact, that it was usual for the bishops of those times to hear and arbitrate civil causes and rights: and it grew by occasion, I was a saying by a misconstruction, of the apostle's words; 1 Cor. vi. 5. I speak to your shame, Is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you? No, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? Thinking none more wise, and consequently more fit to arbitrate and decide their causes, than their bishops. And this continuing to the time of Constantine, he finding them in possession thereof, continued it to them, and confirmed it in their hands by law; which was the beginning of clergymens lordliness domination; the fruits and consequences whereof have been very calamitous to the church ever since.

17. I have many things to say as to this: As, 1. That it is very likely the ancient bishops, who took upon them this trouble of hearing and arbitrating the civil rights and causes of their people, did it with no joy; they were not fond of it, they thought it a burden; and if they might have had their choice, would rather have been free from all such trouble. So much is intimated in a passage which Davenant (in his *Determ. quest.* 11. aforementioned,) quoted out of Augustine. They did not esteem them privileges or easements, but *molestias*: for so are Augustine's words, as cited, molestations and troubles.

But the bishops and clergy of our times seek them, contend for them, and are tenacious of such things as privileges.

2. Either the bishops, employed in the hearing and arbitrating those causes, were the same with our diocesan bishops, or they were not. If they were, then what discretion could there be in the people, to refer all the causes, within the bishop's diocese; supposing it to be of the same extent and bigness with the dioceses of bishops in England, to one man their bishop? And what discretion could it be in such a bishop, as among us, the bishop of Norwich, the bishop of London, the bishop of Lincoln, &c. to take upon him the trouble of hearing and arbitrating all civil causes, controversies, and differences of the people inhabiting so vast a compass as his diocese? He must do nothing else but merely hear civil causes: he must be but a bishop in name. How expensive, and very inconvenient would it be, for all the Christians in any the least diocese in England, much more in the greatest, to travel with their law-suits to the bishop of the diocese? His house then must be a mere Westminster-hall, and all the days in the year (scarce the Lord's-day excepted,) must be term-time with him. To think that the apostle ever meant any such thing, when he counsels them to refer their matters to a wise arbitrator, is a gross wresting of his words: for he wrote to the church of Corinth, which was but one particular church, Is there not a wise man among you? He must be a wise man among them, one near at hand, easy to be resorted to, to whom they might refer their causes. And therefore it could not be, that the Christians then referred their causes to a diocesan bishop, such as ours. And if not; then the cause of our diocesan bishops will receive a deep wound, and it will make way for an unwelcome truth, that the bishops, to whom the people referred their causes, were the pastors of every parish, the very same with our parish-ministers, and the rectors of parsonages. These, of the clergy, were the fittest to arbitrate the causes of all the people within their parish. A parish-bishop, or minister, may with far more ease, arbitrate and compose the dissensions and suits of all in his parish, than the diocesan bishop can do of all the pastors and people in his diocese.

3. It is not the intent and meaning of the foresaid words of the apostle, that pastors should be employed in hearing and arbitrating the secular causes of their own people, or of the people of other parishes. I will not say, it is absolutely and universally unlawful; nor will I say it is expedient in no case at all. There may be cases rarely here and there in parishes, so circumstanced, both under Christian and pagan magistrates, in which it may be both lawful and expedient for the pastors, to arbitrate and compose suits and differences among the people. But, generally and for the most part, it is inexpedient. For either he will do right, or do wrong. If he do right; it is well if one side be not displeased, and fall out with him, and take a grudge against him, and either turn from him and not hear him, or hear him with prejudice; and so by this means the pastor may be an occasion of much sin and damage, and damnation to his soul, which prudence, and piety, and compassion in a minister, doth forbid, and will make him watch against. If he do wrong; then it is hurtful to his own soul, it is a wronging of the innocent and a perverting of justice, and a scandal to his ministry. Besides, he can scarce do it but with distraction. If he do it but a little, it will be a hindrance to his other work, and distract him; much more will it hinder and distract him, if he should use it, and do it frequently. And the words of Christ are considerable, and worthy to be thought on; Luke xii. 14: 'Man, who made me a judge (or a divider, an arbitrator,) between you?'

4. The words of the apostle may be well understood in this sense; either there is, besides your pastor, a wise man among you, and one that is able to judge between brethren, or there is not. If there be, refer your contentions and civil causes to him. Neither go to law before the unbelievers, nor do you trouble your pastors and bishops; but single out a wise man among you, one that is able to hear, and decide your causes, and make him judge and arbitrator between you. If there be not one such wise and able man among you, then it is a shame and reproach to you all. What! Do you call yourselves saints? Do you not know, that the saints shall judge the world, even angels themselves? Are they not then fit to judge on earth small matters, and to decide a petty controversy, about mine and thine,

between brethren; but brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers? This is to your shame.

5. When Constantine came to the crown, and magistrates became Christians, the most expedient way had been to have eased pastors of all those molestations and avocations; and left the pastor nothing to do but his own part, and the magistrate his part. To make the clergy worldly judges and magistrates is no benefit; but a burden, it is nothing that a wise man should rejoice in, but rather groan under, as a pressure and hindrance, and pray to God to be eased of it, and rejoice in being free from it, and at liberty to employ all the time which was wont to be spent in such secular affairs, in religious and sacred exercises, which have a more special tendency to souls' good, and are most becoming a pastor.

18. Lastly, I will set the worthy Davenant against himself; who, going about to prove, that the bishop of Rome hath no temporal power over kings, lays down this position, *Bonum spirituale non postulat, ut ulla temporalis potestas à Romano pontifice exerceatur*: and if not by him, then by no other bishop or pastor whatsoever: *Non est enim, in ordine ad hunc finem, aut necessarium medium, aut accommodatum, aut licitum, aut denique cum spirituali censurâ excommunicationis ullo jure connexum*. 'Spiritual good doth not require that any temporal power be exercised by the bishop of Rome; for it is not, in order to this end, either a necessary mean, or fit, or lawful, or lastly, by any right, knit with the spiritual censure of excommunication.' (*Determ. quæst. 4.*) And he gives very substantial proofs. I am at a loss, how to reconcile him to himself. But, whether he be consistent with himself or not, I lay not my cause upon that; the other proofs and evidences do overpower my understanding.

19. Now, if it be manifestly inexpedient to make clergymen magistrates, and grant them civil jurisdiction; then it must needs be manifestly inexpedient to make them supreme magistrates, and to confer upon them the highest jurisdiction which subjects are capable of, as to be lords in parliament; and to have equal votes with the peers and nobility of the realm, and sit as princes there; to be many days, and weeks, and months from their flock, and to be, all that while, taken up in state-matters, civil and secular affairs. If the other arguments be good against granting any temporal authority and jurisdiction at all to pastors and clergymen, and the reasons for it be exceeding weak, and but shews and shadows of reason; then it must needs be much more inconvenient to heap secular honours, dignities, greatness, pre-eminence, and authority upon clergymen, and trust them with the highest jurisdiction, by making them lords in parliament.

20. They that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; 1 Tim. vi. 9. It holds good most strongly of those that seek both worldly wealth, and outward height, grandeur and state; that would be great, and sit in the highest seat, and be accounted lords and princes, and have dominion over the liberties, the estates, yea, and souls of men, and would have wealth and riches, to support their grandeur and preferment. It is this which hath let many evils into the church, and given occasion to the Roman bishop, to lift up himself above all other bishops, yea, above kings and emperors themselves; and to assume the title of universal bishop, and Christ's vicar-general upon earth; and to usurp authority, dominion, and supremacy, above all that is called God; 2 Thes. ii. 4. Constantine, the Christian emperor, thought he did the church a kindness, in heaping civil honours upon clergymen, and putting them into places of state and preferment; but, in truth, he did them and the church no kindness. It had been well for the church of God, that bishops and clergymen had continued mere bishops and clergymen; without any worldly honours, preferments in parliament, outward greatness and jurisdiction.

21. Nor is there any hope that the church of God should enjoy true rest, and be settled in happy and lasting concord, and flourish as it should in holiness and peace, till its bishops and pastors be reduced to the primitive and apostolic pattern. One would think the words of our Saviour were plain enough in this case: when there was a strife among the twelve apostles, which should be greatest; our Saviour quickly ends the controversy, by telling them, 'The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; and they that

are great, exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but who-soever will be great and chief among you, let him be lowest, and servant of all; Matt. xx. 25, 26, 27. Luk. xxii. 25, 26. It shall not be so among you, and consequently it shall not be so among your successors. But so it hath been, and so it is to this day: God grant it may be so no longer! There is a striving, which shall be high and great, striving for worldly honours, preferment, and votes and authority in parliament. There is not a striving, who shall be most humble, and self-denying, and do the work of God faithfully. There is a striving, who shall be like the pope, rather than Jesus Christ; who shall have worldly lordship, wealth, and preferment, and exercise domination; not who shall be most good and holy, most faithful and diligent in the work of the ministry.

22. Ambition and domination is not good in any; but it is worst, and most odious in bishops and clergymen. By seeking themselves, and their own honour, rather than the honour of God; they lose themselves, and do but prepare themselves for a fall. Is it not a most sad thing to read, in church-history, the contentions and strivings of bishops, and patriarchs, and clergymen, about names, and places, and dignities, and worldly greatness, and authority; and all the doleful evils, which clergy-domination, and worldly prelacy, hath produced? And to see Christian emperors, kings, princes, states, and parliaments, to enslave themselves to a dominating clergy? This it is, which makes wise and good men to think, it were much better to let bishops and clergymen be mere and simple bishops and clergymen, and no more; and for the magistrate, to keep the sword in his own hands. For, if once you take up this for a principle, that the example of Christ, and of his apostles, and of the pastors and bishops of the churches, for the first three-hundred years, is not a sufficient pattern; yea, and the very best pattern for all Christian pastors and churches to conform to; if once you leave this, you depart from the simplicity that is in Christ; 2 Cor. xi. 3. It is not possible to keep out pride, contention, and domination; these will be, and they will prove a scab, yea, the plague of the church, and danger to eat out its vitals, or so weaken and consume it, that it will want much of its strength and beauty.

23. Sound prudence is, always to go by a sure and stedfast rule. Christ's pattern, the way and practice of the apostles, and first and most pure churches, is a sure rule to go by. Keep to this, and we are safe. God will not find fault with us for holding us to his rules, and seeking to be no more wise, no more holy, no more great, and honourable, and good, than his rule and standard requires. But if you alter your rule, and once think, and say, the clergy must have some more honour and jurisdiction than so; you let in confusion, contention, domination, and a troop of evils and mischiefs, not to be told. As in the case of ceremonies, and namely, that of the cross in baptism; if it be prudent and adviseable to add, unto God's institution of baptism, a dedicating symbolical sign, and say, that baptism, without it, is not best as Christ ordained it; you may, by the same reason, add cream, and salt, and spittle, and a multitude of vain and foolish things: no just bounds can be set.

24. And therefore, bishops, pastors, and clergymen in parliament, should make their humble address to the king, the nobility, and commons in parliament, to this effect:—“Our office is to be bishops and shepherds of souls, to give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word, and to take heed to ourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers. Had we more time than we have; had we more wisdom and goodness in our souls; could every one of us do the work of ten of the best, and ablest, and most godly bishops and pastors that ever the church of God had; the souls in England and Wales would find us all work enough. We may not leave our work and calling, unto which we are separated, without injuring you, and us, and the souls of our people; and procuring far more damage to all sides than the benefit can countervail. These honours that you put upon us, these places of dignity and jurisdiction that you put us in, are a snare and a burden to us; they are no privilege, but a let. To strive for them were to strive to bring fire and gunpowder together. All the while we are here, we tread as upon coals of fire. We are as if we were upon a high

towering steeple, or the top of a pinnacle; we cannot look upwards, nor downwards, behind us, nor before us, nor on either hand, but we are in extreme fear of falling. For God's sake, for your own sake, for the church's sake, ease us of these burdens, deliver us from these snares, let us not be pragmatical and busy bodies; you do not love to hear divines pragmatical in the pulpit; and why should it please you, or us, to be pragmatical out of the pulpit? We thank you for your love and well-meaning zeal; but you would not have us undone by you, and church and state suffer by us, and by our standing for worldly honours and preferment. We had rather be pure and simple bishops and clergymen, than neither pure clergymen, nor pure laymen, but mongrels between both: simple bodies are the most solid and compact. Gold and silver mixed is not so pure and firm as pure gold. We had rather be simple followers of Christ, and Peter, and Paul, and the first and most ancient bishops, than any thing that man can make us. Never fear that we shall want honour, countenance, reverence, and due maintenance, while we ourselves fulfil our name and place, and there are men and Christians amongst us: if we want any outward desirable reputation, esteem, or conveniency, God will be to us an all-sufficient good, and our very wants will be sanctified to our good. Let us go to our flocks and several charges whence we came; hinder us not. Let us not be advanced in wealth, in honour, in preferment above the rest of our brethren, who are equal with us in wisdom, holiness, and industriousness; and many of them do exceed us. We had rather die, preaching, and praying, and visiting, and instructing the souls of our people; than die, voting in parliament, and agitating state-matters there. If you need our advice at any time in things pertaining to the church, and which come within the sphere and compass of our calling, we are ready, night and day, to do the best service we can. And we desire you will not look upon us a divided party from the rest of our brethren, and Protestant divines in the nation, but that you will, in all your consultations about church-affairs, use the advice of the most sound, and holy, and impartial, and prudent, and experienced divines in all the nation; and, by all means possible, keep the sword and coercive power out of the hands of such as are proud and lordly, and usurp over their brethren, and would set us all on a flame, and are plain worldly, hypocritical, self-seeking men; and rather papists and infidels in heart, than sincere Christians and Protestants. You need consultations with divines for your souls, as you do with lawyers for your estates, and physicians for your bodies: but, as you can make due use of lawyers and physicians, by advising and consulting with them in all necessary cases, without making them statesmen, and peers, and lords in parliament, and loading them with secular greatness, honour, and jurisdiction; so you may make all due and faithful use of us, as bishops, spiritual pastors, and casuists in God's church, (by using our advice and consultations when there is need,) without loading us with worldly honours, and making us statesmen, and peers, and lords of the realm, and lords and law-makers in parliament. Such things be extra-episcopal: they will be small honour and comfort to us, when we come to die, and give up our accounts to God. Bend your endeavours to unite all Protestants, and to strengthen the common cause of Christianity, faith and holiness, against the reigning errors and vices of the times; and the most malignant distempers of mankind, now degenerate, and far departed from God. If you find us such as we should not be, do right and justice; and let no man's crimes go unpunished, nor any scandal lie upon the churches by any person or party whomsoever. Fidelity to God, to you, to our own souls, and to the church, compels us to make this address; and to quit our hands of all such matters as will not stand with sound prudence and integrity. The first and best part of wisdom is, not to err and do amiss; for then there will need no repentance: but, having erred, the next and only wisdom is to repent and reform, that God may forgive us, and men may have forgiving goodness and charity in their breasts towards us.

25. In case bishops and clergymen shall stand for their worldly dignities and places in parliament, and plead prescription, and the example of their ancestors, and the right of their successors, and think it hard measure to be reformed; the sovereign, with the nobles and the commons in parliament, should say to them, "We are God's ministers, bearing

the sword, and are to be a terror to evil-doers, and a defence to them that do well. We are to correct all disorders and abuses. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. If we find you to be out of your place and calling, we are to take cognisance thereof; and see that Archippus take heed to the ministry which he hath received in the Lord, that he fulfil it; Col. iv. 17. As we may not forbear to use your advice and consultation, both public and private, when there is cause; so neither may we call you to counsel and consultation needlessly; and avocate you from your studies, and episcopal and pastoral work, in prayer, and preaching, and overseeing your several flocks, without cause: unto you belongeth the power of the word and keys, unto us belongeth the power of the sword. If you see any misdemeanours in us, do your duty faithfully; kill us not by kindness, flatter us not to our ruin, make the utmost use of that authority God hath given you in his church to edification, conceal nothing from us and the people which is godly and profitable for us to know; spare to reprove no sin which is a sin, and which needs reproof; do your duty faithfully; be prudent, be pious, be peaceable, be diligent and blameless in your place; and we shall defend you, and be a terror to all that would harm and oppose you. But if it will not content you to be as Peter and Paul, and the holy bishops and pastors of old; but you will needs be usurping the magistracy, and seeking domination, and make your brethren of the clergy your underlings; if you will needs be pragmatistical and busy bodies, and neglect the work of prayer and preaching, and suffer the souls of your people to want due oversight and pastoral care; if you will beat your fellow-servants, and causelessly fall out with your brethren and the universal church, we must not wink at such offences, but declare them to be crimes punishable by a lawful magistracy, which we are, under God. We will hear no plea or prescription against piety, prudence, and peace. Usurpation, domination, pastoral negligence, and unfaithfulness, and gross imprudencies, are not privileges, but sins and crimes: to say, they are ancient, is to say, they are more odious, and call for the more deep repentance, and speedy, and sound, and thorough reformation.

26. There are, in this, as in most other cases, two extremes, which are alike equidistant from the true and right mean. The one is to make no use at all of divines, nor to consult with them in any case. This I take to be a dangerous extreme, contrary to the light of nature, the true office and institution of the ministry, and that duty which all Christian princes, and parliaments, and people do owe to the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom they are vowed and sworn to observe his laws, and to be sincerely subject to his government in all things. And he doth govern his church by pastors, teachers, and spiritual overseers, with whom all persons, of what degree and rank soever they be, are to advise and consult; not in every small and little matter, but in cases of weight and concernment, if they cannot otherwise satisfy themselves; as they will do with lawyers about their estates, and physicians about their bodies. The papists do grossly tyrannize over all, both kings and subjects, by binding them to make a particular recitation, or confession of their sins to their priests, at certain times, frequently; thereby making them masters, in some sort, of men's consciences, and unjustly privy to their secrets; and abusing the name, authority, and ordinance of Christ to rigour and tyranny, and thereby deceiving and deluding souls into much superstition, vassalage, and hypocrisy. To avoid which, anti-papists have run into a quite contrary extreme; forgetting of what daily and standing use and concernment God's ministers are, both to persons and societies. The priests' lips are to keep knowledge, and the people are to seek the law at their mouth; Mal. ii. 7. When the Philistines were to send back the ark, they consulted with their priests and diviners; 1 Sam. vi. 2.

Ministers are not only to be heard in public, but to be consulted with in private; and to be made use of in all cases and questions ecclesiastical, which concern the general interest of the church, its holiness, and its unity; and which cannot well and soundly be determined without the assistance, advice, and direction of impartial, wise, and holy divines. I am so far from being against this, that rather I judge it a common error and mispractice in Christian states, as well as particular persons, that they do not make that

due and godly use of ministers and divines, which they ought to do: whence it is, that they do so often miscarry in their ways and counsels; because they do too much lean to their own understandings, and either consult not at all with God's ministers, or, if they do, they consult with those only who are partial and unfaithful, or they do treacherously and hypocritically conceal something of the case from them; or do, like the papists, make confession a mere ceremony, resting in the work done; imitating her in Proverbs vii. 14. People can send for ministers to advise with upon their sick-beds: they should do it when they are in health. There is parliament-humility and self-denial, which Jesus Christ doth bind all Christian states and rules to; Luke ix. 23. The Long Parliament had their assembly of divines.

27. The other extreme is of making more and further use of ministers, than need requires, and than will stand with the prudence, conveniency, and quality of their work and calling; and in making an undue disparity and inequality among ministers and divines; appointing some to be lords and dominators over the rest, advancing them too high in worldly dignities, authority, and preferment, and thereby establishing pride and partiality. It is grounded upon a mistake; which is, that by God's law, bishops and archbishops have a majority of power and jurisdiction above the rest of the pastors, though they excel, or be equal to the bishops and archbishops in true wisdom and holiness, and ministerial graces and diligence: whereas it is evident, from the very nature of the thing itself, that a bishop and overseer of souls are but two names for the same thing; and that to be an archbishop is to be *episcoporum primus*, an eminent presbyter, the chief of all the bishops, presbyters, and pastors; not that he hath a greater commission than they. The authority and commission of bishops, pastors, and ministers is but one; (Matth. xxviii. 19, 20.) and it consisteth in these three: 1. An authority to christianize souls, and admit disciples into the family of Christ, which is his church, by baptism. 2. An authority to use them as disciples and members of the family, when admitted; by feeding them with knowledge and understanding, watching over them, and doing all necessary and convenient episcopal and pastoral acts and offices to them. 3. An authority to discommon and cast out of the family, by penal and judicial church-censures, contumacious and grossly disorderly livers, whom no other remedies will amend.

28. This threefold authority every right ordained presbyter or parish-minister hath, and no archbishop or bishop hath more: for more is not necessary, nor is there any place for more; and less will not suffice to make a man a complete pastor; and Christ makes no incomplete pastors: *Qui aliquid alicui concedit, concedit & id, sine quo res ipsa nequit concedi*. He, that gives the end, doth inclusively give the due, and regular, and subservient means; and, *Qui adimit medium, destruit finem*. We must not, for fear of making every pastor a pope, deny him to be a pastor. Grant him to be a pastor, and thereby you grant unto him pastoral power; and then you grant him authority to cast out, as well as to take in; to have an expulsive, as well as a receptive faculty. Ministers may abuse their authority; so also may magistrates, parents, &c. But is that any ground to deny them the authority of magistrates and parents? If they be not fit to be trusted with the pastoral office, let them not be pastors at all. If they be fit to be pastors, let them be complete pastors. An incomplete pastor is *terminus diminuens*. No scripture, nor sound reason, doth give any warrant for making men but half-bishops, half-pastors and presbyters. I say again, that an archbishop is but an eminent presbyter; as Peter among the apostles, or as the foreman of a jury. The rest of the apostles are complete apostles, as well as Peter, and have equal commission and authority: the rest of the jury are jurors, as well as the foreman, and are equal judges of the fact. True it is, that among apostles and pastors, who are equal as to office and commission, there may be much inequality as to gifts and graces, and the faithful and wise execution of their office: as all parents have alike authority over their children; but all parents are not alike wise, and good, and officious in their places: unto some God giveth ten talents, unto some five, unto some two, unto all at least one; and it is God's will, that he who is best be best esteemed, and that the less wise do learn of the more wise; that the younger submit themselves unto the

elder; yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; 1 Pet. v. 5. Ministers cannot always be executing their office; as, praying, preaching, baptizing, &c. and there may be some parts and branches of the office, which they may never be called to exercise; as, ordination, authoritative excommunication, and absolution. And no authority is given, but for use and edification; and where there is no use of it, or where it cannot be used without making things worse, and doing more hurt than good, it is to be forborne. But it is fit that ministers be ministers, and pastors and bishops be pastors and bishops, and be invested and entrusted with complete pastoral and episcopal power; and that they do use and exercise every branch and part of their office and authority, when, and so often as sanctified conscience and sound prudence and discretion shall say it is convenient, and they cannot forbear to do it without manifest damage and inconvenience: as it is convenient a captain have his sword, though he may not be put to use it in fight against any; and it is fit, that a schoolmaster have power to use his ferula, and moderately to correct untoward and unruly scholars; though, possibly, he may have none such, and so never be put to use the rod.

29. This being so, I must needs grant, that if it be convenient and adviseable, that the whole tribe of ministers, who are of the order of presbyters, be accounted lord-bishops, lord-presbyters, lord-pastors, and lord-preachers, and have equal right to be lords and statesmen in parliament, and supreme judges in all causes and questions, both political and ecclesiastical, which shall come before that honourable assembly, then I yield the cause; my position is erroneous, and I do ill to say, it is inconvenient, that clergymen be lords and statesmen in parliament. But, if it be inconvenient, and against sound prudence, to honour (or rather burden) the whole tribe of ministers, and right ordained pastors and presbyters, with these honours, preferments, greatness, and authority; then I see not but my position will hold sound and good: for, if all 'appearance of evil' is to be avoided, then all appearance of partiality is to be avoided, and of that partiality which hath conjoined with it many snares, and which a wise man is bound to avoid, as distractions, precipices, and burdens. I have no envious partiality against archbishops and bishops; I am neither against the name, nor the office and thing imported by the name. Every pastor, unto whom God doth give more than ordinary gifts and graces, is (in my judgment) a real archbishop in God's church, *jure divino*, a chief pastor and eminent prelate in God's church above his fellows: of which rank I do estimate the famous Usher, Augustine, Athanasius, Calvin, Zanchy, Bradford, Davenant, Cranmer, Dod, Baynes, Hildersham, Preston, Sibbs, Gataker, Joseph Hall, Babington, Joseph Alleine, and many more, both ancient and modern divines, all 'burning and shining lights' in God's church, more eminent than vulgar divines. I think myself not worthy to carry their books after them. I think they better deserve the title of 'Lord,' than many a temporal carnal lord that is honoured with that name. The fifth commandment bindeth me to honour my father and my mother; and my catechism teacheth me, that by father and mother are to be understood all superiors in office, age, and gifts. Good Obadiah says to Elijah, 'Art thou that my lord Elijah?' 1 Kings xviii. 8. The truth is, our ordinary word 'Master,' or 'Sir,' which we give to almost all, importeth the same with the title 'Lord;' it being, in Greek, *kurios* and *kurie*, and, in Latin, *dominus* and *domine*; save that custom (which is the great arbiter of speech) doth appropriate this title 'Lord' to the temporal nobility. If we must 'give honour to whom honour is due,' and honour all whom God doth honour, (or else we are disobedient to God's word, and unholy;) then both clergymen and laymen, magistrates, pastors, parents, and private Christians are to be honoured with decent and seemly honour, without denying them what all wise and peaceable Christians account to be their due, and to be safe and decent to be given to them; or giving them more, out of flattery and baseness, having men's persons in admiration, because of advantage. See Job xxxii. 22; Jude 16.

30. But now it is not the custom with us, nor with the churches of Christ and Christian people, (and custom, in this case, creates a law, 1 Cor. xi. 16,) to give the title 'Lord' to the parish-bishops and presbyters, though never so eminent; and it is but meet, that according to the use of all nations, and the Scripture itself, a difference be made between

the temporal nobility, and the clergy. And why it should be given to a popish bishop, merely because a bishop, such as Bonner, Gardiner, and many of the popes, and cardinals, who had been wretched men; or to a Ridley, a Hooper, a Davenant, rather than to a Bradford, a Philpot, a Dod, a Joseph Allein, I know not. If the honour be due to the office, then all ministers must be counted lord-bishops and lord-pastors, I am clear in that; Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1. This I know will not please our lord-archbishops and bishops, and those whose zeal upholds them. All that I contend for is, that all that be equal in office, be equal in honour, and no one partially preferred; no one assume to himself carnal state, and superiority over his brethren. Jam. iii. 5. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth! This advancing of equals above their equals, and brethren above their brethren, and pastors above pastors, in God's church, is not good.

31. I do not impugn bare names and titles, but my aim is to impugn factious partiality, and pride in clergymen, occasioned by the over-indulgence of princes, and supreme magistrates. It is simplicity, humility, and sincerity in bishops, which I contend for. Either the archbishops and bishops must come down, and abate of their honour, their lordliness, their principalities, and worldly state, and be upon even ground with the rest of their brethren, who have as good insides as they, and are as real bishops and overseers of souls as they, and have equal office, authority, and commission with them, (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Joh. xx. 23.) and will pass for as much at death and judgment as they; or else the rest of their brethren, who are equal in office and merits to them, must be heightened and advanced, and made to be upon even ground with them. This latter is not adviseable, nor will be granted; it is not fit it should: the other is both feasible and convenient. It will make our archbishops, and bishops, to be no worse men, nor worse archbishops and bishops, if they be but mere and simple bishops of souls; and meddle no more in state-matters, and secular affairs, than needs they must, and will stand with the order, and quality, and greatness of their work.

32. Do you think in good earnest, that church and state will all go to rack and ruin, if our two archbishops, and the diocesan bishops, be not present in parliament, and sit as lords and princes there? Must they have the hearing of every cause, and be supreme judges and magistrates, and political officers under the king? Were it not more becoming you to be among your people, preaching and praying, and visiting the souls and families under your charge, in imitation of the apostles; (Act. xx. Act. vi. 2, 3, 4. 21. 28. 31.) than striving for worldly greatness, and secular precedency? Is not the way to heaven strait enough to you, but you will make it more strait? Cannot traitors and murderers be tried without you? Would it be any disparagement to the best of you all, to be as Peter and Paul; yea, as Jesus Christ himself; rather than like the pope? Do you stand for these worldly honours, and pre-eminences, out of pure zeal for God's glory, and the church's good? Why then do you beat your fellow-servants, and use them more unchristianly than pagans have used Christians? (Act. xxxviii. 20, 21.) and give your votes, that all the pastors in the land be silenced, and put down; for not assenting and consenting to many things, which you yourselves confess to be in their own nature indifferent; all moderate and sound conforming ministers confess to be burdensome and inconvenient; and multitudes of conscientious, and learned, and peaceable dissenting divines and Protestants do say, are flatly unlawful?

33. It is an error to think that episcopacy, and arch-episcopacy, cannot stand, unless bishops and archbishops be made lords, and legislators, and princes in parliament; and have worldly grandeur, authority, and greatness, to support the simple office of prelacy and episcopacy in God's church. These worldly additions, and cumulations of secular office and honour, are things extrinsical to right and simple prelacy and episcopacy. Right and simple prelacy and episcopacy do not stand by the will and donation of princes, but by a superior law; even by divine and unchangeable right, by the word of God, and by the law and light of nature, and the intrinsic goodness, and expediency of the thing. For, if there were no Christian magistracy or parliament, yet would there be prelacy and episcopacy in God's church. It is of the law of nature, that the best be best esteemed, and that vulgar pastors and divines, that have but one or two talents of ministerial and

episcopal learning, holiness, wisdom, and usefulness, give place to those who are more eminent, and whose graces and virtues do render them singularly excellent, above their brethren, though they have but one and the same commission and authority. Authority is one thing, spiritual and mental qualifications and endowments are another thing. Now, we see how that God himself doth difference among the pastors, by conferring on some extraordinary abilities and qualifications, and thereby notifying to all the churches the singular reverence and esteem, which he would have such eximious persons to have from all the churches; as Daniel was preferred above the presidents, (Dan. vi. 3.) and Esther, and her maids, above the women; Esther ii. 9.

34. Every man naturally hath a pope in his belly, is the common saying: pride is an inborn sin. It is excessive pride in the pope, to think himself more than a man; and it is excessive pride in an infant, to think himself a grown man; and in pastors, that are but of infant understandings, to think themselves equal with such as be of grown, and large, and singular eminent understandings.

Simple prelacy among divines is a divine thing. Every eminent, holy, and wise presbyter is a real archbishop in God's church. This he would be, were there no Christian magistracy to uphold him. There is a subjection due from one pastor to another, as from one man to another; 1 Pet. v. 5. As it will not stand with true Christian humility, self denial, and subjection to Christ in all things, that pastors do nominate over pastors, and lord it over their brethren; (1 Pet. v. 3.) so it will not stand with the same Christian graces and duties, for one minister of inferior and smaller parts, gifts, and graces, not to acknowledge the greater gifts and graces of others, whom God hath made more eminent.

There is as great variety of pastors, as there is of men and of saints: some are as eyes, some as hands, some as feet, in God's church. The weakest sincere Christian pastor is a pastor, as truly as the highest and most excellent pastor, and is of use in his place. In this there is no difference between the most eminent archbishop Usher, and the meanest honest parish-minister. But then, as to wisdom, and holiness, and usefulness, there is great difference and inequality; and out of this ariseth natural, simple, divine, and unchangeable prelacy, episcopacy, and archiepiscopacy: which is not a thing pleasing to flesh and blood, and it doth neither favour, nor make against any of the three forms of church-government, called Prelacy, Presbytery, and Independency; further than they do favour, or be against true impartial godliness: of which this divine and simple prelacy among divines is one essential branch. I do not say, it is an appendant or appurtenant of godliness and religion; but is an essential branch. It is of the essence of my religion, that I put a difference, as between a godly and ungodly pastor; so also between a godly pastor, that is almost ungodly, and hath but one talent of godliness; and a godly pastor, who is of the highest rank of godly pastors, and is full of the wisdom, and grace, and joy of the Holy Ghost, and is of extraordinary usefulness and eminency in God's church. We must not, for fear of inclining to the pope's lordliness and supremacy, run into another dangerous extreme, and tempt infants to think they are men, and scholars to think that they are fit to be teachers; and learning disciples, novices, and children, that they are equal in wisdom and knowledge to their parents, masters, and tutors, between whom there is no compare.

35. I make no doubt but there have been holy and eminent men lord-bishops and archbishops, peers in parliament: God forbid that I should think or say otherwise! But either they were no more but mere and simple bishops and archbishops, chosen and singled forth from among their brethren, to be consulted with in matters and cases ecclesiastical, and proper for divines and bishops; or they were more. If the former, and they kept in the rank and station of bishops and divines, for my part, I am not he that shall oppose it. And, if there be any word, in all this disputation, against such use of bishops and divines, *indictum volo*, 'I wish it unsaid.' But, if they were more, and took themselves to be more than simple bishops and pastors in God's church, and to be superior to their brethren in power and authority; if they took themselves to be supreme magistrates and judges, under, and with the king, in the house of lords, and to have jurisdiction and lordship,

proper to magistrates and supreme coercive judges, and to the nobility, peers, and princes, in parliament; this I hold to be *extra*-episcopal; to be a swerving from the simplicity that is in Christ, and an undue prelation of pastors above pastors, and a deformity added to the beauty and lustre of simple episcopacy; and it is a cause of more evil than good: and upon a just computation of all, both conveniencies and inconveniencies, it will be found a truth, that church and state have been both losers; that bishops and archbishops themselves, who have had such external honours, pre-eminences, and authorities, have been losers in their souls by them; and that it had been better for all sides, that they had kept in the station and quality of simple bishops and divines.

36. The archbishops and bishops with us have three ordinations: first, they are ordained presbyters, then they are ordained bishops, then they are ordained archbishops. Now these two last ordinations are rather nullities and corruptions, and do suppose that there is a majority and superiority of power in bishops over presbyters, and in archbishops over bishops; and the next step must be in the pope over all. For to be a bishop and shepherd over all the souls and shepherds which are in England, is a vice of the very same kind with that of the pope's, who says he is Christ's vicar upon earth, and bishop over all the bishops and souls which are in the world; which is to claim and usurp the office of Jesus Christ, and to attempt the doing of that which is absolutely impossible. It is indeed more impossible for one man to be bishop and pastor over all the souls and bishops which are in the world, than it is for one man to be bishop and pastor over all the souls and pastors which are in England. Both are alike simply-impossible, though the one is more impossible than the other. And they do both savour of proud self-ignorance, and gross affectation, and self-seeking; as though one man could be in a thousand places at once, baptizing, preaching, giving the Lord's-supper, visiting the sick, instructing souls, and doing all other the acts and offices of a Scripture-bishop, and spiritual overseer of souls; Acts xx. 28. To the creating of a bishop or archbishop, there needs no more but an election and nomination of him to the place; as is done by the house of commons, when they choose a speaker. His office is no more but to be as the foreman of the quest. If he have not wisdom, holiness, and ministerial worth and usefulness, answerable to his name, he is but an archbishop in name; he is rather a post or cypher, than a man.

37. Also our prelates do take upon them to be ecclesiastical legislators and canon-makers to all the churches, and to all other pastors; and they constitute them a lay-chancellor, and require of all the clergy an oath or solemn promise of canonical obedience to them, and their chancellors. They call their chancellor their vicar in spirituals, and unto him is committed the power of discipline and jurisdiction ecclesiastical over all, both clergy and laity; and the church-cans are his law and rule, which being too crooked for honest men to conform to, he spares not to excommunicate them; and, upon a *Significavit*, made by him into the chancery, out comes an *Excommunicato capiendo*; and the party must either go to prison all his days without bail, or make his composition much to his shame or damage, or both. And excommunications and absolutions in the bishops-court are bought and sold for money; and the worst men are spared and countenanced, whilst the best men are harassed and anathematized, and accursed from Christ and his kingdom.

38. Now the bishops, being conscious to themselves, that this kind of prelacy, and domination, and jurisdiction, is not good and equal, but rather like the pope's supremacy over all, and those, whom the Holy Ghost brands; (Nehem. v. 15;) who ruled over God's people, by their servants; as now the bishops do by their vicars, substitutes, and chancellors: but so did not good Nehemiah, because of the fear of God. They, I say, being sensible hereof, do get to be princes, and lords, and statesmen in parliament, and thereby insinuate themselves with the sovereign, and with such of the nobles and gentry, as love to be flattered and smoothly dealt with; and, by this means, establish to themselves, and to their chancellors, worldly and carnal jurisdiction, and dominate over their brethren, and become the authors of sects and factions, and hinder the holiness, the unity and concord of the churches; and rather than they shall not be lord-bishops, and partial, and factious, and busy-bodies in parliament, church and state must suffer, and the common quiet be en-

dangered. They will not endure to be upon equal ground with their brethren, as wise and good as themselves; as the pope will not abide to be touched in his supremacy.

39. I shall add this one word of caution: Though it be not expedient, that bishops be made magistrates, and pastors trusted with the sword; yet it is fit that magistrates be magistrates, and not cyphers; and that they do not bear the sword in vain; and that they do back the power and authority of the ministry, and countenance and uphold the sacred office, by being 'a terror to evil-doers, and a praise and defence to them that do well.' There ought to be a due temperament of magistracy and ministry, that we might lead a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty. Though the sword is not God's ordinance for the conversion of souls; yet, it is God's ordinance for the punishing of vice, and protection of virtue outwardly; and for the just encouragement of worthy pastors, and the discouragement of the unworthy. Anciently God did lead his people, by the hand of Moses and Aaron: they both made but one hand. And it is a law of universal equity, binding all Christian commonwealths: judges and magistrates shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee throughout thy tribes; and they shall judge thy people with just judgment; Deut. xvi. 18. And as there ought to be a sufficient ministry in every parish; so, also, there ought to be a due proportion and countenance of coercive judges, and revenging magistrates, in cities, towns, and parishes; that the people might have both Law and Gospel; means for their souls, and means for their outward peace and safety, nigh at hand.

It was the custom in England anciently, for the bishop and the sheriff, (who was then called earl of the county, and was supreme magistrate under the king in the county,) to go in circuit all over the county: the one to teach the people religion, and the way of good living, and to visit all the churches; and the other to decide civil causes, and to chastise and correct offenders and offences, and execute revenging wrath upon evil-doers. And, by this means, there was much quiet, and good living, and order in the realm. This course is now antiquated and degenerated into another course, not so profitable and convenient for good order and public quiet; and that is the circuit of judges itinerant, twice each year, through the realm; keeping their assizes at one place only, and making all the county to come thither; and having a judge's sermon, preached at the entrance of the assizes.

Though the church and ministry will stand, if the pastors do their duty; yet, if Christian magistrates do not their duty in their place and calling, they do so far unchristianize themselves: and if they protect the evil, and punish the good, or think that, under pretence of liberty of conscience, men may be allowed to blaspheme God, to teach atheism, infidelity, and soul-destroying doctrines, and act the part of Corah, and his accomplices, against the faithful ministers of Christ, God will make them know one day, that that was not the end, for which he appointed them magistrates; and that they are his ministers, (and are, therefore, called *gods*,) and ought not to bear the sword in vain, and to stand by, and see the church wasted, persecuted, and torn in pieces by violence, heresies, schisms, profaneness, and wickednesses; and they be like Gallio, unconcerned, and care for no such things.

And the truth is, it is no little that the due execution of the magistrates' office doth conduce to the success of the Gospel, and the promoting of the ministry, and of the word and work of God upon men's souls. And therefore, though I dissent from the worthy Davenant in this, that he would have pastors to be magistrates; and I would have pastors to be but mere pastors, and the office of the magistrates to be an office by itself, and trusted with fit persons who are no pastors, and who may intend it, and make it their work: yet, thus far I agree, that it is most convenient and godly, that throughout all the churches, there be in every place an heir of restraint, a revenger to execute wrath upon them that do evil, and to protect the good; that these two standing ordinances of Jesus Christ, and of God the Father by him, may stand and consist together, and walk hand in hand, and mutually support and conserve each other for the glory of God, and the good of church and commonwealth. And this is no *Utopia*, or Platonic idea, or form of a com-

monwealth, which is but a fiction or imagination, no where to be found in this world : but it is obvious and plain to all, and needs not so much any new institution, as a restoration of ancient practice, and a faithful execution of what all sides agree in, consistent with the municipal laws and sanctions of this kingdom.

40. If any shall think I have committed inexpediency, in writing against inexpediency ; and have meddled with a point, that will not abide to be meddled with : when I am convinced of it, I will acknowledge my error. Till then, I will stand upon mine own defence, and plead ' Not guilty.' Almost imprudent is prudent. If any tax me of pragmatism : I answer, It is pragmatism, that I write against ; and I cannot cure the wound, unless I search it to the bottom, and apply to it suitable plaisters. Pragmatical divines cannot content themselves to be divines in common with their brethren ; but they will play the bishops in another's diocese ; and think it well becomes them to immerse themselves in state-affairs. If it shall be said, that hereby I cast aspersion upon the government of the nation, and censure the judgment and esteem of many generations of princes, parliaments, wise men, divines, and counsellors : I answer, that if it be lawful for a Davenant to assert in schools, and publish to the world an erroneous position, *Civilis jurisdictio jure conceditur ecclesiasticis* ; it cannot be thought unlawful by equal judges, for another (though not to be named with Davenant) to assert the contrary, and shew the unsoundness of his opinion, though with all just reverence to so worthy a man. And in doing this, I do but expound the true meaning and extent of the fifth commandment, and assert the rights of the church universal, and the consentient judgment of the best and soundest divines, and the due bounds of magistracy and ministry, and reduce things to primitive order and simplicity ; according to the pattern of Christ and his apostles, and the first and purest times of the church.

The grand Concern of England explained¹; in several Proposals offered to the Consideration of the Parliament.

1. For Payment of publick Debts.
2. For Advancement and Encouragement of Trade.
3. For Raising the Rents of Lands.

In order whereunto, it is proved necessary,

- I. That a Stop be put to further Buildings in and about London.
- II. That the Gentry be obliged to live, some Part of the Year, in the Country.
- III. That Registers be settled in every County.
- IV. That an Act for Naturalizing all foreign Protestants, and Indulging them, and his Majesty's Subjects at Home, in Matters of Conscience, may be passed.
- V. That the Act, prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle, may be repealed.
- VI. That Brandy, Coffee, Mum, Tea, and Chocolate, may be prohibited.
- VII. That the Multitude of Stage-Coaches and Caravans may be suppressed.
- VIII. That no Leather may be exported unmanufactured.
- IX. That a Court of Conscience be settled for Westminster, and all the Suburbs of London; and in every City and Corporation of England.
- X. That the extravagant Habits and Expence of all Persons may be curbed, the excessive Wages of Servants and Handicrafts-men may be reduced, and all foreign Manufactures may be prohibited.
- XI. That it may be made lawful to assign Bills, Bonds, and other Securities; and that a Course be taken, to prevent the Knavery of Bankrupts.
- XII. That the Newcastle-Trade for Coals may be managed by Commissioners; to the Ease of the Subjects, and great Advantage of the Publick.
- XIII. That the Fishing-trade may be vigorously prosecuted, all poor People set at Work to make Fishing-tackle, and be paid out of the Money collected every Year, for the Poor, in the several Parishes in England.

By a Lover of his Country, and Well-wisher to the Prosperity both of the King and Kingdom.

London; printed in the Year 1673.

[Quarto; containing sixty-four pages.]

Proposals humbly offered to the Consideration of the Parliament; &c.

1. For Discharging the publick Debts of the Kingdom.
2. For Encouraging and Advancement of Trade.
3. The Increase of the Rents of Lands.

THE honour, interest, and safety of a kingdom lies in maintaining the grandeur and dignity of their king, and the prerogative of his crown; the which can no way be

¹ Vide Oldys' Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, N^o. 300.

better secured, than by providing him a plentiful revenue wherewith to defray the public expences of the kingdom, encourage and help all his friends and allies, maintain forces for his own, his subjects', and the kingdom's safeguard at home, and a sufficient fleet at sea for the security of trade abroad, and defence of his kingdom against all foreign princes and potentates; and, wherewith also, to discharge such public debts as are justly owing to any person upon valuable consideration.

If the payment of public debts were provided for, the rest would be easily secured, without any great charge to the people; and the king be freed from the necessity of calling for fresh supply every year from his subjects; which now comes very hard, and makes parliaments uneasy to themselves, as well as to those whose representatives they are.

The vast debt contracted by his majesty, when beyond the seas; the great sums he hath, since his happy restoration, given to relieve some of the many poor yet loyal subjects, that served him and his royal father faithfully, and lost their limbs and estates in their service; the great debts he found the kingdom in, to the army and navy, when he came first home; which are all paid off, excepting about one-hundred and fifty-thousand pounds, that hath been under consideration of the parliament; which, if not paid, will be the ruin of many thousands of poor families, who advanced the same for his majesty's service; and it was all employed for bringing him home.

The great charge of the last and this present Dutch war, both which his majesty hath been necessitated unto, for the preservation of the dignity of his person (which they so basely scorned and contemned), the honour of his kingdom, and the interest and security of trade; these, together with the monies expended in the reparation of his ruined houses, re-purchasing his own goods, and others for furnishing his royal palaces, and many other public affairs, have called for frequent and great supplies. Which, howbeit the parliament have thought fit freely to grant, when the king hath desired the same, and passed several acts for poll-money, benevolence-money, subsidies, hearth-money, additional excise, taxes upon the law, poundage upon rents, and land-taxes, yet the public debts are very great; and the reason of it is plainly, because whatever hath been given, (except land-taxes,) was so over-valued in the granting thereof, the grants so uncertain, the collecting so troublesome and chargeable, and the payment so vexatious to the people; that the end of the parliament hath not been answered, the king hath not had the supply intended, nor the subjects the benefit or ease designed; but the quite contrary events have happened.

So that it is humbly conceived, there is nothing can be more for the interest and advantage of the king and kingdom, than for the parliament to examine what the public debts really are, how contracted, and when; and to see where the king has been well or ill used, where persons have made usurious or advantageous contracts, and taken advantage of the king's necessities, to impose ill commodities, and at unreasonable rates, upon him; and there to reduce the debt to such a proportion, as the commodity sold was, at the time of such sale, really worth; and to see where the king has been justly dealt with: which done, and the accounts being brought to balance, and the debt stated and known, then at once to raise so much money as may discharge the whole; and appoint persons to see the money, so to be raised, disposed to that and no other use; allowing them indifferent salaries for their pains, that so they may mind the work, and receive no manner of fees or advantage from the creditor, whereby the public debts may be lessened: for whoever hath trusted the king, had a respect (in setting his price on the commodities sold) to the time he thought he should stay for his money, the uncertainty of ever receiving it, the vast charge he must be at in exchequer-fees, gratuities, &c. whenever he should have obtained the same; insomuch that public debts were and are frequently sold at sixty or seventy pounds *per cent.* And so, what hinders but that (if this business be prudently managed by persons to be intrusted for that purpose) the public debts may be lessened, and the more easily paid? Which done; the subjects may reasonably expect, and hope, for the future, to be at quiet, and freed from the fears they are now under of a parliament's meeting; lest still there should be fresh supplies, for the purposes aforesaid, demanded and given, and no end be known of such gifts: and yet, to his majesty's and the kingdom's great

dishonour, both at home and abroad, the public debts still remain undischarged. And if money for this purpose shall be, by the parliament, thought fit to be given, it is humbly offered and submitted to their consideration, Whether there can be any way in the world found more certain, equal, and easy to raise the same, than by a land-tax? For then they will know what it is they give, when, and how certainly it will come in, and the time when the same will end; and may proportion their contracts and payments accordingly. Besides, a land-tax will be a certain fund for to advance money upon in a short time, at easy interest, wherewith speedily to discharge and pay off those debts, for which now great interest is to be paid.

I know it will be objected, That land is a drug; bears little or no price to be let, or be sold; what rent it is let for, tenants are not able to pay; for to lay taxes upon that would utterly undo the gentry, who have nothing to live upon but their rents. To this I answer, that it is very true, lands let poorly; rents are ill paid, and yield very little, if sold. But let us examine the reasons hereof, and see if some things may not be proposed to remedy those mischiefs, and bring land to its former value; which if we do, then every man will certainly be of opinion, that a land-tax is the best way to raise money, and be glad, on that condition, to have it imposed.

I am of opinion, that gentlemen's being wanting to themselves, is the greatest occasion of the decay of their estates, and lowering of their rents. Now, in order to their bringing them to the same rate and value, if not to a better, than they formerly bore; I humbly propose that these several particulars following, which can only be done by act of parliament, may be enacted as laws. And I shall endeavour to demonstrate the mischiefs we suffer for want of them, and the great advantages we may rationally expect to receive by their being enacted:

1. I propose, that a stop be put to any farther buildings in or about the cities of London and Westminster, borough of Southwark, or in any place within the weekly bills of mortality; the head being already too big for the body: and that a year's value of all houses built upon new foundations may, by the owners of such houses, be paid to the king towards payment of public debts; which would advance above three-hundred-thousand pounds.

2. That all the nobility and gentry of England, who have estates in the country, and are not obliged to attend on his majesty by reason of their offices, be enjoined, with their families, to live where their estates do lie, so many months in each year, as to the wisdom of parliament shall seem meet.

3. That a bill be passed for setting up of registers in every county for registering sales, mortgages, leases for term of years or lives, and all other real securities; and, if possible, all bonds, &c. which work may be done with little charge to the subject, and yet a profit of above fifty-thousand pounds *per annum* arise to the publick.

4. That an act for a general naturalizing of all foreign Protestants be passed, and an assurance of liberty of conscience given to all that shall come over into England, and place themselves and families amongst us: and that the same privilege be given to his majesty's subjects at home.

5. That the act for prohibition of the importation of Irish cattle be repealed, and a trade between the two kingdoms established; whereby his majesty's revenue of customs would be advanced above eighty-thousand pounds *per annum*.

6. That brandy and mum, coffee and tea, be prohibited, and coffee-houses suppressed; which may be done without any diminution of his majesty's revenue of excise.

7. That the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans now travelling upon the roads, be all or most of them suppressed; especially those within forty or fifty miles of London, where they are no way necessary, and yet most numerous and mischievous; and that a due regulation be made of such as shall be thought fit to be continued. Which done, his majesty's excise would be worth above thirty-thousand pounds *per annum* more than it now is, and the post-office by six-thousand pounds *per annum*.

8. That the act for transportation of leather unmanufactured, be repealed; or so far discountenanced at least, that it be not renewed when the seven years are expired.

9. That a court, in the nature of a Court of Request in London, be established for Westminster, Southwark, and all parts within the weekly bills of mortality, if possible, and in every city and town corporate in England; to determine differences between poor people, for small debts, words, or trespasses; that so they may not be undone by law-suits.

10. That a bound be put to the extravagant habits and expences of all sorts of persons, that servants and handicraft-tradesmen's excessive wages may be reduced; and that no foreign manufactures, except from Ireland, be suffered to be worn in England; but that the importation and exposing of them knowingly to sale be both made felony.

11. That it be made lawful to assign bills, bonds, and other securities; and the frauds of men breaking, with design to enrich themselves out of their creditors' estates, may be prevented.

12. That the Newcastle-trade for coals may be managed by commissioners for his majesty; which would be a great advantage to the subjects, and raise his majesty above three-hundred-thousand pounds *per annum*.

13. That the fishing-trade be encouraged, all poor set at work to provide tackle for that use, and be paid out of the money collected yearly in every parish throughout England for relief of the poor; which would be of vast advantage to the publick.

I.

In order to the evincing of the necessity of prohibiting any further buildings, in and about London and Westminster, and of the gentry's being confined to live, some part of the year, upon their estates in the country; I desire every serious considerate person, that knew London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, forty or fifty years ago, (when England was far richer, and more populous, than now it is,) to tell me, whether by additional buildings upon new foundations, the said cities, and suburbs, since that time, are not become at least a third part bigger than they were; and whether, in those days, they were not thought, and found large enough, to give a due reception to all persons that were fit, or had occasion to resort thither; whereupon all further buildings, on new foundations, even in those days, were prohibited? Nevertheless, above thirty-thousand houses, great and small, have been since built; the consequences whereof may be worthy of our consideration. These houses are all inhabited: considering then what multitudes of whole families, formerly dwelling in, and about the said cities, were cut off by the two last dreadful plagues,² as also by the war abroad and at home, by land and by sea, and how many have transported themselves, or been transported, into our foreign plantations: it must naturally follow, that those who inhabit these new houses, and many of the old ones, must be persons coming out of the country; which makes so many inhabitants the less there, where they are most needful and wanting. For the occasion of the rents of lands falling every year, arises not so much from lands growing worse, as because of the want of tenants, with good stocks, to manage the farms they take. And this mischief hath been, and is in great measure occasioned, by these additional buildings: for, had they not been erected, those who inhabit them, would have been in the country, living an industrious and laborious life, improving their stocks, and thereby advantaging gentlemen's lands, and the trade of the nation. But now, if a man get two or three-hundred pounds in his pocket, up he comes to London, takes a house, pays a fine, lays out the rest of his money in furnishing it for lodgers, thereby promising himself a lazy life, free from care; or else he sets up an ale-house or brandy-house, both tending to the debauching and destroying of youth; when, had there not been these buildings to draw them hither and give shelter, then those men, with three or four-hundred pounds a-piece stocks, employed in the country, might have made each of them a good tenant, for a farm of one or two-

² [In 1625 and 1665.]

hundred pounds, *per annum*; which farms, by their removing to London, are thrown into the landlords' hands; so that, by a moderate calculation, it is judged, that there are sixty-thousand families at least, now in and about London, more than would or could conveniently have been, if these houses had not been built; which families, if they had continued in the country, would have kept up the value of lands, which fall only for want of tenants. If therefore, more buildings should be hereafter erected, more mischiefs, in all probability, will be done of this kind to the country: and really, gentlemen may thank themselves for the prejudice they receive by these means, they having given the example, and been the occasion thereof. For they, never thinking their estates would have an end, weary of an honest and commendable country-life, come up to London to see fashions, fall into ill company, learn how to run out of their estates in a short time, by extravagant habits, gaming, drinking, and other debaucheries, destructive to their healths, as much as estates: as if to have lived in the country, upon their own estates, and to have taken care of and managed them, and kept a handsome retinue of servants and a good house of hospitality, and to have taken off their tenants' provisions for their family-expences, in part of their rents; relieving and setting the poor at work, and encouragement of art, industry, and labour; were not so commendable in them, or so much for their advantage and honour, as to live idly in London, pursuing their lustful pleasures; paying (whilst their own houses stand empty, and go to ruin for want of being inhabited,) more for their lodgings, than would maintain their families handsomely in the country, and increase the consumption of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom; than which nothing can conduce more to the improvement of land.

I would desire to know of any sober person, how far the many gentlemen who have thus foolishly and idly run themselves out of their estates, have done good with the same? Who is the better for it? Is the country where their estates lie, or their tenants that rent them? or the poor inhabitants about them? No, not at all; but all the worse, and undone thereby: for when these persons come first to London, they bring up all the money they can get in specie; and no sooner do their rents grow due in the country, but they, or their bailiffs or stewards, rack the poor tenants for the same, gather in all that they can get, and sue or distrain, where money is not presently to be had; taking away tenants' cattle, selling them for half their worth, and thereby ruin, not only idle persons or ill husbands, that have run out of their stocks, but also many industrious men and great husbands, who have stock and goods enough, if sold, wherewith to answer the rent; and the want of a vent for the product of their farms, is the only reason why they could not raise present money for their landlords. How many persons, by these means, have been undone; forced to leave their farms, which thereby have been thrown into their owners' hands; who have been forced both to abate rents, and keep their farms a year or two, without making any thing of them, before they could dispose of them again? And I know none the better for these things, but the gentry's and nobility's bailiffs and stewards; who being intrusted to let and set,³ receive rents, and manage their masters' estates, do (by their neglecting to call them to account, or looking after, and disposing their own affairs,) grow vastly rich; and frequently, in trustees' names, become purchasers of their masters' estates; whilst they in the mean time, by means as aforesaid, become greatly impoverished. The rather; for that frequently, when they receive their masters' rents, they pretend the tenants have them in their hands, and put their masters, thereby, under necessity of borrowing money for their present supplies; which when they have done, they (being employed to procure the same) do frequently furnish them with their own money; making them pay brokerage, procuration, and continuation-money, and interest for the same, which helps forward their ruin.

In short, these new buildings are advantageous to none but to the owners of the ground on which they are built; who have raised their wonted rents, from a hundred pounds, to

³ [Set in Scotland is synonymous with let in England: as in Reg. Maj. 'He quha lettis or sets the thing for hyre, to the use of ane other man, sould deliver to him the samine thing,' &c. See Jamieson's Etymol. Dict.]

five or six-hundred pounds *per annum*, besides the improvements in reversion ; or to the builders, who by slight buildings on long leases, make ten or twelve pounds *per cent.* of their monies. But the advantage of these persons being the country's great prejudice, therefore, in my poor opinion, it seems agreeable to reason, that they ought to help to pay the public debts of the kingdom ; and the country, who are hurt by them, should be eased. And for them to pay one year, or a year and half's improved rent to the king, would not be much ; considering the greatness of the improvement they have, and are like to make. So that admitting that there are thirty-thousand houses, built upon new foundations as aforesaid, and that each of those houses, one with another, should pay but ten pounds *per ann.* rent, and the king should have but one year's rent, from each house ; the same would amount unto above three-hundred-thousand pounds, which would go a great way in the discharging the public debts : but one year's rent, from each of these houses, it is conceived, would come to above five-hundred-thousand pounds ; and the forcing them that have built contrary to the statute, to pay such a fine, would deter others from building for the future, of which there can be no need ; considering that there are above three-thousand brave houses, which, for the honour of the nation, are at great charge (to the ruin of the builders) rebuilt, stand empty within London walls ; and are like so to do, by reason that the trade is drawn out of the city, to the new erected buildings in the suburbs, where the inhabitants have these advantages following :

II.

1. They have houses at easier rates, because built at lesser charge, than those in the city ; which were built when all materials were very scarce and dear, and workmen's wages extremely high.

2. They are certain, in most places, to raise their rents, by letting lodgings ; especially, near the inns of court, Whitehall, and Westminster, the gentry coveting to lodge thereabouts ; and they have not only lodgings, but the advantage of their customer also, for such commodities as they sell and their lodgers want : which hinders the trade of the city, where little or no benefit at all is made by lodgings.

3. They are not liable to a third penny of charges for taxes and public duties, that they are who live within the city ; whereby they can afford to sell at a lower rate, than in London they can do. All which inevitably tends to destruction of the trade, within the walls.

III.

The third thing proposed is A Bill of Registers ; that in every county a register may be settled, to register all bills of sale, judgments, statutes, recognisances, bonds, mortgages, leases, and conveyances of land ; than which nothing can be of greater advantage to gentlemen, security to purchasers, or benefit to the publick, without hurt to any ; unless the professors of the law, or such who intend and design to defraud purchasers.

Those, therefore, that shall oppose so excellent and beneficial an act as this, must be either, first, such who live by the practice of the law ; or, secondly, such as understand not their own interest ; or, thirdly, such as design to live by defrauding others. The opposition arising from the practisers of the law, is not so much from their conviction, that the thing in itself is not good and beneficial to the publick, as from self-interest, which too much governs all sorts of men in this age ; men being apt to prefer private advantage before a general good. I confess, a register may prove a great hindrance to those of that profession : for, in a short time, it would prevent the multitude of suits, that yearly arise between his majesty's subjects, occasioned by the cheats that are committed for want of such a registry as is proposed ; and, perhaps, would save the subjects, at least, two or three hundred-thousand pounds *per annum*, which now are spent in those suits ; which, if prevented, and the money saved to the people, would be employed in trade, or spent upon the manufactures and provisions of the kingdom : and so the number of attornies would not increase, as of late they have done ; there being about six-thousand of them besides solicitors, who live scattered about the country ; most of whom could not subsist, but by making it their whole study and business to promote suits and controversies, and encour-

rage quarrelsome persons to bring actions against their neighbours for small petty trespasses, or a frivolous, hasty, passionate word or two: those persons of that employment taking advantage thereby of enriching themselves by impoverishing the subjects; whereas, were it not for them, such differences might happily be composed in a friendly and amicable way.

The second sort, that I presume may oppose this act, are men not sensible of their own interest and advantage, nor of that of the publick: for, if a register were kept of all sales, leases for years or lives, mortgages, judgments, statutes, recognizances, and of all other real securities, that will or can lay hold on lands, so that in every county, where any gentleman's estate lieth; a man may know, by the register, what estate he hath in that county, and what incumbrances are upon it. Therefore, if it were declared by law, that no incumbrance shall be good, but such as, if made or entered into before the act for settling registers be passed, shall be registered within one year after the passing thereof; or, if made or entered into after the passing the said act, shall be registered within one month or two, after such conveyances or securities are entered into or made, or otherwise be void; it would highly be for the advantage of all gentlemen, that either have or may have land to sell, or would borrow money upon mortgages. For then they shall not need to be beholden unto those men, that make it their trades to dispose of gentlemen's money, to help gentlemen to purchasers for their lands, or to take up money upon securities, whom now they are forced to make use of, and pay great sums for brokerage, procuration, and continuation-money. Whereupon I desire every gentleman to consider, when he comes to London, and wants money, how difficult a thing he finds it to supply himself therewith, though he offer good land-security. What begging, intreating, running from place to place? What expences is he put to? And when all is done, let him consider whether he can be accommodated without city-security, which runs him into further obligations and expences to procure; and if he does get such, whether he be ever the less constrained to pay three, four, or five *per cent.* for procuring, and sometimes, *viis & modis*, ten *per cent.* for what he borrows. And then, it being lent but for a year, the procurers thereof, and their emissaries, being wont to contrive which way to make their further advantage of the borrowers, do commonly, at the nine months' end, send them word, that the persons, whose money they borrowed, have great occasions for the same, and are forced to call it in, and must have it when due: but, withal, they usually advise them not to be troubled, or take any care; for, if they cannot raise the money themselves, they will furnish them elsewhere, having the like consideration for their pains as before: the which these gentlemen are forced to agree unto, because, perhaps, they know not elsewhere to have it. And when they have thus done, then they go to the persons whose money they had lent to these gentlemen the year before, and tell them, that the gentlemen that borrowed the same desire to pay it in, when it shall be due; who, finding and believing their security good, are loth to receive it, never having given any direction to call it in, nor knowing how better to dispose thereof, when they receive the same: whereupon, to please them also, they inform them, that other good security is ready for them, so that the money shall not lie dead; and so they get the advantage of the gentleman that had the money, by procuring other sums for them in lieu thereof, and of the persons to whom they lend the money so called in: insomuch that, by frequent shifting the loan-money from one hand to another, they sometimes receive to themselves, from the persons borrowing, as much as the principal sum lent amounted to, for procuration, brokerage, and continuation: whereby the borrowers at last are brought to sell their estates, and being reduced to such necessities by the subtleties of these persons, are forced to be beholden to them to procure purchasers; which when they perceive, they usually play their game as followeth.—The seller is by them persuaded that they can get no purchaser, but such as doth object against their title or their persons, using many frivolous delays, till they drive them to such distress, that they must sell at any rate. And then their living remote in the country, or being under protections, as parliament-men or courtiers; or their estates lying far from London, or the uncertainty of what incumbrances may be thereupon, are objections which

they raise; pretending that all men they propose their estates unto (upon these, or such-like accounts) are afraid to deal with them, unless such as wait for good bargains, and will not purchase, except they can buy below the market-price. By which means they so contrive the matter with the venders, that they force them to sell that for thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen years purchase, which really is worth twenty: and out of that contract, their manner is to bargain for a good gratuity for themselves; although they at the same time have agreed with the purchaser that is to have the land, for one or two years purchase more than they are to pay to the sellers. And, the better to manage their designs, the buyers are concealed, and the land-brokers and jobbers of land find other persons to personate the purchaser; so that the vender is never suffered to know or see them, till the writings be drawn: wherein the considerations are frequently expressed to be a year or two's purchase more, than the vender is to receive for the same; which when they question the reason of, they are informed, that it is done only to enable the purchasers to demand better prices, when they sell the same, and to keep up the reputed value thereof.— Thus do they enrich themselves, by imposing upon gentlemen in extremity, through an artificial debasing the value of their estates, exacting great gratuities from the purchasers also. This is the common practice of your land-brokers and jobbers, and their confederates. But if registers were settled, and all incumbrances registered, so that men might be secure; no dormant securities, after they have lent their money upon mortgages, or purchased for valuable considerations, could be started up to defeat them of their interests: and then, gentlemen that have money lying dead by them, would be as glad to lend it, at easy rates, to honest gentlemen upon good security, as those that want it would be glad to be supplied therewith; and lands, undoubtedly, would come to be worth, as formerly, twenty years purchase, if men could but be secured in their titles. So that all persons, that either have, or suppose they ever may have, any estates to sell, or money to borrow, understand not their own interest, if they oppose the settling of the registers proposed.

The last sort of people, that I presume may be aggrieved at this registry, are such who have lived high, and spent their estates extravagantly; and, perhaps, entered into judgments, statutes, and recognisances to double the value thereof; and have mortgaged their lands over and over, and then get protections, whereby they keep off suits; or abscond themselves, so that they cannot be found by their creditors, and are wont thereby to keep their estates in possession; and can no way for the future live, but by doing further acts of dishonesty; which, whilst their estates remain in their possession, they have opportunity to do: such unrighteous actions will for the future be prevented, and the present designs of this nature be defeated, if registers be settled; so that such persons are concerned to oppose the same. But I hope such creatures as these are, and their designs, will be easily seen through, and have little respect given them by parliament.

In short, were the registry, as desired, settled, and the profit arising thereby brought into the Exchequer, the work may be done; good allowances appointed for those that shall be employed therein, and but a small sum would be imposed upon the subjects for registering their claim; and yet, by computation, at least fifty-thousand pounds *per annum* be brought into the treasury; which would be an additional help towards payment of the public debts.

IV.

The fourth thing proposed is, That an act be passed for a general naturalization of all foreign Protestants, and for granting liberty of conscience to such of them as shall come over and inhabit amongst us; and that the like liberty be given to his majesty's subjects at home. There is nothing so much wanting in England as people; and of all sorts of people, the industrious and laborious sort, and handicraft-men, are wanted to till and improve our land, and help to manufacture the staple commodities of the kingdom; which would add greatly to the riches thereof.

The two last great plagues, (the civil wars at home, and the several wars with Holland, Spain, and France,) have destroyed several hundred-thousands of men, which lived amongst us: besides, vast numbers have transported themselves, or been transported into

Ireland, and other our foreign plantations; who when they were living amongst us did eat our provisions, wore off our manufactures, employed themselves in some calling or other, beneficial to the nation; the want of which calls for a supply of people from some place or other: and it is, in my judgment, worthy our observation, that the men thus lost from amongst us, are of greater consideration, and the loss more mischievous to the kingdom, than merely the death or removal of so many persons; considering that they were men in the prime of their years, in perfect strength; such, who had they not died, or been killed, or removed, might every year have begotten children, and thereby increased the world; so that three times the number of children might have been better spared than they. For instance: Say there be but one-hundred-thousand men, by these means, gone from amongst us; and, instead of them, three-hundred-thousand children had been taken away, and the men left, it would have been much better: for they in two years and a half, or three years time, might have gotten so many children again; but the men dying, or being gone, and the children living, it may be ten or twenty years before they come to marry and beget children. And, notwithstanding the great mischief this nation hath sustained by the loss of these men, yet so inconsiderate are the inhabitants thereof, concerning their own interest, (which, if possible, is to have the kingdom full of people,) that they are taking up another way to prevent the peopling thereof for the future; there being, almost all over England, a spirit of madness running abroad, and possessing men against marrying; rather choosing to have mistresses, by whom very few ever have any children: and many married women, by their lewd conversations, prevent the bringing forth many children, which otherwise they might have had. These humours and practices, if continued, will prove so mischievous, that unless foreigners come in amongst us, in few years there will not be people to manure our lands, eat our provisions, wear our manufactures, or manufacture the staple commodities that are of the growth of the kingdom; without which, it is no wonder if lands yield little rent, or sell not for above fourteen or fifteen years purchase. And if foreigners must come over, or our estates here grow worse, there must then encouragement be given them so to do; else they will think themselves well seated where they are; following their trades, increasing their estates, enjoying all the liberties and privileges of free-born subjects, know how, and have liberty and encouragement, to improve their estates; and when they have got them, can keep them; therefore will never come themselves, nor bring over their families or estates amongst us here, to be accounted of as aliens or strangers, such as may not purchase estates amongst us; and, if they do, shall not enjoy the same, nor their children after them.

That sort of people which we most want are such, who, though they would come over, and dwell amongst us, yet cannot spare fifty or sixty pounds out of their stock to procure themselves naturalized by act of parliament; especially if they bring over wife and children with them; which would be more advantageous for us, than for them to come over alone. Or, if they should spare money to naturalize themselves; yet, perhaps, they may not have so much as to pay for the naturalizing of their wives and children; who, as our laws are, cannot be permitted to inherit what their fathers purchase, unless they be naturalized also: so that an act for a general naturalization is absolutely necessary, if we will be supplied with people from foreign parts. But the passing such an act alone will not be sufficient to encourage foreigners to come and dwell amongst us: there must be liberty of conscience also granted unto them; and they must be assured that they shall not be imprisoned, banished, or have their estates seized, and taken from them, only for differing from the church of England, in the way of their discipline; whilst they agree in the fundamentals of religion, live peaceably under the civil government, and disturb not the government of the church established. For they, having such liberty abroad where they are, will not, without assurance of the same here, be induced to come amongst us. How many thousands have left England, and gone to seek shelter in foreign parts, for the persecution they were under, for their consciences; who otherwise, with their families, would have continued amongst us? How many have been forced to leave their trades, by being kept in prison; and having their goods and estates taken from them? How many, for fear of

being undone, not knowing, but that as soon as their goods come into their shops, they may be seized, for their having been at conventicles ; have left their trades, drawn off their stocks, and keep up their money ; not knowing how soon they may have occasion to make use of it, in the time of their distresses, which, otherwise, would have been employed in trade, to the benefit of the kingdom ? How many thousands of farmers have been necessitated to leave their farms, and come to dwell in London, or to live obscurely in the country ; for fear, lest, when they should have employed their stocks, plowed and sowed their land, reaped their corn, and stocked their pasture-land, all should be taken from them ; and they imprisoned, and forced from their families, for their religion ? Are not these great mischiefs to the kingdom, and great reasons of the decay of trade ; and of gentlemen, their wanting tenants for their land ? A thing so generally complained of, all over England, that men are not suffered to live as they would do quietly, and employ and improve their stocks, as they might do, to the advantage of trade, and the kingdom in general ; which, if they were permitted, would occasion the consumption of more of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom, employ more poor people at work, and thereby improve the rent of lands ; and would send many of the gentry, and farmers, who left the country for the reasons aforesaid, and now live obscure in London, and some other places, back to their country-houses, or to their farms again : it would remove their fears, quiet their minds, and cause their purses again to be opened ; and every one would be putting himself upon some way of improving his estate, and not live upon the main stock, as now they are forced to do. It were greatly to be wished, that there were more love and charity amongst us ; and that all men would consider seriously what they do, when they take upon themselves thus to impose their own principles upon all others, as such that are only right, and condemn all others, as erroneous : this is to magnify themselves as infallible, and despise all others.

Upon all these reasons, I humbly submit to judgment, whether an act for a general naturalization, and liberty of conscience, be not absolutely necessary at this time ; and whether the passing thereof may not be of great advantage to the kingdom ; since it would increase trade, promote a vast consumption of the manufactures and provisions of the kingdom ; make us more industrious, employ more of our poor, increase his majesty's revenue of customs, and bring our lands to let for greater rents, and to sell more years purchase than ever heretofore they would have done.

V.

The fifth thing proposed is, That the act for prohibition of the importation of foreign cattle, (so far as it relates to Ireland,) and Westphalia hams, may be repealed.

This act hath no way answered the end designed by the passing thereof, but on the contrary proved,

First, Very prejudicial to his majesty in his revenue of customs.

Secondly, To all or most of the land-owners in England.

Thirdly, To the navigation and trade of the kingdoms.

First, To his majesty : for, before this act passed, there were so many great cattle, and sheep, imported from Ireland, as (computing the custom paid for them, and for the other commodities, exported out of England, into Ireland, in lieu of them,) amounted yearly to eighty-thousand pounds ; besides the customs of all Norway, Spanish, and Westphalia hams ; which sum the king loseth every year, and the kingdom, to their vast prejudice, have lost that trade.

Secondly, To land-owners this prohibition must necessarily be a great prejudice, if it be considered,

1. That the breeding-lands of England are not able to raise a sufficient stock for the feeding ; six months feeding being as much as four years breeding.

2. That by reason of the scarcity of such stock, the breeders impose a greater price on lean cattle, than they will yield, when fatted ; whereby feeding-land becomes worth little or nothing.

3. That, for want of Irish cattle, the victualling, both for home-consumption and fo-

reign trade, and naval provisions, most of it is transferred from England into Ireland; which is a great prejudice to the consumption in England: so that lean cattle, though they be dearer, because of the scarcity of them; yet fatted cattle are cheaper, for want of the consumption we formerly had. The consequence whereof is, that the ends of the prohibition are not answered, rents of lands are not raised; but on the contrary, feeding-lands must and do fall, for want of a cheap stock; and our former consumption and breeding-lands, through the decay of trade, which this prohibition hath occasioned.

Thirdly, This prohibition is prejudicial to trade and navigation.

1. Because those foreigners, who formerly victualled here, do victual themselves in Ireland.

2. And they have their provisions for the fourth part of what we pay for ours; whereby they have a great advantage in point of trade, and can sail cheaper than we; which forceth the English to victual there also.

3. All Irish cattle, which formerly came unto England, and for which they carried out no money, but took of our manufactures in return, are carried to other places beyond sea; and from thence fetch the commodities, wherewith we, before the prohibition, supplied them. So that the traders in Lancashire, Cheshire, and other northern parts where the breeding-lands lie, their loss is greater for want of a consumption of the manufactures of those countries, which formerly were sent into Ireland, than the advantage, they receive by advancing the price of lean cattle, doth amount unto.

4. It hath forced the Irish for to lessen their herds of cattle, and increase their breed of sheep; having gotten of our largest and best breeders: so that now they have vast flocks, and prodigious quantities of wool, besides hides and tallow; which proves mischievous to England, three ways:

1. By their sending wool beyond sea, unmanufactured, (which, notwithstanding the prohibition, every day they do,) which being manufactured by foreigners, they grow rich thereby; whilst our poor, in England, starve for want of the work they had, when they were employed in manufacturing for a foreign consumption.

2. By sending their hides, tallow, and wool, in great quantities into England; which, for want of a consumption here, bring down the price of our own growth.

3. By setting up the woollen manufactures in Ireland; where having the wool, land, and all provisions, cheaper than in England, they must necessarily have their workmen cheaper; and if so, they will be able to make enough, not only for their own use, but to supply foreigners also, with that which England used to supply them with heretofore, which, in a short time, if not prevented, will undermine the staple, and most advantageous trade of this kingdom. It is the interest of England, being the seat of government, to maintain a pre-eminence in the trade, and to see that the manufactures thereof be preserved entire within itself: otherwise, by how much the more Ireland is improved, by so much the more, England will be impaired therein. For they, working cheaper, lying nearer foreign markets, and their freight being less, do what we can, will undersell us, wherever they come; whereby our manufactures will be destroyed, and manufacturers, with their families, be ruined.

It is observable, 1. That the trade with Ireland kept three or four-hundred ships, in full employ; which were paid by the Irish freighters there, and occasioned the breeding many seamen yearly; but now all those ships are laid aside, the breed of seamen neglected, and that trade managed in foreign bottoms.

2. That the cattle and sheep formerly imported, by computation, amounted unto a million of money, *per annum*.

3. That they carried no money out of England; but the effect of their cattle was all laid out in our manufactures, or other commodities, imported into England, and from thence sent to Ireland; and the king had a custom paid both upon the importation and exportation, and also for every head of cattle brought over.

The Irish, being now prohibited this trade, are necessitated to send all their victuals to foreign parts, where they sell them for more than we paid for them, and buy whatever

they want cheaper than they had them from us; by which means they will be concerned to take no commodities from England.

Nor can they trade with us, if they would; because they have no way to pay for what they buy, unless they bring over money in specie, (to the mischief of that kingdom,) or by bills of exchange, which cannot be had under fifteen, or sixteen, *per cent.* which is double the profit gotten by those that trade with them. That exchange of monies thence is very high, gentlemen, whose estates are returned over, do find; and by reason thereof are forced to retrench a sixth part of their expences here; which is a further lessening to the consumption of the manufactures and provisions of this kingdom, and of trade with them, which is further dangerous: for, if we send goods, they having a new trade to foreign parts, we must send our stocks thither; so that, if any loss happen, it is the English that undergo it.

Ireland's being peopled from England was at first a hurt to us, because it lessened the consumption of our provisions here. But to prohibit them trade with us is ten times worse: for that not only takes off the consumption they used to make of our manufactures, but destroys all those families in England, that used to be employed for their supply: so that they can neither spend of the provisions nor manufactures of this kingdom, as formerly they did. And, besides these handicraftsmen, there are many eminent trades in London, as mercers, milliners, haberdashers, &c. suffer greatly; for, when fashions were out here, they used to send them into Ireland, in return for their cattle, and they went off as new there. For want of which utterance, many of those tradesmen, by reason of the often changing of fashions amongst us, have been, and are daily undone.

There is one other high inconveniency like to fall upon England, by this prohibition, which hath put Ireland upon industry. For some part of Ireland, lying nearer to France, Italy, and Spain, than England doth; and so the Irish, having salt from France, and cask, and men's labour, and all tackle for fishing being cheaper there than we have here, do set up the fishing-trade there, from whence they need but one wind, to carry them to their markets; and they catch the fish six weeks before they come into England. If so; then what hinders but that they may cure them, and supply foreign markets, sooner and cheaper than we can? Which, in time, will destroy the fisheries of this kingdom.

Not, but that Ireland should have its proper advantages, and may, if they please; there being many additional manufactures that both they and we want, to which the nature of that soil, and the inclination of the people, gives encouragement; particularly, that of linen; the greatest part of the country being turf-land, and naturally proper for hemp and flax; and being employed to that use, with due regulations, those commodities may be had cheaper there, and from thence, than from any other part of the world; which would be a great encouragement to the setting up of the manufactures thereof. It must necessarily be cheaper, because land is far cheaper there, than in those parts, from whence we have our hemp and flax; and what we fetch, comes charged with great freight and customs, which might be saved, if the commodity were fetched from Ireland. What then would there be wanting, but a method to manufacture this commodity cheaper? Which done, that place may supply, not only England, but all Europe with linen-cloth, at easier rates than now they pay for the same. And if so; what hinders, but that they may ingross the whole linen-trade, and quickly grow rich? And, that they may manufacture cheaper there, consider, that in this part of the world, there cannot be found a place, where people may live cheaper, have lands at easier rates, than in Ireland; so then, consequently, no place in the world where people work for less than there. If, then, the commodity to be wrought, and the working of that commodity be cheaper in Ireland, than in any other part; the manufactures, when wrought, may be sold from thence cheaper than from any other part; and this would bring trade thither, and take away no more of the stock of this nation, than is absolutely necessary for the supply of our necessities. And it would be a great advantage to the kingdom, to be furnished with that within ourselves, which we necessarily want, and are forced to depend upon foreigners for.

In short, the prohibition of Irish cattle puts them on a necessity, (for something they

must do with their cattle, and the product of their lands, or be utterly destroyed,) that necessity forceth them to industry; which industry, if not determined with us, but continued or encouraged by foreigners, the more industrious they are, the more pernicious it will be to England, in all its concerns. For, if the Irish, by reason of their religion, and the sense of our conquering them, have (as some affirm, and I and all Englishmen have good reason to believe) a natural antipathy against us Englishmen, and as natural an affection and sympathy to and with foreigners, who are of their own persuasion and religion: and, if nations grow intimate, espouse interest, and mix by trade and commerce; it is humbly submitted, whether, for the security of England, both in its government and trade, it be not adviseable to annex Ireland, as a province to England, as our islands abroad are annexed; whereby his majesty's revenue of customs would be advanced, at least, eighty-thousand pounds *per annum*; which would help to pay the public debts, and do a public good to the nation?

Concerning the importation of Westphalia hams, I have only this to say, that though prohibited, yet they are imported; the king loseth the custom of them which formerly he had, the merchants buy them far cheaper beyond sea than ever they did: in England, the subjects pay twice as much as they might have bought them for, before the prohibition, and not any good is done to the kingdom thereby.

VI.

The sixth thing proposed, is, the prohibition of brandy, mum, coffee, chocolate, and tea, and the suppressing coffee-houses. These greatly hinder the consumption of barley, malt, and wheat, the product of our land; and, thereby, bring down the prices of these grains, consequently the rents of land; to the ruin of tenants, who cannot sell their corn, when they have it, and of landlords, whose rents tenants are not able to pay, because they have no vent for the product of their farms.

There is (as I am, upon strict inquiry of the most knowing persons, informed) so vast a quantity of brandy, mum, coffee, tea, and Spanish chocolate, every year imported into England, and consumed here; that reckoning the brandy to be sold at two-pence the quartern, and no more, (whereas most of it, by retail, is sold for three-pence,) the mum at six-pence a quart, and the coffee, tea, chocolate, at the rates they are usually sold for, yet, is there expended by the subjects yearly, in these drinks, above four-hundred-thousand pounds.

If these liquors were prohibited; then would there be made in England, with our wheat or malt, such quantities of brandy, or a spirit equal to it, and of mum also, as would, in all probability, occasion the consumption of, at least, two or three-hundred-thousand quarters of wheat and malt every year more than now is consumed; and that would raise the price of the commodity, and thereby keep up the rent of lands, which every year falls for want of a consumption of the product thereof. And the prohibition of brandy would be otherwise advantageous to the kingdom, and prevent the destruction of his majesty's subjects; many of whom have been killed by drinking thereof, it not agreeing with their constitutions. How many instances have we had yearly of men's dying suddenly, after drinking of brandy? How many, after over-drinking themselves with this liquor, have lain languishing till they have died thereof? Before brandy (which is now become common, and sold in every little alehouse) came over into England in such quantities as it now doth, we drank good strong beer and ale; and all laborious people, (which are the far greatest part of the kingdom,) their bodies requiring, after hard labour, some strong drink to refresh them, did therefore, every morning and evening, use to drink a pot of ale, or a flagon of strong beer; which greatly promoted the consumption of our own grain, and did them no great prejudice: it hindered not their work, neither did it take away their senses, nor cost them much money. But now this sort of people, since brandy is become so common, and sold in every little house, (a small quantity costing them three-pence,) do sometimes spend their day's wages in this sort of liquor, before they get home in an evening, and thereby impoverish their families; and not only so, but frequently by their drinking to

excess, they are bereaved of their senses for two or three days together, so that they cannot work.

In short, brandy burns the hearts of his majesty's subjects out; in few years it hath been the destruction and death of some thousands, who, if they had kept to beer and ale, might have received better refreshment therefrom, and now been living to have served the king and their country; and might have helped to consume the manufactures and provisions of the kingdom. And if so; then what reason can any man give for the importation thereof? For my own part, I declare I know of none; unless it be, because it pays a great custom or excise to the king. And as to that, I answer and affirm, that if brandy be prohibited, the excise of the beer and ale that would be then consumed, more than is now, will more than answer the duty of brandy that the king shall lose by such prohibition as is desired: (admitting that all the brandy imported paid the duty imposed, whereas not one half thereof is paid for, the same being stolen; insomuch, that when the duty to the king was four shillings *per* gallon, brandy was sold for three shillings, which was twelve-pence less than the king's duty.) But admitting, that if brandy should be prohibited, the additional excise of ale and beer would not answer the king's loss he shall sustain thereby; and taking it for granted, that our English constitutions are now so accustomed to brandy, that it is become absolutely necessary to them to use the same, or some liquor like it. If it be so; then from our malt and wheat may be extracted a spirit equally as good, if not for our constitutions much better, than brandy; and then laying a small duty (as a penny a gallon) upon low wines, will more than answer what the additional excise shall fall short of to the king; yea, and very much exceed what he shall lose by the prohibition desired. And inasmuch as nothing is so much wanting in England as people; therefore all means possible, in point of prudence and policy, ought to be used to preserve the lives and healths of those we have. But the importing of brandy hath destroyed many, is like to destroy more: *ergo*, it ought to be prohibited. And the rather, in regard that brandy comes from France: and whatever we import from France, ready money is paid for the same, or for the greatest part thereof. For although we impose but between four and ten pounds *per cent.* upon any of the manufactures or commodities of the growth of France, except the duty upon wine and brandy; yet the French king either prohibits the importation of the manufactures of England into his dominions, or the selling them there, unless they be sealed; (for which seal a great duty is paid,) or else he burns them if they are imported, and sold without such seal, (as he did the silk stockings,) or imposeth upon the importation thereof a duty of thirty, forty, or fifty pounds *per cent.* which is double as much as was imposed, till within these few years last past; and is, in effect, a prohibition. For, when we do transport any thing thither of our growth or manufactures, the French (by reason of the high duty imposed upon them) undersell us; whereby we are necessitated to keep our goods till spoiled, or bring them back. And if so; then plain it is, that whatsoever we have from France, ready money goes for the same; so that, by a moderate computation, they have, at least, four-hundred-thousand pounds *per annum* in money from us: which is a vast prejudice to England, and a great enriching to France; who impose upon us not only vast proportions of their brandy and wines, but also of their silks, stuffs, ribbons, laces, points, and divers other things, whereby our manufacturers in England are ruined, and the treasure of the nation exhausted. I know it will be said, that we lay far greater impositions upon their wines and brandy, than they do upon any of our manufactures; and it is true that we do so. But consider, that whatever duty we lay upon wines, is laid upon the king of England's own subjects; they pay it, and such duty doth not hinder the importation thereof: for more comes in now than ever there did, when the duty was not half so high; and the French force the English to pay more for their wines than ever they paid before. But the impositions laid by the king of France upon our manufactures, have stopped us from sending any thing considerable thither; whereas, before such duties imposed, we sent great quantities. So that in a few years, (if not prevented,) the very commerce with

France is like to destroy England. As for Brunswick mum, I am sure we brew as strong in England as they do there, and yet afford to sell it for half the price they sell theirs for; therefore there is no necessity of the importation thereof, to supply any defect we have here; consequently it is not fit to be encouraged, because it hinders the consumption of the grain of this kingdom.

And for coffee, tea, and chocolate, I know no good they do; only the places where they are sold are convenient for persons to meet in, sit half a day, and discourse with all companies that come in, of state-matters, talking of news, and broaching of lies; arraigning the judgments and discretions of their governors, censuring all their actions, and insinuating into the people a prejudice against them; extolling and magnifying their own parts, knowledge, and wisdom, and decrying that of their rulers; which, if suffered too long, may prove pernicious and destructive. But say there was nothing of this in the case, yet have these coffee-houses done great mischiefs to the nation, and undone many of the king's subjects: for they, being very great enemies to diligence and industry, have been the ruin of many serious and hopeful young gentlemen and tradesmen, who, before they frequented these places, were diligent students or shop-keepers, extraordinary husbands of their time as well as money; but since these houses have been set up, under pretence of good husbandry, to avoid spending above one penny or two-pence at a time, have got to these coffee-houses; where, meeting friends, they have sat talking three or four hours; after which, a fresh acquaintance appearing, and so one after another all day long, hath begotten fresh discourse, so that frequently they have staid five or six hours together in one of them: all which time their studies or shops have been neglected, their business left undone, their servants been trusted, and an opportunity given them thereby to be idle and deceitful; the taking of money in many of these men's shops hath been hindered, and their customers gone away displeased. How many, by these means, have received great losses and disadvantages in their trade; and, by accustoming themselves to these houses, have made it so habitual to them, that they cannot forbear them, though, together with their families, they are ruined thereby. These houses being very many of them professed bawdy-houses, more expensive than other houses, are become scandalous for a man to be seen in them; which gentlemen not knowing, do frequently fall into them by chance, and so their reputation is drawn into question thereby.

VII.

The seventh proposal, That the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans, now travelling upon the roads, may all, or most of them, be suppressed; especially these within forty, fifty, or sixty miles off London, where they are no way necessary: and, that a due regulation be made of such as shall be thought fit to be continued.

These coaches and caravans are one of the greatest mischiefs that hath happened of late years to the kingdom, mischievous to the publick, destructive to trade, and prejudicial to lands:

First, By destroying the breed of good horses, the strength of the nation; and making men careless of attaining to good horsemanship, a thing so useful and commendable in a gentleman.

Secondly, By hindering the breed of watermen, who are the nursery for seamen, and they the bulwark of the kingdom.

Thirdly, By lessening of his majesty's revenues.

For the first of these: Stage-coaches prevent the breed of good horses, destroy those that are bred, and effeminate his majesty's subjects; who, having used themselves to travel in them, have neither attained skill themselves, nor bred up their children to good horsemanship; whereby they are rendered incapable of serving their country on horseback, if occasion should require and call for the same. For, hereby, they become weary and listless when they ride a few miles, and unwilling to get on horseback; not able to endure frost, snow, or rain, or to lodge in the fields: and what reason, save only their using themselves so tenderly, and their riding in these stage-coaches, can be given for this their inability? What encouragement hath any man to breed horses, whilst these coaches

are continued? There is such a lazy habit of body upon men, that they (to indulge themselves, save their fine clothes, and keep themselves clean and dry,) will ride lolling in one of them, and endure all the inconveniences of that manner of travelling, rather than ride on horseback; so that, if any man should continue his breed, he must be one that is a great lover of them, and resolve to keep and please his own fancy with them; otherwise, most certainly, he (as most breeders already have done) will give over his breeding.

There is not the fourth part of saddle-horses, either bred, or kept, now in England, that was before these coaches were set up, and would be again, if they were suppressed: nor is there any occasion for breeding, or keeping such horses, whilst the coaches are continued. For, will any man keep a horse for himself and another for his man, all the year, for to ride one or two journeys; that at pleasure, when he hath occasion, can slip to any place where his business lies, for two, three, or four shillings, if within twenty miles of London; and so proportionably into any part of England? No; there is no man; unless some noble soul, that scorns and abhors being confined to so ignoble, base, and sordid a way of travelling, as these coaches oblige him unto; and who prefers a public good before his own ease and advantage, that will breed or keep such horses. Neither are there near so many coach-horses either bred or kept in England now, as there were saddle-horses formerly, there being no occasion for them; the kingdom being supplied with a far less number. For formerly, every man that had occasion to travel many journeys yearly, or to ride up and down, kept horses for himself and servants, and seldom rid without one or two men; but now, since every man can have a passage into every place he is to travel unto, or to some place within a few miles of that part he designs to go unto, they have left keeping of horses, and travel without servants; and York, Chester, and Exeter stage-coaches, each of them, with forty horses⁴ a-piece, carry eighteen passengers a week from London to either of these places; and, in like manner, as many in return from these places to London; which come, in the whole, to eighteen-hundred seventy-two in the year. Now take it for granted, that all that are carried from London to those places, are the same that are brought back; yet are there nine-hundred thirty-six passengers carried by forty horses: whereas, were it not for these coaches, at least five hundred horses would be required to perform this work. Take the short stages within twenty or thirty miles of London; each coach with four horses carries six passengers a day, which are thirty-six in a week, eighteen-hundred seventy-two in a year. If these coaches were suppressed, can any man imagine these eighteen-hundred seventy-two passengers, and their servants, could be carried by four horses? Then reckon your coaches within ten miles of London, that go backward and forward every day, and they carry double the number every year; and so, proportionably, your shorter stages within three, four, or five miles of London. There are stage-coaches, that go to almost every town within twenty or twenty-five miles of London; wherein passengers are carried at so low rates, that most persons in and about London, and in Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, gentlemen, merchants, and other traders, that have occasion to ride, do make use of: some to keep fairs and markets; others to visit friends, and to go to and from their country-houses, or about other business; who, before these coaches did set up, kept a horse or two of their own, but now have given over keeping the same. So that, by computation, there are not so many horses, by ten-thousand, kept now in these parts, as there were, before stage-coaches set up. By which means, breeding of good pad-nags is discouraged; and coach-horses, that are bred, by cruelty and ill-usage of stagers, are destroyed.

2dly, Those coaches hinder the breeding of watermen, and much discourage those that are bred: for, there being stage-coaches set up unto every little town upon the river of Thames, on both sides the water, from London as high as Windsor and Maidenhead, &c.

⁴ [This seems intended to mean, that forty horses were employed between London and York, &c. at the different stages, to draw a coach to and fro, which held six persons, thrice in a week.]

and so, from London-bridge to and below Gravesend; and also to every little town within a mile or two of the water-side: these are they who carry all the letters, little bundles, and passengers, which (before they set up) were carried by water, and kept watermen in a full employment, and occasioned their increase, (whereof there never was more need than now); and yet, by these coaches, they of all others are most discouraged and dejected, especially our Western and below-Bridge watermen, they having little or nothing to do; sometimes not a fare in a week; so that they dare not take apprentices, the work they have not answering the charge they are at in keeping themselves and families. The consequence whereof is like to prove sad in a short time, unless speedily prevented; especially if these wars continue, and we happen to lose so many yearly of those that are bred, as of late years we have done. But if these coaches were down, watermen, as formerly, would have work, and be encouraged to take apprentices; whereby their number would every year greatly increase.

3dly, It prejudiceth his majesty in his revenue of excise; for now four or five travel in a coach together, and twenty or thirty in a caravan, (gentlemen and ladies, without any servants,) consume little drink on the road, yet pay as much at every inn, as if their servants were with them; which is the tapster's gain, and his majesty's loss. But if travellers would, as formerly they did, travel on horseback, then no persons of quality would ride without their servants; and it is they that occasion the consumption of beer and ale on the roads, and so would advance his majesty's revenue. I know it will be objected, "There are as many people now, as will be when coaches are down; and they drink, wherever they are; therefore no matter, whether they drink at home, or on the road, since the consumption will be the same. How can the king's revenue, then, be advanced, by servants' travelling with their masters or mistresses, more than it is already?" The answer is plain: At home they drink small or strong drink brewed by their masters, that pay no excise; but whatever they drink at inns pays the king's duties: and all inn-keepers do declare, that they sell not half the drink, nor pay the king half the excise, they did, before these coaches set up.

Secondly, These coaches and caravans are destructive to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, and have impoverished and ruined many thousands of families, whose subsistence depended upon the manufacturing of wool and leather; two of the staple commodities of the kingdom. For, before these coaches were set up, travellers rode on horseback, and men had boots, spurs, saddles, bridles, saddle-cloths, and good riding-suits, coats and clokes, stockings and hats; whereby the wool and leather of the kingdom was consumed, and the poor people set at work by carding, combing, spinning, knitting, weaving, and fulling. And your cloth-workers, drapers, tailors, saddlers, tanners, curriers, shoe-makers, spurriers, lorimers, and felt-makers had a good employ; were full of work, got money, lived handsomely, and helped, with their families, to consume the provisions and manufactures of the kingdoms; but by means of these coaches, these trades, besides many others depending upon them, are become almost useless; and they, with their families, reduced to great necessity, insomuch that many thousands of them are cast upon the parishes, wherein they dwell, for a maintenance. Besides, it is a great hurt to the girdlers, sword-cutlers, gunsmiths, and trunk-makers: most gentlemen, before they travelled in their coaches, using to ride with swords, belts, pistols, holsters, portmanteaus, and hat-cases; which, in these coaches, they have little or no occasion for. For, when they rode on horseback, they rode in one suit, and carried another to wear, when they came to their journey's end, or lay by the way; but in coaches, a silk-suit and an Indian gown, with a sash, silk-stockings, and beaver-hats men ride in, and carry no other with them, because they escape the wet and dirt, which on horseback they cannot avoid; whereas, in two or three journeys on horseback, these clothes and hats were wont to be spoiled: which done, they were forced to have new very often, and that increased the consumption of the manufactures, and the employment of the manufacturers; which travelling in coaches doth no way do. And if they were women that travelled, they used to have safeguards and hoods, side-saddles and pillions, with strappings, saddle or pillion-

cloths, which, for the most part, were either laced or embroidered ; to the making of which there went many several trades ; seeing there is not one side-saddle with the furniture made, but, before it is furnished, there are at least thirty several trades have a share in the making thereof ; most of which are either destroyed, or greatly prejudiced, by the abatement of their trade : which being bred unto, and having served seven years apprenticeship to learn, they know not what other course to take for a livelihood. And, besides all these inferior handicraftsmen, there are the mercers, silkmen, lacemen, milliners, linen and woollen-drappers, haberdashers, and divers other eminent trades, that receive great prejudice by this way of travelling. For the mercers sold silk and stuff in great quantities, for safeguards, hoods, and riding-clothes for women ; by which means the silk-twisters, winders, throwsters, weavers, and dyers, had a fuller employment : the silkmen sold more lace and embroidery, which kept the silver wire-drawers, lace-makers, and embroiderers ; and at least ten trades more were employed. The linen-draper sold more linen, not only to saddlers, to make up saddles, but to travellers for their own use ; nothing wearing out linen more than riding. Woollen-drappers sold more cloth than now ; saddlers used, before these coaches were set up, to buy three or four-hundred pounds worth of cloth a-piece in a year ; nay, some five-hundred and a thousand pounds worth, which they cut out into saddles and pillion-cloths : though now there is no saddler can dispose of one-hundred pounds worth of cloth in a year in his trade. The milliners and haberdashers, they also sold more ribbons, gloves, hoods, scarfs, and other things belonging to their trade ; the dust, dirt, and rain, and riding on horseback, spoiling and wearing them out, much more than travelling in a coach : and, on horseback, these things were apter to be lost than in a coach.

Trade is a great mystery, and one trade depends upon another. Were it not too tedious, I could shew you how many several trades there are that go to the making of every one of the things aforementioned ; and demonstrate, that there is scarcely a trade in England, but what is one way or other concerned and prejudiced by these stage-coaches ; especially the country-trade all over England. For, passage to London being so easy, gentlemen come to London oftener than they need, and their ladies either with them, or, having the conveniences of these coaches, quickly follow them. And when they are there, they must be in the mode, have all the new fashions, buy all their clothes there, and go to plays, balls, and treats, where they get such a habit of jollity, and a love to gaiety and pleasure, that nothing afterwards in the country will serve them, if ever they should fix their minds to live there again ; but they must have all from London, whatever it costs. And there is one grand mischief happens to the country thereby : for gentlemen drain the country of all the money they can get, bring it to London, and spend it there. Whereas, if they stayed at home, bought their clothes and other commodities of their neighbours, money would be kept circulating amongst them ; and chapmen that have served apprenticeships, and set up near them, would have a good trade, pay their rents, and live handsomely. The trade betwixt them and the city of London would be renewed, country ladies would be as well pleased, provided they be kept from London, as if they had all the rich clothes, modes, and fashions, vainly and extravagantly invented and worn in the city, as soon as they have them there ; and gentlemen would not only save the money they spend in journeys to buy clothes, but have as good as need to be worn in the country, at easier rates than they must pay at London, if they buy when the fashion comes first up.

3dly, These coaches and caravans hinder the consumption of all sorts of provisions for man and beast, thereby bringing down the rents of lands. For instance : a coach with four horses carries six passengers ; a caravan, with four or five horses, carries twenty, or five-and-twenty : these, when they come to their inn, club together for a dish or two of meat ; and having no servants with them, spend not above twelve pence or sixteen pence a-piece at a place ; yet, perhaps, foul four, five, or six pair of sheets. Horses they have none, but what draw them ; and, for those, the coachmen agree with the inn-keeper beforehand, to have their hay and oats at so low a rate, that he loseth by them, and is forced to beat down the price of them in the market ; yet must let the coachman have them for

what he pleaseth, otherwise he carries his passengers to other inns; by which means the inn-holders get little or nothing, cannot pay their rent, nor hold their inns, without great abatements; two third parts of what they formerly paid, is in some places abated. Upon such accounts as these, inn-holders, where these coaches do come, are undone: and if so; since most travellers travel in coaches, what must become of all the rest of the inns on the roads where these coaches stay not? Believe it, they are a considerable number; take all the grand roads in England, as York, Exeter, Chester, &c. There are about five-hundred inns on each road, and these coaches do not call at fifteen or sixteen of them: then what can follow, but that the rest be undone, and their landlords lose their rents?

But were these coaches and caravans down, and travelling on horseback again come into fashion:

First, Every passenger, that now travels in a coach, would have one horse at least; many of them, one, two, or three servants with them, who now ride sneaking without any attendants at all; whereby, in all probability, according to moderate computation, there would be, at least, forty or fifty horses upon the road, instead of nine or ten, that draw the coach and caravan.

Secondly, These travellers would disperse themselves into the several inns upon the road, each man where he could find the best entertainment; whereby trade would be diffused, inn-holders be enabled to pay their rents, and encouraged to provide accommodations fit for the reception of gentlemen.

Thirdly, Most horses go to grass in the summer-time, which would raise the rents of pasture-lands, about cities and corporations, and other towns upon the roads, above what formerly they were; which of late years, by means of those coaches, have fallen half in half, even in Middlesex, and other places adjoining to London itself. And no other reason for it can be given, but this, "That citizens and gentlemen, about the city, do not keep horses as formerly they did." Neither doth there now come a sixth part of the horses to London, that used to do; but if stage-coaches be suppressed, there will be a necessity for men to apply themselves to the breeding, keeping, and using horses, as formerly they did: and it will necessarily occasion the consumption of five times the quantity of hay, straw, and horse-corn, that now is consumed; whereby farmers will have a vent for their commodities, and be enabled to pay their rents: for not only will there then be four times the number of horses travelling upon the roads, as there are now; but in the city of London, and all the great towns in England, there would be great numbers of good horses kept by gentlemen, merchants, and tradesmen, for their own uses; and by others also, to let out to hire, to such as shall have occasion to ride, and keep not horses of their own.

It is very observable, that, before these coaches were set up, what with the horses kept by merchants, and other tradesmen, and gentlemen, in or near London, and the travellers horses that came to London, that city spent all the hay, straw, beans, peas, and oats, that could be spared within twenty or thirty miles thereof; and for a further supply, had vast quantities from Henly, and other western parts, and from below Gravesend by water; besides many ships-lading of beans from Hull, and of oats from Lynn and Boston: and then oats, and hay, and other horse-meat, would bear a good price in that market which was the standard for all the markets in England; but now, since these coaches set up, especially in such multitudes, and those so nigh London, London cannot consume what grows within twenty miles of it. But if they were down, the consumption in London would quickly be as great as ever; and that would raise the price of the commodities, advance the price of lands, and cause rents to be well paid again; not only would every traveller, that now rides in a coach, travel on horseback, if coaches were down, and some of them with two or three servants, and so occasion a greater consumption of the provisions for cattle: but further, every of these several travellers, who before clubbed together for a dish or two of meat, would have one, two, or three dishes of meat, for himself, and his servants; which would occasion the consumption of six times as much beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and all sorts of fish, fowl, poultry, and other provisions, as is now consumed on the roads. And such consumption would raise the price of lands, and cause better

payment of rents: especially if it be considered, that not only will the consumption be increased by those that travel the road; but ten times more would be spent by those who would be employed in the making those things that travellers must have when they ride; who, if they have work, and can earn money, will eat and drink of the best, as formerly they did; when several handicraft tradesmen in London kept twenty, thirty, or forty journeymen at work, spent a quarter of beef, and a carcass of mutton in a week, in their houses; who, since these coaches set up, have fallen to a couple of apprentices; and though as eminent of their trade, as any about London, yet can hardly earn bread to put into their heads. If it be so then, that running stage-coaches and caravans are so injurious to the publick, destructive to trade, and the occasion of the fall of rents; it would be worth time to consider, what is in them worthy of their being countenanced and desired; and whether the inconveniencies be not much greater than the conveniencies, men receive by them. If this way of travelling were the way that of all ways appeared most beneficial, least expensive, conducing to health, advantageous to men in their business, absolutely necessary to some, useful to others, and imposed upon none; there were some reason for men's being in love with it: but if the contrary be apparent, then what madness possesseth men to court the inconveniencies and mischiefs? Let us examine these things.

Men receive not the greatest benefit by travelling in these coaches; for can that way be beneficial to any, that hinders and destroys trade, prevents the consumption of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom, and thereby lowers the rents of landlords?

For, first, Can a gentleman receive benefit or advantage, by saving five pounds, *per annum*, in a journey; when by his manner of travelling he lowers his own rents, three times as much in a year, as he saves by his journeys; by countenancing that kind of conveyance that hinders the consumption of the products of his own estate, and thereby makes his tenants unable to pay their rents?

Secondly, Is it to be believed, that a tradesman arrives at any profit by these coaches; though he should have a little money when he rides in them, that he must necessarily expend, if he travels on horseback? No; for this manner of travelling hinders the sale of those commodities they deal in; of which much more would be consumed than is, if such coaches were down, and by the sale whereof they would get much more than they save, by confining themselves to travelling as aforesaid: so that plainly, it is their interest to promote that way of travelling, that tends to the greatest consumption of the manufactures or commodities, wherein they deal.

Thirdly, The husbandmen who live by the sweat of their brows, in manuring the estates of the gentry, they are undone, by this easy carriage; for it hinders their selling their corn, hay, and straw, and other the products of their farms, and brings down the price of what they sell; thereby rendering them unable to pay their rents, or to hold their farms without considerable abatements; which if not given them, their lands are thrown up into the landlord's hands, and little or no benefit made by them.

Fourthly, The graziers they complain for want of a vent for their cattle, which they had before these coaches were erected: not that I do imagine coaches to be the only reason of the want of that consumption, though it be evident, they go far in the promoting that mischief; for the want of people in England, the loss of many thousands from amongst us, of late years, and the leaving off eating of suppers by those that are left alive, go a great way therein. But these two may be easily remedied: the former by the general act of naturalization, and liberty of conscience, proposed before, which would bring all foreigners in amongst us; the latter, by men's spending less in taverns, plays, and balls, and keeping up in lieu thereof the ancient laudable customs of England, of good house-keeping, and thereby relieving the poor. Half the money that gentlemen idly spend in taverns upon French wines, for which the coin of the kingdom is exhausted; or upon plays, balls, treating mistresses, fine clothes, toys from France, or other foreign parts, would defray the charges of having good suppers every night; whereby the product of our own lands would be consumed, and that would raise rents. Nay, I am verily persuaded, if it were duly considered, and that all men, as formerly, would fall to eating of suppers, at least to

dressing of them ; and when dressed, if they eat not themselves, would give them to the poor ; the increase of the consumption would raise the rents of lands, as much above what now they do go at, at least in most places of England, as would defray the charges of those suppers. If so, would it not then be of great advantage to men in their estates, and to the kingdom in general ?

But to proceed : If the gentlemen, the tradesmen, the husbandmen, the graziers, be not benefited by this travelling, I am sure, the last sort of travellers, to wit, the poor, they cannot be profited thereby : for waggons (or the long coaches first invented, and still in use,) would be most for their interest to travel in ; being far less expensive than the other : so that these running coaches are not most beneficial to every sort of travellers.

Secondly, Men do not travel in these coaches with less expence of money, or time, than on horseback : for, on horseback they may travel faster ; and, if they please, all things duly considered, with as little, if not less charges. For instance ; from London to Exeter, Chester, or York, you pay forty shillings a-piece in summer-time, forty-five shillings in winter, for your passage ; and as much from those places back to London. Besides, in the journey they change coachmen four times ; and there are few passengers but give twelve-pence to each coachman at the end of his stage ; which comes to eight shillings in the journey backward and forward, and at least three shillings comes to each passenger's share to pay for the coachmen's drink on the road : so that in summer-time the passage backward and forward to any of these places costs four pounds eleven shillings, in the winter five pounds one shilling, and this only for eight days riding in the summer, and twelve in the winter. Then, when the passengers come to London, they must have lodgings ; which, perhaps, may cost them five or six shillings a week, and that in fourteen days amounts unto ten or twelve shillings, which makes the four pounds eleven shillings, either five pounds one shilling, or five pounds three shillings ; or the five pounds one shilling five pounds eleven shillings, or five pounds thirteen shillings ; besides the inconvenience of having meat from the cooks, at double the price they might have it for in inns. But if stage coaches were down, and men travelled again, as formerly, on horseback ; then when they came into their inns they would pay nothing for lodgings : and as there would excellent horses be bred and kept by gentlemen for their own use, so would there be by others that would keep them on purpose to let ; which would, as formerly, be let at ten or twelve shillings *per* week, and in many places for six, eight, or nine shillings *per* week. But, admitting the lowest price to be twelve shillings, if a man comes from York, Exeter, or Chester, to London ; be five days coming, five days going, and stay twelve days in London to dispatch his business (which is the most that country chapmen usually do stay) ; all this would be but three weeks ; so that his horse-hire would come but to one pound sixteen shillings, his horse-meat at fourteen-pence a day, one with another, which is the highest that can be reckoned upon, and will come but to one pound five shillings, in all three pounds one shilling ; so that there would be, at least, forty or fifty shillings saved of what coach-hire and lodgings will cost him ; which would go a great way in paying for riding-clothes, stockings, hats, boots, spurs, and other accoutrements for riding ; and, in my poor opinion, would be far better spent in the buying of these things, by the making whereof the poor would be set at work, and kept from being burthensome to the parish, than to give it to those stage-coachmen, to indulge that lazy, idle habit of body, that men, by constant riding in these coaches, have brought upon themselves. Besides, if thus their money were spent, they would save a great deal, which now, if men of any estates, they pay for relief of those poor, who (for want of the work they had before those coaches were set up, and might have again if they were put down,) are fallen upon the several parishes wherein they live, for maintenance ; which charge would be quickly taken off, if they were restored to their work. Thus in proportion may a man save from all longer or shorter stages. For instance : From Northampton men pay for passage in coach to London sixteen shillings, and so much back ; from Bristol twenty-five shillings, from Bath twenty shillings, from Salisbury twenty shillings or twenty-five shillings, from Reading seven shillings, the like sums back ;

and so in proportion for longer or shorter stages. Judge then, whether men may not hire horses cheaper than five shillings a day? I am sure they may for half the money; especially if coaches were down, that men might receive encouragement: for, then, there would be, as formerly, in all great cities and towns of England, good and sufficient numbers of able horses kept to let; and such a correspondence would be between all the places, that a man in any town shall have a horse to ride to what place he pleaseth, and liberty to leave him when he comes to his journey's end, without farther charge, till he have dispatched his business; which done, he may, at the same place, hire one to carry him back and be gone, without waiting a week or ten days after his affairs are ended, at vast charges, merely for a passage in a coach, (as many of these gentlemen are forced to do, who pretend it a point of good husbandry to travel in them;) which hazard nevertheless they run, and often find the smart of it. They never consider or account the charge thereof; if they did, they would easily perceive, that travelling in coaches is not the way of travelling with least expence.

Thirdly, Travelling in these coaches can neither prove advantageous to men's health or business. For, what advantage is it to men's health, to be called out of their beds into these coaches, an hour before day in the morning; to be hurried in them from place to place, till one hour, two, or three within night: insomuch that, after sitting all day in the summer-time stifled with heat, and choked with dust; or in the winter-time, starving and freezing with cold, or choked with filthy fogs, they are often brought into their inns by torch-light, when it is too late to sit up to get a supper; and next morning they are forced into the coach so early, that they can get no breakfast? What addition is this to men's health or business, to ride all day with strangers, oftentimes sick, antient, diseased persons, or young children crying; to whose humours they are obliged to be subject, forced to bear with, and many times are poisoned with their nasty scents, and crippled by the crowd of the boxes and bundles?

Is it for a man's health to travel with tired jades, to be laid fast in the foul ways, and forced to wade up to the knees in mire; afterwards sit in the cold, till teams of horses can be sent to pull the coach out? Is it for their health to travel in rotten coaches, and to have their tackle, or pearch, or axle-tree broken, and then to wait three or four hours (sometimes half a day) to have them mended, and then to travel all night to make good their stage? Is it for a man's pleasure, or advantageous to his health and business, to travel with a mixed company that he knows not how to converse with; to be affronted by the rudeness of a surly, dogged, cursing, ill-natured coachman; necessitated to lodge or bait at the worst inns on the road, where there is no accommodation fit for gentlemen; and this merely because the owners of the inns, and the coachmen, are agreed together to cheat the guests?

Is it for the advantage of business, that a man, when he sets out on a journey, must come just at their hour, or be left behind; so that often he is forced, when one hour's staying would finish his business, to go out of town, leave it undone, and make a new journey about it? Is it for advantage of a man's business, that though he have a concern of great weight or moment to transact upon the road as he goes along, yet if it lie but a stone's-cast out of the coach-way, the coachman will not drive thither, nor stay for him at any place, except the baiting or lodging-places where he calls, where they change horses; and there stay no longer than he pleases neither. To be forced, whatever accident of sickness or illness happens, to ride these coachmen's stages, though never so late in the night, or else to be left in the middle of a journey in a strange place? Is this for the conveniency or advantage of a man's health or business? Rather the quite contrary. Yet this hath been many persons of good quality's case; though they have offered to pay the whole coach-hire, and all the passengers' charges, to have put into an inn (late at night on this side the set stage); yet have they been denied, forced to ride, though in peril of their lives, till midnight: and it is not hard to instance in many that have lost their lives by such usage.

All which inconveniences, if stage-coaches were suppressed, would be remedied, lazy

humours be discountenanced: and a great conveniency indeed it would be, both to travellers, and the country through which they ride, for men and women to travel on horseback again. For then they may, when their business is done at one place, presently take horse and go to another, without loss of time or staying for a passage in a coach; set out as early in the morning, and take up as soon in the evening, and bait as long and as often by the way, and in what places they please; make choice of their company on the road, avoid such as suit not with their tempers; go out of the roads when, and travel as long or short journeys as they please; keep out of cold, wet, or fogs; and take into inns when the weather is not fit to travel in, and so preserve their healths. And by this means, great advantages would happen: for then all towns, and every inn, would have something to do; trade would be more diffused, many poor families in the country would be maintained, that are now in a starving condition; travellers would come into their inns before candle-light, stay in the morning till shops open, understand the trade of the place they are in, lay out monies in buying things they find fit for their use, and which are of the manufactures of the town where they come; in some places, silk or worsted-hose; in others, lace, gloves, stuffs, boots, or shoes, linen-cloth, and other things, which would be great relief and encouragement to the manufactures of those commodities, as well as to those that buy them, and bring money to those places where they are made.

Fourthly, These coaches are not absolutely necessary to any persons whatever; for sick or aged people, or young children, if they have occasion to travel, may ride in the long waggon-coaches; which were those that first were set up, and are not now opposed, because they do little or no hurt. For gentlemen that are able to ride on horseback, keep coaches of their own, or to hire a coach, will not appear so sordid as to travel in them. And, truly, if they be poor people that are to travel, it is not fit they should be encouraged in their pride or extravagancy, or suffered to ride amongst gentlemen; or, like persons of honour, in a coach with four or six horses; and for sick and aged people, and young children, these long coaches are more convenient for them than running coaches, if they were to be continued up; for they travel not such long journeys, go not out so early in the morning, neither come they in so late at night; but stay by the way, travel easily, without jolting men's bodies, or hurrying them along, as the running coaches do.

Fifthly, Neither are these running coaches useful to any; for those that are fit to ride, or ought to be suffered to ride in them, are such, that if they have business requiring a coach, may either keep one themselves, or hire one.

Sixthly, But though these coaches are neither absolutely necessary to some, nor useful to others, yet they are imposed upon many; for, since they set up in such multitudes, especially about London, men, careless of keeping horses, knowing the certainty of passage in them, have sold them; and must, therefore, when they travel, either ride in these coaches, or not at all, there being few or no horses kept now to let out to hire.

If, by what hath been said upon this point, it happen gentlemen may travel on horseback, more to the advantage and benefit of trade, and so to the public good, with more advantage to their healths and business, and less expence of money and time than they can in stage-coaches: if these stage-coaches be not absolutely necessary to some, useful to what other coaches may be made to others, and yet this imposed upon many; what reason can be given why they should not all, or most of them, be suppressed? If they were not destructive to trade; why should petitions, from almost all sorts of tradesmen, come up from most cities and towns in England against them; as there have been lately presented to his majesty and the council? Why should the justices of peace at their general quarter-sessions certify to his majesty and his honourable privy-council, under their hands, (as they have done) that the great mischiefs afore-mentioned, under which the kingdom now suffers, have been greatly occasioned by these coaches; and that many thousands of families are ruined by them; as from London, Westminster, Salisbury, Middlesex, and divers other cities, counties, and towns, certificates have come? Why should the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, at their court at Guildhall, upon serious consideration and debate of the petition of the several companies of London, against the said coaches, (wherein

most of these grievances are mentioned,) allow of the same, and give leave that it should be presented ; if they were not convinced, that they are destructive to trade ? For surely they understand trade, and were not so weak as to be cheated into their consent and approbation ; neither have they any time since repented of, or disowned the same, (as the stage-coachmen, in false and scandalous pamphlets, have presumed to print,) notwithstanding which, they are ready to own the said petition, and make good the contents thereof. And the drapers, haberdashers, and milliners, (who, they pretend, would be prejudiced by their being superseded,) are ready, with the other tradesmen mentioned in that pamphlet, to evince to the world, they are injured by their being kept up : so that the very coach and harness-makers themselves petition against them, as being mischievous to their trades, in regard they prevent the making of great numbers of coaches every year ; which must have been made, if gentlemen had travelled in their own coaches ; and thereby they hinder the consumption of great quantities of leather.

If all these things be true ; what can be said against their being suppressed ?

It is objected, The owners of these coaches set them up for the conveniency of the subjects ; have betaken themselves to this painful way of living, and laid out their whole stocks ; merely to accommodate gentlemen, and have now no other way to live ; What shall become of them if they be put down ?

Ans. It is the case but of very few, that the suppressing of them would hurt. For, if all stage-coaches were to be suppressed, I dare say five to one of those that keep them would receive advantage thereby ; as clearly will be evinced, if it be considered, that when this business was before his majesty in council, (where it depends undetermined,) none of the stagers opposed the being put down, except Exeter, Salisbury, Dorchester, Bristol, Southampton, Dover, Norwich, Lincoln, York, Westchester, Worcester, and Shrewsbury, who call themselves ' Stage-coachmen upon the grand roads of England ;' and there is not one owner of any of these coaches, but hath other ways to live, if he were prohibited driving them ; for they are all of them either inn-holders, or coach or harness makers, following those trades ; or carriers, or licensed coachmen in London ; and may live as well as the hackney-coachmen in London. The other stage-coaches are all, or most of them, kept either by inn-holders first, who (one in a town) did set up a coach, and so carried all the guests to his own house : then a second sets up another ; and so a third and fourth in a town : which done, they run one against another, purposely to get the guests from each others houses ; whereby they not only destroy multitudes of horses, but are great losers themselves ; so that themselves would be thankful to have them put down, and yet are forced to keep them up, till there shall be a general suppression, because otherwise they shall lose their whole trades. Or else the said stage-coaches are kept by such, as before the late act for reducing the number of hackney-coaches in London to four hundred, were owners of coaches, and drove hackney there. But when the number of four-hundred was full, and they not licensed ; then, to avoid the penalties of the act, they removed out of the city, dispersing themselves into every little town within twenty miles of London, where they set up for stagers, and drive every day to London, and in the night-time they drive about the city ; pay no five pounds *per annum*, yet take away both the town and country-work from those that do pay it, and break and annoy the streets in the cities and suburbs thereof ; hindering the four-hundred from the jobs and small journeys they depended upon, when they agreed to pay five pounds a-piece *per annum* for their licences : whereby they are many of them ruined. But take it for granted it were so, that these stage-coachmen had laid out all their stocks for the use aforesaid, and must be undone, if put down ; and there were at least two-thousand of them ; what is that ? Of two evils the lesser is to be chosen. Have they not already destroyed very many thousands of families ? Will not the continuing of them, in a very short time, be the undoing of many thousands more ? Is the interest of these surly, rude, debauched coachmen, to be put into the balance with many thousands of curriers, shoe-makers, saddlers, girdlers, spurriers, cutlers, lorimers, clothiers, cloth-workers, cloth-drawers, drapers, taylors, and an hundred trades more, to which men were bound seven years apprenticeship, to learn their trades, and are of great advantage to the

publick? Surely, they ought to be encouraged; being the manufactures of the staple commodities of the kingdom; by the manufacturing whereof, great profit doth arise to the publick. Yet of these, if occasion require, it will be made appear, above one-hundred-thousand with their families, are in great measure, ruined by them. And I pray you, who are advantaged thereby? What persons are employed or set at work by them, save only a few servant-coachmen, postilions, and hostlers; whom they pretend they breed up, and make fit for the service of the nobility and gentry of the land: a most incomparable school, to train men up in, and to fit them for the gallows, more likely than to live in sober families; but in the mean time, while these are breeding up, the price and rents of lands are so brought down by the hindrance these coaches do make of the consumption of provision and manufactures; that in a short time few gentlemen will be in a capacity to keep coaches: so that, if all running stage-coaches and caravans were suppressed, it would do well. But, if some few coaches were continued, to wit, one to every shire-town in England, to go once a week backwards and forwards, and to go through with the same horses they set forth with, and not travel above thirty miles a day in the summer, and twenty-five miles in the winter, and to shift inns every journey, that so trade might be diffused; these would be sufficient to carry the sick and the lame, that they pretend cannot travel on horseback; and being thus regulated, they would do little or no harm: especially if all be suppressed, within forty or fifty miles of London, where they are no way necessary, and yet so highly destructive. But this, as well as the rest, I submit to judgment.

VIII.

The eighth thing proposed is, That the act for transportation of leather unmanufactured may be repealed; or, at least, not renewed after the expiration thereof.

There would never have been any necessity for this act, had it not been, that vast quantities of hides are imported from Ireland, which brings down the price of our English hides. And for the stage-coaches, their hindering the consumption of that leather in England, which before they set up, was used for boots, saddles, portmanteaus, hat-cases, holsters, belts, girths, reins, stirrup-leathers, and many other things now become almost useless. The making whereof, for home-service, and foreign consumption, employed about one-hundred-thousand families, whose livelihood depended upon the manufacturing of leather, whereby they got money, with which they maintained their families; spent five or six good joints of meat in a week in their houses, and wore good clothes; thereby occasioning the consumption of great quantities of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom, more than now are consumed. Till this act passed, it was felony to transport leather unmanufactured; and then France, Spain, Germany, and other parts, who could not be without our leather, had vast quantities of boots, shoes, and saddles, with their appurtenances, portmanteaus, hat-cases, holsters, trunks, &c. from England; by the making whereof, many thousands of families got a handsome subsistence, and grew rich: but stage-coaches hindering the consumption at home, as aforesaid; and Irish hides being imported into England, and also great quantities from Ireland exported to foreign parts, our hides fell in their price in England. The question then arose, how to raise them to their ancient value; and it was by the parliament conceived, that giving a liberty to transport the same unmanufactured might answer the end proposed: therefore, an act for that purpose was passed.

But sad hath been, and yet is, the consequence thereof; for, ever since that liberty given, the best of our leather is constantly brought up, and transported beyond sea unmanufactured; foreigners, who formerly were supplied with leather wrought here, will not buy or carry over a penny-worth, that is manufactured; so that all those poor people, who served apprenticeships to learn their trades, and whose trade depended upon manufacturing for foreign consumption, are undone: they that kept twenty or thirty journeymen at work every day, cannot now, though eminent men of their trades, keep two; by means whereof, upon computation, at least fifty-thousand men and their families livelihoods are wholly taken away, and they so impoverished, that they are ready to receive alms of the several parishes wherein they live; whilst in the mean time foreigners grow

rich, by manufacturing one of the staple commodities of this kingdom : and whereas, till this act passed, all our boots and shoes were bought up, mended here, and then sent beyond the seas, and there worn. The case is now otherwise : for the best of our leather is not only bought up, and transported unmanufactured, and wrought beyond sea ; but, when it is wrought, it is then imported back, and vended here ; to the great prejudice and discouragement of manufacturers in England, who have many of them been forced (as great a want of people as there is in England) to transport themselves beyond the seas, for want of work at home, and there have taught their art to foreigners. What then doth naturally follow all these things ? What consequence can be drawn from hence, but this, that instead of five-hundred pounds worth of leather formerly sent beyond sea manufactured, we send now as much leather, but it is not worth above one-hundred pounds, because the same is carried over unwrought ; by which means our manufacturers lose four-hundred pounds, which they should have gotten, if the leather had been cut and wrought in England, and so thereby we grow poor : and foreigners grow rich, by gaining that four-hundred pounds, which our manufacturers lose.

But this is not all : for most of our leather that is exported, goes into France, with whom we never were able to keep up a balance of trade, but have traded with them for ready money ; they taking little or none of the manufactures of England in exchange for their commodities. By a moderate computation, (from the best intelligence I can get) France receives from England thirty-thousand pounds worth of our leather every year, which they cannot be without ; for our leather-manufacture was the only manufacture, that they were forced to be beholden unto us for : thirty-thousand pounds worth of our leather manufactured, was worth, in France, one-hundred and twenty-thousand pounds ; then at least seventy-thousand pounds of that went into our manufacturers' pockets ; the rest to the merchants ; and what our manufacturers got, was spent in the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom ; which being consumed bore a better rate than now, and helped to keep up the rents of lands. This money we not only now lose, to our impoverishment ; and the French get, to their enriching : but considering that we now import as much, nay far more, of French goods into England, than we did formerly ; and taking it for granted, that when we transported the most that ever we did, yet could not a balance of trade be kept up between the two kingdoms, but our ready money went for a great part of the goods imported ; then must it naturally follow, that by sending our leather unmanufactured, which formerly was manufactured, we must send over nigh one-hundred-thousand pounds more in ready money, than formerly we did, or need to do, were it not for this act, which furnisheth France with our coin, to pay their workmen for manufacturing of our staple commodities, and greatly exhausteth the treasure of this kingdom : but if this act be repealed, and Ireland's transporting of raw hides be prevented, then France, and other foreigners, must have leather from England manufactured, as formerly they had, whereby our handicraft tradesmen would be set at work ; and, having work, would live handsomely, as formerly they did ; to consume the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom. So that to any rational man it must be apparent, that this act hath not answered the end designed, nor raised the price of hides, as expected : nor can it ; for Ireland transporting vast quantities of raw hides beyond the seas, and importing great quantities of their hides into England, as aforesaid, hinders the sale of our hides or tanned leather, at any considerable rates, either at home or to foreigners, because we want a consumption at home ; and foreigners chuse to buy their raw hides rather than our leather, by reason they can purchase them at a third part of the price we can afford to sell ours at, and, by tanning of them, employ their own bark ; which is a great mischief to the gentry in England, whose bark, by reason thereof, sells at very low rates.

IX.

The ninth thing proposed is, That a court, in the nature of a Court of Requests in London, be established for Westminster, Southwark, and all other parts within the weekly bills of mortality ; and, if possible, in every city and town corporate in England ; to determine differences between poor people for small debts not exceeding forty shillings, and

for words, trespasses, assaults, and batteries (where the people pay neither scot nor lot) that so they may not be undone by law-suits.

The Court of Requests in London is of excellent use and long continuance, and hath prevented the ruin of many thousands of families; and might have done far more, had it not been limited to the liberties of the city; whereby all Westminster, Southwark, Tower-Hamlets, Middlesex, and Surrey, within the weekly bills of mortality, wherein the generality of the poor inhabit, are excluded their jurisdiction. Of these poor (for want of this court) many are every year undone by law-suits commenced against each other for small debts, or trivial actions; for words, assaults, or trespasses; the poorest oftentimes proving the proudest, most quarrelsome, and vexatious. These are such, who maintain themselves and families by turning and winding twenty or forty shillings a week, which they take upon their credit, and employ in buying and selling butcher's-meat, poultry-ware, and fish; herbs, fruit, and roots; boiled wheat and oat-cakes, butter and eggs, and divers other things, which they cry about the streets, or sell at tavern-doors, or in little bulks; as, oranges, lemons, oysters, tape, thread-laces, silk and ferret-ribbon, children's play-things, and such-like small commodities: whereby they keep their families from burdening the parishes wherein they dwell, and yet are so poor, that they are not rated to the church and poor where they trade.

These people are (the greatest part of them) most commonly indebted twenty, thirty, or forty shillings a-piece for the stock they trade with; nevertheless, have more owing to them, by the persons they sell their wares to, than when received, will pay such their debts. But there are cunning fellows, belonging to the Marshalsea, St. Catharine's, Whitechapel, and Westminster, (pretending to be bailiffs, or other officers,) placed in every part of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof; who make it their business to inquire out these poor and their creditors, and thereupon to contrive some stories, whereby to incite their creditors to make a demand of their debts; and, if not presently paid, then to arrest the debtors. These knaves also spend their whole time in promoting differences between the poorer sort of people, for frivolous words, slight trespasses, or pitiful small debts; which done, they are employed to arrest men, and the person arrested must either presently pay, and give satisfaction, or put in bail: the which if he cannot do (as frequently it happens they cannot, they laying their actions high, though the occasion of action be very small) then they are hurried over to the knight-marshal's prison, or to some other jail, and put to great expence; lose their credit and trade, and very many of them are utterly ruined by the charges of arrests, prison-fees, and the suits; though the verdict upon their trial happen to be for them, as most commonly it is: there being not one action in ten brought in those courts, for words or trespasses, that happens to be according to law. Nevertheless, if the said defendants demur, because the words are not actionable; or the plaintiff have a verdict, and the defendant move in arrest of judgment, and the judgment be arrested; yet in neither of these cases hath the defendant any costs: so that both plaintiffs and defendants spend their money in vain; and the parishes where the defendants inhabit, are frequently forced to redeem them out of the Marshalsea, Whitechapel, St. Catharine's, and other jails, or otherwise they should lie and starve in prison, though the cause of action were but a trifle; the charges and fees oftentimes falling out to be four, five, or six times as much as, originally, the action was brought for: by reason whereof, the recovering of four, six, or twelve pence sometimes costs three, four, five, or six pounds; whereas, if the court desired were erected, to end these differences in a summary, less expensive, and more expeditious way, the utter ruin of some hundreds, if not thousands of families would be every year prevented, the parish-charges greatly lessened, and quarrelsome vexatious suits, for small debts of forty shillings or under, or for trespasses, assaults, or words, would be prevented.

In London, no freeman dwelling within the liberties can be arrested or sued for any debt under forty shillings: the Court of Conscience or Requests, sits at Guildhall, Wednesdays and Saturdays in every week, to hear complaints and take course therein. Upon any complaint they first send a summons to the party complained against, and that is

served upon him by a sworn officer, and costs six-pence; which done, the next court-day the plaintiff must attend and call the defendant, and enter his own appearance; else is non-suited, loseth his summons, and must begin again: but the defendant runs no hazard in not appearing the first day.

If the defendant appear the second court-day after summons, he prevents an attachment, and is ordered to pay his debt: for which the plaintiff pays four-pence.

If the defendant fail to appear the second court-day, before the court riseth, the court grants an attachment; which costs, being executed, amount to one shilling and ten-pence.

The officer serves this attachment, as soon as he can find the defendant: which done, he gives the plaintiff notice, that the defendant will meet him next court-day, and that costs four-pence more.

If the defendant appear, and is cast; he pays for the summons and attachment; which is but two shillings and eight-pence in the whole.

But if the defendant appear not the third court-day after attached, then the plaintiff comes and swears his debt, and the court orders payment thereof at the plaintiff's own house, if he pleaseth; which saves eight-pence, that must be paid, if it be brought into court, to take it out again: and this order costs four-pence more.

Of this order the officer gives the defendant notice, and that he must meet the plaintiff in court the third court-day after the making thereof.

If the defendant appear not the third court-day, then, upon the plaintiff's request, the court grants judgment and execution against him; which costs two shillings.

So that the whole charge of summons, order, and attachment, second order for judgment, and the judgment and execution executed, comes but to four shillings and eight pence: and all is done in three weeks time. But the suit in the Marshalsea, Whitechapel, or St. Catharine's, or Westminster courts, and charges incident thereunto, costs four or five pounds; when the debt, or cause of action, was not worth five shillings.

The erecting the court desired would give a great credit to the poor. For, were such courts erected, every gentleman, or person of any considerable estate, would lend a poor distressed neighbour twenty, thirty, or forty shillings, to put him in a way to live; or to prevent their being cast into prison, if arrested for a small sum; whereas, now, poor men are forced to borrow of brokers, pawn double the value of what they borrow, and pay above *cent. per cent.* interest: which eats out their profit, so presseth and grinds them, that they frequently are incapacitated to redeem the pledges left for the money taken up (which is one other great mischief worthy the consideration of the parliament, and fit to be redressed): whereas, whilst the law is thus costly, men are afraid to lend their neighbours thirty or forty shillings to set them up with, or to prevent their being imprisoned; because, if they repay it not without a suit, the same may cost five or six times as much as the original debt; and when the creditor hath judgment, he is not sure of his debt, but in danger, through the poverty of the creditor, to lose both principal, debt, interest, and charges, or undergo the hard censures and clamours of the poor by confining them to prison; which no ingenuous or generous soul can endure the thoughts of.

By the erecting this court, there is none can be prejudiced, excepting:

First, Bailiffs; one of which fellows, to arrest a poor man, though it be but for three-pence, four-pence, or some other very small sum, makes the man pay four or five shillings for the arrest; hurries him into an alehouse, and there runs him twelve-pence or two shillings on the score; and, if not able presently to pay the same, hurries him to prison.

Secondly, Several idle persons, falsely calling themselves attorneys, (who are as active as the bailiffs to promote and carry on suits begun, though but for trivial matters, setting people together by the ears, and living upon the ruin of the poor,) make them sell their very beds from under them, or clothes from off their backs, to pay their pretended fees, and the fees of the courts; which is too frequently done.

Thirdly, Or the judges of the Marshalsea, Westminster, St. Catharine's, Whitechapel, and other inferior courts of record, where small debts, under forty shillings, may be recovered:

but, certainly, they (having their places given them, *gratis*, and being persons of generous education,) will not oppose so charitable a work as this proposed, though they should lose some profit thereby; such profit coming from such miserable poor people, that it were charity in them rather to give them as much as their fees come to, than to exact any thing from them.

And if they, by the court desired, should lose a little profit, they will save much time that they now spend in trying these causes; and, being lawyers, may certainly spend it to as great, if not better advantage, than what they will lose by setting up the judicature proposed.

Let these consider, that such gentlemen, not being lawyers, as shall be appointed judges of the courts desired, will be greater losers than they are; since they must sit and spend their time and money without any manner of compensation at all, save the satisfaction they will receive in being instrumental in doing good to the poor, which certainly they will do.

For, whereas now it costs five or six pounds to recover five or six shillings, by the way proposed; four shillings and eight-pence is all the charge, though the suits be spun out to the utmost extremity, that any suitor or defendant can be put unto.

So, by the setting-up of this court, justice will be had speedier and cheaper. The ruin of many poor people, by multitudes of vexatious suits for small matters, will be prevented. Love and amity betwixt neighbours will be preserved, charges of the parishes lessened, men's liberties to follow their callings, to their own and family's comfort, will be continued; and the debts they owe be more easily and speedily paid. And a work very pleasing and acceptable to God will be done, who hath pronounced a blessing upon all those who consider the poor, for whose relief alone this is proposed.

X.

The tenth thing proposed is, That a bound be put to the extravagant habits and expences of all sorts of persons; that servants and handicraft-tradesmen's expensive ways be reduced, and no foreign manufactures, except from Ireland, be suffered to be worn in England; but that the importation, and exposing them to sale, be made felony.

There is nothing ruins the gentry and tradesmen of England so much, as living above their estates, or profit arising by their trades. How much all sorts of men do this, I leave the world to judge; their habits and other expences being more extravagant and vain than ever was known: and not only do masters and mistresses of families run to excess in their own dresses, but suffer and encourage their servants also to do the same, which costs them dear at last; for all comes out of their pockets, and it makes servants so proud and scornful, as to neglect their duties, slight their superiors, and, upon every little reproof, to go from them.

How many gentlemen are there in England that spend their whole yearly incomes upon clothing themselves, their wives and children? What way then have they to answer their other family-expences, but by spending upon the main stock? How careless are parents of their children's education; bringing them up idly, putting them upon no manner of employment, unless to musick and dancing; using them to balls and plays, and to keep vain company? Which they get such an habit of, that they very hardly, if ever, can be broken from it; but spend most of their time in gaming, whoring, and drinking: so that, by the time they come to their estates, whatever their fathers leave them, by following their examples, they quickly make it away, if they have not run it out before they come to it. Their clothes must be of the mode; gentlemen of three or four-hundred pounds, *per annum*, will be as fine, keep their coaches, live as high as if they were lords, and had great estates; and nothing will serve them but what is foreign made, whilst our own countrymen starve for want of work: insomuch now, that our English manufacturers, of silk especially, and point-laces and ribbons, (which are become a general wear,) cannot sell their goods when they have made them; or, if they do, it is at such pitiful low rates, that they lose by their work; and the shop-keepers that buy them, when they come to shew them to customers, are forced to vouch them to be foreign made, or else they

cannot sell them : so that our manufacturers are often necessitated to get Frenchmen to go with their wares, and sell them to shopkeepers as French. Thereupon the gentry, though the goods be English made, are so fond as to pay dearer for them than otherwise they need to do ; because of the brokerage which the manufacturer pays to those that sell them to the shops, and so the manufacturers get little or nothing by them. So great a truth there is in this ; that I could instance where persons of quality have come into a shop, seen a commodity, liked it well, but being ingenuously told that it was English made, would not buy it. The very next day, the same goods have been sent by a Frenchwoman to the persons desiring to buy the same, and they have bought them as French goods ; and paid double as much for them as they might have had them for the day before in the shop.

Is not this a thing highly commendable in our gentry, so to admire foreigners ; and undervalue, discourage, and hurt their native countrymen ? Did they consider, or were they but sensible, how they hurt and ruin them, themselves, and their own estates, by such their vain fancies ; hindering the consumption of our manufactures, and impoverishing our manufacturers ; certainly they would give it over. A further mischief there is also, that gentlemen and ladies do fancy greatly to have their servants, that are about them, so fine and neat, that they must be in their silk-gowns and petticoats laced, whisks and cuffs, fine shoes and stockings, that they will not do any ordinary work ; whereby they are necessitated to keep more servants than they used or need to do. And what the wages and diet of every servant comes to in a year, especially about London, where it is that most people are grown so vain, let themselves compute.

Come to the citizens, who complain for want of a trade ; but without a cause, though so many tradesmen fail yearly ; for there never was a greater trade than there is now. What reason is there then of their failing ? It is high living ; every tradesman thinking now to have as great a trade, and as quickly to grow rich, as those did that were of his trade twenty or thirty years ago ; never considering that there are five times as many of most trades as were then, and that, thereby, trade is more diffused ; shop-keepers, of late years, through covetousness of a little money, taking double or treble the number of apprentices that formerly they kept, or indeed, if strictly looked after, than they ought to keep ; nothing spoiling any particular trade more than to have multiplicity of traders in the same way. With these apprentices they exact as much more money, as formerly they used to have ; so that, perhaps, half their portion is gone to bind them apprentices : which is a great madness, and no reason to be given for it, but because apprentices must live high, and wear finer clothes than formerly they did ; wait on their masters abroad, and do none of the servile work, that formerly they used to do ; which kept them humble. And if they were now obliged to the same, it would keep them from growing so proud and scornful as they are, or taking the liberty they now do, of taunting at their superiors, quarrelling with their services, usage, and diet, and going from them, when fit to do them service. And if it happen that they do serve out their time, and have a thousand pounds to set up with, it is very well, and a fair beginning ; treble as much as many of their masters had, when they set up ; who, by close living, and diligence, and great industry, after many years care and pains, have arrived to an estate of twenty, thirty, or forty-thousand pounds, and a good certain custom : so, consequently, are able to buy their commodities, with ready money, cheaper than he that hath but a small stock, and trades upon credit ; and thereby they are able to keep the custom from their servants, when they set up ; because they can give customers a greater credit, and a longer time for payment. Yet a young man, as soon as he comes out of his time, not knowing whether ever he shall attain to a full trade, will have as good a house as his master's, keep as high a table, and lay out four or five-hundred pounds, out of his thousand pounds stock, in furnishing his house, and the fine of the same ; his design being thereby to advance himself in a match. And thereupon he gets a wife, perhaps, with a thousand pounds portion, which, added to his own stock, if the same had been kept together, would have made two-thousand pounds ; but of this (one half of his being gone for a fine of a house and furniture, as afore-

said,) the wife, out of her's, will have fine clothes, laces, cupboards of plate, a necklace of pearls, jewels in her ears, diamond-rings on her fingers, bulls-locks or towers, laced or embroidered petticoats, shoes, and silk-hose: so that in these things go three or four-hundred pounds more, which might, most of it, have been saved. Add to this the vast rent he sits at, and must pay; whether he hath a trade, or not. If this had been spared, he might have had it of his own to have traded with; but, this laid out, it lies dead; whilst he is forced, for want thereof, to trade upon credit for so much, and pay interest for the same. This credit if he keeps not, he is lost; and, being necessitated to trust, and trusting being dangerous, many men are undone, partly by that, and partly by the extravagancies of their good wives; who, being through their husbands' vanity and indiscretion made so fine, will not stir out of doors without a coach, and yet make such frequent and long visits, that they spend more in coach-hire, some weeks, than the gains of the shop come to: and abroad they get new acquaintance, at balls, plays, or dancing-schools; and being young, pretty, and in fine clothes, are so courted and gallanted, that oftentimes they are persuaded into such inconveniencies, as prove fatal to their husbands, as well as to themselves. But the husbands may blame themselves; they being originally the occasion thereof, and of their own ruin thereby: for nothing will serve them, but to live at this rate, keep their wives thus fine, expose them to temptations, by setting them in their shops in tempting dresses, thinking to invite customers; and thereby very often they have that effect: but sometimes those customers make bold with that ware that should not be sold or lent; and once having attained that liberty, if both parties agree, it is ten to one if that poor man be not presently blown up, either by the charge his wife will put him to, in maintaining that gallant; or by the credit that good gentleman shall have in the shop, to take up what he pleases: and then, when gone as far as the owner can give credit for, he leaves the shop and his mistress to his care. Nevertheless, sometimes men are undone and yet their wives are virtuous, (as, without doubt, many thousands are, and more would be, were it not the husband's fault,) that is, when, after their being a while set up, and a little estate gotten, they grow high, keep their coaches, must have their country-houses, the candles burning at both ends, never thinking they shall see an end of their gains. And their wives, forsooth, must not be nurses, but send their children abroad: so that, reckoning the charge of keeping there, and frequent going to see them, and the gifts and good things that are unknown carried to the nurses; these high expences, accompanied with a decay and declination of trade, occasioned by the multiplicity of traders, as aforesaid, go far in destroying young beginners. Moreover, the keeping unnecessary maid-servants, giving them great wages, and maintaining them idle in fine habits and dresses (who with their vain and wanton carriages oftentimes become snares to young men) this finisheth the work; and both masters, mistresses, and servants come all to ruin thereby.

One other great mischief to the young tradesmen, who are industrious, close husbands, and sober in their habits and expences, is the great rents they pay in the city; when the trade is gone to the other end of the town, where rents are low. Were all men of my mind, those who lived in London before the fire, and are freemen, and now, to the destruction of the city, live in the suburbs, merely to enrich themselves; they should starve, before a penny should be laid out amongst them. Why should they not come into the city again, and make that the seat of trade? Which is the metropolitan of England, and at such vast charge, in compliance with the king's pleasure, is nobly rebuilt, and so many thousands are undone by the building thereof, by having their houses stand empty on their hands. Such base, treacherous men to the city, (who no more value the oaths they took, when bound apprentices and made free,) ought not to be countenanced, where they are, by buying any thing of them; there is not one of these but is forsworn, if he duly weigh and consider the purport of his oath; and he, that will make no conscience of forswearing himself, merely to gain a little advantage in his trade, I am sure, will make no conscience of cheating of me, therefore shall never have any of my custom.

One other great mischief to young tradesmen is, that they, being but beginners, are forced to keep shops, in order to gain a custom, and thereby are constrained to pay great rents, and

taxes; which are very hard upon London, treble as much in proportion, as upon any one county of England, and paid by these young men, whilst your cunning rich ancient tradesmen, having a large acquaintance, great stock, and a full trade, give over their shops, and take a country-house, where they live for a small rent, pay not the sixth part of taxes, that are paid in London; and so carry on their trade in London, privately in warehouses. I could name several of the chief-magistrates that do so; but will not at present, though they deserve it. Have they, through God's blessing, arrived, by their trades in the city, to great estates, and to be the chief-magistrates thereof, only to be covetous and sordid; seeking to save a little money, when they have so much, that they know not what to do with it; and thereby put all the charges upon those young shop keepers, through their avarice? And thus many of these young men fall to ruin, whilst the elder run away with all the trade, and ingross the same into their own hands. It is a great shame this should be suffered, and such men ought not to have any manner of government, or power in or over the city, who make use of it, only to enrich themselves, by destroying those they govern.

Moreover, handicraft tradesmen's high wages, which they exact for their work, is greatly mischievous; not only to every man, that hath occasion to use them, whose particular occasion cannot be served, but at far greater rates than formerly, which, if that were all, would be little; but it is destructive to trade, hinders the consumption of our manufactures by foreigners, and the exportation of those vast quantities, that used to be transported, when the manufacturing of them was so cheap as formerly: for, now wool and leather being cheaper manufactured, beyond the seas than here, we are under-sold in foreign markets, to our great prejudice; which, if not prevented, in few years, will tend to the total ruin and destruction of our woollen and leather manufactures. I can give no better account for this advancement of their wages, than our English people's foolishness, in encouraging foreigners, beyond their own neighbours; wearing their manufactures, and neglecting the use of our own; by means whereof our manufacturers work is carried away from them: so that, whereas they had six days work formerly, they have not above three now; and having the same families, must either have double the wages they had, when they had full employ, (which enhanced the price of the commodities,) or let their families want bread three days in the week.

So the case thus stands in short: As for the loss of the foreign trade we had, and the want of the consumption that used to be of our manufactures in foreign parts, no other reason can be given, but that foreigners are able to make their work cheaper than we do, and thereby are able to undersell us, wherever we come: and the reason of their working cheaper is, because they live not so high, neither are their expences in wages and working, so great as ours. If they were, how could foreigners fetch our wool and leather, pay freight and custom outward, manufacture it abroad, and then import it back again, paying a second custom, and yet sell it cheaper here, than we do ours? If this be true, and thereby the foreign consumption of our manufactures be lost, the more reason there is then, in my poor judgment, to endeavour the reducing the wages of our manufacturers; and themselves to a more sober and less expensive way of living, that thereby, if possible, we may regain that trade: which if we do, we shall soon set our people at work, who now want bread. And nothing can be more conducing to this end, than to enjoin all Englishmen, not to wear any thing but what is of our own growth and manufactures; which will increase a consumption at home, and set those at work, who now live idle, and by giving them full work, would bring down their wages: so that then we having our wool, and leather, cheaper than foreigners have, and being able to manufacture them at as easy rates as they do; it will then necessarily follow, that we may undersell them in foreign markets; which if we can do, and will be honest, make good substantial and true work, that will hold out its weight, and the full length and breadth they formerly did, we may regain that foreign trade.

And, the better to effect this, all foreign manufactures, except that of linen, (which we cannot be without,) ought to be prohibited, and the exposing them to sale made felony;

so as the person selling be privy to their being such, except what is manufactured in Ireland; which of necessity we must make ourselves masters of: otherwise, they having wool, and leather, and workmen, cheaper than we can have, will by supplying foreign markets, at lower rates, than we can sell for, gain that trade; and thereby destroy ours. But if these be imported into England, and bought by us; though we buy them cheap, yet when we have them, we may hold up and advance their price, so as to make them bear equal proportion, with what we can afford our own for: which we may do also with their cattle, if imported again; and being masters both of their and our own, force foreigners, especially if the exportation of wool and leather be prevented, to be beholden to us for what they want, and can no where else have; whereby trade will be increased, consumption of the products of our lands promoted, and thereby the price of them will be raised, and consequently lands yield better rents. And by this increase of trade, his majesty's revenue, by a moderate computation, would be advanced above one-hundred-thousand pounds, *per ann.* which would be an additional help, towards payment of the public debts; and no prejudice, but a great advantage to his majesty's subjects.

XI.

The eleventh proposal is, That it may be lawful for any man to assign bills, bonds, or other securities, to any person or persons whatsoever; and that, by virtue of such assignment, the interest in the said debt, due upon such security, may immediately be vested in the assignee. And to the end, that the frauds by false entries in shop-books may be prevented: that it be made unlawful for any person, after three years, to sue for a book-debt; and that the great deceits used by many persons, who break merely to deceive creditors, may (if possible) by some severe and strict law be prevented: than which,

First, There is hardly any thing can be of greater advantage to trade.

Secondly, Of greater security to the gentry, that they shall not for the future be wronged.

Thirdly, Of more advantage to the nation, in general.

For want of power to assign securities, many tradesmen and gentlemen are every year undone.

It is true, that men commonly make letters of attorney to their creditors, to enable them to put bonds, bills, or other securities, into suit, that are made to them; but those letters of attorney are revocable; so that the men to whom they are made, are not secure, that the person that makes them, shall not afterwards revoke the same, or discharge any suit brought upon any such bill, bond, or other security, by virtue of such letters of attorney. And so no man will accept of any bond entered into to another man, and a letter of attorney from the person to whom the same is entered into, as a security for any debt due to himself, from the person to whom such bond is given. Tradesmen live upon credit, buy much upon trust, and are obliged to pay on certain days; on which if they fail, their credit is lost: and, as they buy upon credit, so they must sell upon trust. And if the person trusted by them pay not at the time limited, yet are they that trust them obliged to observe punctually their days of payment; because the credit of those merchants that trust them depends thereupon. Nevertheless, many tradesmen, because they cannot get in what is owing to them, are forced to fail in point of their payments, which lessens their credit, and begets suits; and those suits occasion the ruin of many families, although the persons sued have in other men's hands good debts, which, when received, would be sufficient to answer all their creditors.

But if the assignment of debts due upon bill, bond, or other securities, were by act of parliament made lawful; and it were enacted, that such assignment should be irrevocable, and that the interest in the debts, due upon such security, should by virtue of such assignments, be actually vested in the assignee; then, if A. owed B. the sum of five-hundred pounds, and B. owed C. five-hundred pounds, and B. his time of payment was come, and he had no money to pay the same; the assignment of A. his bond to C. would be accepted, if he were a person answerable, in discharge of B. his debt. And if he had occasion to

pay money, and had it not by him, C. might presently assign the said A. his bond to D. and D. to E. &c. And this would make all bills, bonds, and other securities, as good as ready money: which will be of great use to the subjects, and prevent the multiplicity of suits that now happen; and thereby the ruin of many families.

Secondly, It will be of great advantage and security to the gentry; for, if their bills, bonds, or other securities be assignable, persons, to whom they enter into such securities, though they want money, will not be hasty to put their securities in suit, or compel them (as now they are forced to do) frequently to shift and alter securities; which is chargeable and difficult; because then, bonds will be in the nature of ready money, and in trade be equally as good, when assignments shall be enacted to be irrevocable; and that suits brought thereupon by the assignees, in their own names and to their own uses, shall not be discharged, but by delivering up the securities themselves; and that not without the consent of the person, to whom (by indorsement on the back of such securities) it shall appear to have been last assigned: and to enact, that no person shall be sued for a book-debt, after three years, would be of excellent use both to buyer and seller. For frequently it hath happened, that gentlemen who had taken up goods upon trust, living remote in the country, have afterwards sent up money, and paid for the same, but not seen the book crossed; whereupon, many years after the death of the buyer and seller, by the executor of the seller, the buyer's executor hath been sued for the same, and the plaintiff hath recovered against him, merely because such a debt hath been found standing in the book, and the delivering of the goods proved; and so a verdict hath passed against the executor of the debtor, because he hath not been able to prove payment for the same.

How many, by letting debts stand long in shop-keepers' books, have, when they came to account with them, found entries made of goods never bought by them, or of greater quantities, than they had of such goods as they did buy? But, if no book-debt shall be sued for, after three years standing, it will oblige the shop-keepers to come to account, once in three years; and get bill or bond for their monies, whilst things are fresh in memory, or else to sue for the same; when, if any thing be found unjust in their books, the creditor will be able, by his memory, to discover the same, and prevent payment thereof. Besides, it will prevent perjury, and other foul practices.

Thirdly, This act desired, would be of great advantage to the nation in general; for, when passed, all bills, bonds, and other good securities will be tantamount to ready money; so that there will be twenty-thousand pounds, or as good as twenty-thousand pounds in England, instead of every thousand pounds, that now is passing in trade, which must necessarily be a great advantage to the publick.

This course is practised in other foreign parts, and found of as great importance and benefit to trade, as can be imagined. And, for preventing the mischiefs arising to traders by the knaveries of persons pretending to be bankrupts, and who break with design only to defraud their creditors, some further and stricter act must be made, than hitherto there hath been; otherwise, there will be no trusting any man: it being frequent for men of wicked and cheating principles, when they design to break, (knowing themselves to be persons not suspected to fail, but of a good credit,) to take up great parcels of goods, or sums of money of several other tradesmen; which, so soon as they get into their hands, they dispose unto friends in trust for them, and their wives, and children: which done; then they presently do some act, whereby they become bankrupts; as such are prosecuted; commissions taken out to declare them bankrupts; whereupon, they withdraw and abscond themselves in the country, till they can get releases from their creditors, or compound for some small matter; or otherwise they take the King's Bench, lie within the Rules, and frequently go abroad; and, all that time, have the money, they break for, going in trade in other names; and from such their trustees they receive the benefit thereof, wherewith, they live high, whilst their creditors are undone by them; and if they cannot bring their creditors to composition, they will continue all their life-time in the King's-Bench, and the creditors get nothing; so that their creditors are frequently brought to small composition. Which done, then these bankrupts immediately appear in their

shops again, richer than ever they were, when first set up; and this, with other honest men's stocks, who, with their families are undone, through the losses sustained by those men's knavish breaking. And this trick some men have played several times over: therefore, it is fit for the future, if possible, to be prevented.

XII.

The twelfth proposal is, That the Newcastle trade for coals be managed by commissioners for the king, whereby the subjects may be supplied with coals, at easy rates, and not be exacted upon, as they now are; and about two-hundred-thousand pounds, *per annum*, be coming to the crown; which would be a further help towards the payment of the public debts.

I need not declare how the subjects are abused in the price of coals: how many poor have been starved, for want of fuel, by reason of the horrid prices put upon them; especially, in time of war, either by the merchant, or the woodmonger, or between them both.

That which I shall propose, is,

That the whole trade be managed by commissioners, for the benefit of the publick.

That those commissioners take care to supply all parts of his majesty's dominions with coals.

That coals be sold all the year long, at two and twenty shillings, *per* chaldron: at which rate, they may very well be afforded. For, at Newcastle, they buy them for about seven shillings *per* chaldron.

The Newcastle chaldron makes five London chaldrons.

The freight of each chaldron is not above six shillings.

The duty to the city, for each chaldron, is but three shillings.

Lighterage, wharfage, and cartage may cost, *per* chaldron, four shillings.

I compute the highest rates that can be imagined: and at these rates, each Newcastle chaldron will lie the commissioners but in twenty shillings.

If then three Newcastle chaldron, computed at three pounds, make five London chaldron, and they be sold for five pounds ten shillings, there is very nigh half in half gotten thereby. Consider then, how many hundred-thousand chaldron of coals are spent every year, and by a moderate computation it will appear; that near two-hundred-thousand pounds *per annum* advantage, may arise hereby to the publick, and the subjects also receive great benefit by the same.

XIII.

The last proposal is, That the fishing-trade may be set up and encouraged, all poor people set at work, to make fishing-tackle, and be paid out of the yearly rates, laid upon the subjects for maintaining of the poor.

This would be of vast advantage to the publick.

The money, yearly paid by the subjects for the relief of the poor, is nigh as much as an assessment of seventy-thousand pounds a month to the king. This is employed only to maintain idle persons; doth great hurt, rather than good; makes a world of poor, more than otherwise there would be; prevents industry and laboriousness; men and women growing so idle and proud, that they will not work, but lie upon the parish wherein they dwell for maintenance; applying themselves to nothing but begging or pilfering, and breeding up their children accordingly; never putting them upon any thing that may render them useful in their generations, or beneficial either to themselves, or the kingdom. But, if instead of giving them weekly allowances for maintaining them in their idleness, the money collected were employed to set all of them, that are able, at work, to some kind of employment or other, suitable to their capacities; it would be of infinite use and advantage to the nation. There are none except bedridden or blind, but some work or other may be found, that they may be capable of doing; which, if they would not set unto, when appointed them, they should have correction, rather than any encouragement, which now they have, by allowing them weekly maintenance. And thus, not only men and women would become useful and beneficial to the kingdom, but their children should

all of them be employed, and set at work, to do something or other, that may keep them from idleness ; which becoming habitual to them in their youth, they are seldom broke off, whilst they live.

Industry and labour ought to be countenanced and encouraged, and magistrates and gentry would do well to give examples thereof to those amongst whom they live. If all the poor now maintained in their idleness were set at work, and paid out of the money raised as aforesaid, those that now have two shillings or three shillings a week, might, by their work, earn so much : or suppose they could earn but one shilling and six-pence a week, and nevertheless receive three shillings, it is half in half saved ; so that a moiety of what now is collected from the people might be spared to them, and yet the poor be as well, or better maintained than now. But, if men, women, and children were set at work, few families that now receive two or three shillings a week, but, in all probability, would and might earn four or five shillings a week ; help to manufacture the staple commodities of the kingdom at cheap rates, and thereby bring down the wages of handicrafts-men ; which now are grown so high, that we have lost the trade of foreign consumption, because, abroad, wool and leather, and the manufactures thereof, are sold at lower rates than we can afford ours at. This mischief of high wages to handicrafts-men is occasioned, by reason of the idleness of so vast a number of people in England, as there are ; so that those that are industrious, and will work, make men pay what they please for their wages : but set the poor at work, and then these men will be forced to lower their rates ; whereby we shall quickly come to sell as cheap as foreigners do, and consequently ingross the trade to ourselves.

There are many ways to set the poor at work, both old and young. Women and children, by spinning of linen, woollen, and worsted, carding, combing, knitting, working plain-work, or points, making bone-lace, or thread or silk laces, brede, and divers other things. The linen-trade, if well regulated, would employ some hundred-thousands of people ; and if brought to perfection, might save vast sums of money, within the kingdom, which now are sent out for the same. The woollen and leathern manufactures would employ multitudes of men, and young youths ; and vast quantities of wool might be manufactured and consumed in England, more than now is, if all the tapestry we now use were made here, which is now imported from beyond the seas. Also, if the act for burying in flannel, as ridiculous as men make it, were put in execution, (seeing flannel would be as good for that use, as linen,) abundance of our poor would be employed in making these things ; and the money, now paid for these foreign manufactures, would be kept in England, and defray the charge of the manufacturing of them at home.

It is not to be imagined how many thousands of men, women, and children, the fishing-trade (which is that I principally aim at) would keep in employment. The making of the nets, sails, cordage, and other materials for that use, the building of fishing-vessels, and the catching and curing of the fish, when catched ; would find work for above two-hundred thousand people ; and would increase the number of sea-men, ship-wrights, and many handicrafts-men. A great revenue, if well managed, would thereby arise to the publick ; and the fish taken would be as good to us, as so much ready-money ; and be taken off beyond seas, in exchange for such goods as we necessarily want, and have from foreign parts, and now pay ready money for.

To conclude ; Were the things proposed as aforesaid, done as desired, trade would be encouraged and increased ; the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom be, in far greater quantities, consumed, both at home and abroad ; the price of lands would be raised, tenants be enabled to pay their rents, the kingdom would be greatly enriched ; and in a few years, the public debts of the kingdom might be discharged, without imposing any considerable tax upon the people.

Let me speak too: Or, Eleven Queries, humbly proposed to the Officers of the Army, concerning the late Alteration of Government.

'The last Testimony amongst Men, both Greeks and Barbarians, which no Time will abolish, is that which, by Oath, calleth the Gods to be Sureties of their Covenants.'

PROCOPIUS.

'Having sworn to his own Hurt, he changeth not.'—PSAL. xv. 4.

'Let your Moderation be known to all Men; for the Lord is at hand.'

London; printed 1659.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

Gentlemen,

As it pleased the Lord of hosts to conduct you through many difficulties hitherto, with whom to this time I have kept pace, and wherein I cannot accord; I humbly (with all affection) propose my scruples, being willing to be delivered from any error, and misapprehension in any kind; and that, which is given with the right-hand, will not, I hope, be taken with the left. And let me acquaint you, it is not private interest, or worldly gain, is any ground at all to incline me to query; for I was never no courtier, nor received any benefit by it, nor was ever like to do, nor ever received the least personal injury from the Long-parliament.

Therefore, as they are the naked and plain result of an unbiassed mind, I hope you will the rather bear with them and me: I know some amongst you, which, I am sorry to see, take all ill, and resent nothing to be reason, but that which comports with their own humours: as for them, I am in little hope, either to receive or give satisfaction.

This only I would farther say, that the former blessings of God, and his mercy unto you, is no argument at all, that he will ever continue the same; but will (as he hath done to other people) more highly declare himself against you; in case you take sanctuary at unrighteous ways and courses, and what are not justifiable before God and men: You have I loved above all the nations of the earth, I therefore will punish you for your iniquity. I do not know any one action, that ever brought your principles into suspicion, and that you bear not the same good-will to righteous and just proceedings, as this last of dethroning his highness without any reason or cause given, at least worthy such severity. All that I have further to say is, that if you have done well, and have the testimony of a good conscience, the Lord establish you; if not, God give you repentance, and make restitution.

Query 1.

WHETHER there be any power or authority by kings or protectors, with parliament or parliaments alone, or a free state so called; and what other government soever be more *jure divino*, than another? And the reason of this query is this. Because no one government, but hath been as beneficial a government to the people as the other: and there is nothing in any new devised way of rotation, which, in itself, is seemingly rational, but whether other governments are not every way as rational, and freer from inconveniencies in the practice of it than the other, and far more, if well considered?

2. Whether the late Protector was not proclaimed, as protector and supreme magistrate,

by the commander-in-chief of the army, in the greatest solemnity imaginable; first, at the Exchange in London, Westminster, and, afterwards throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland; with the greatest testimonies of the soldiers' good-will and liking, and of the people's reception and entertainment with a *nemine contradicente*?

3. Whether the officers and soldiers of the army afterwards, upon more serious deliberation, did not generally address themselves unto the Protector as supreme magistrate; and so did further thereby oblige themselves, and by such a kind of transaction, subjected themselves by way of the most solemn engagements unto him, as supreme magistrate?

4. Whether the people, from all quarters of the nation, did not, after the most solemn manner, address themselves likewise unto him, with the most cordial, zealous, and pathetic expressions, [that it was possible for a poor people, tired out with war and blood, to utter; thinking with themselves, that now they were arrived at the fair haven of peace and safety? And, withal, let this be considered also, that if an agreement of the people (so much talked of by some) be that which would be as a fundamental basis for a government to be settled upon; then, lo here it is. I think it may be said, without the least kind of presumption, that no prince, or king of England, or any other government, since this was a land, had a greater testimony, and witness, and agreement of the people, both religious and others, than this Protector hath; having about four or five-hundred-thousand hands, and twice as many hearts besides?

5. Whether he was not acknowledged and recognized by the freest parliament chosen many years, as supreme magistrate?

6. Whether the lord Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Bury, Hewson, Cooper, &c. did not swear to be true to him as protector when they sat in parliament; and how hateful to God and men, yea, to the very heathens have such things been? Ezekiel, (xvii. 12, 13, 14, 15.) speaking of the faith that the Hebrew kings had given to the Babylonians, Shall he prosper, shall he escape that doeth such things? or, Shall he escape that breaks the covenant, and be delivered? (Verse 16.) As I live, saith the Lord God, surely in the place where the king dwelleth that made him king, whose oath he despiseth, and whose covenant he brake, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die. (Verse 18.) Seeing he despiseth the oath, by breaking the covenant, (when, lo, he had given his hand,) and hath done all these things, he shall not escape.

Philo. An oath is God's testimony of a thing in question?

Austin. He that swears by a stone, if he swear falsely, is perjured; and afterwards saith, The stone heareth not thy words, but God punishes thy fraud.

7. Whether the late Protector (for so it seems he must be called) ever gave any reason or ground at all for these gentlemen to dethrone him, and to protest against him and his government? I could wish, and many thousands more, the reasons might be seen: for nothing hath passed or been observed by diligent observers and partners with you in the same cause, that might render him unlovely or unacceptable to any person whatsoever. However, if there be any grounds or considerations, that might induce the army to such a grand transaction as this; first, to reject and slight him, and then to give reasons (if there be any), is to hang a man first, and to try him afterwards?

8. But if there be no substantial grounds, as it is presumed there none can be, even as little as you may blame the sun for running his course, so harmless hath he been. Whether then there hath been, in any age, more unfaithfulness in justice, greater covenant-breakers, persons so rebellious, men that have rendered the blessed Gospel of Christ and professors thereof more uncomely, than this generation hath done; let the world judge: for, indeed, they have already given their verdict in the case, which is more the pity.

9. Whether your invitation of the Long-parliament, to return to their trust, be not a transparent figment? Who trusted them? The people. But the people since have delivered their trust elsewhere: for, when the late protectors did sent out writs, the people might have staid at home; there were none forced to choose, but freely they have elected others. And if so be the free choice and election of the people make a parliament, and they are also free to choose, as often the Providence of God shall put opportunity into their hands;

then it is very doubtful whether this be any other thing than only a parliament so called, the people having freely declared themselves otherwise.

Obj. But if it be objected, that these gentlemen, with others, made a vote in the Long-parliament, that they should not be dissolved, nor disturbed, until they themselves pleased or saw cause.

Ans. It is a good way of arguing, if it would serve; for if ten or more lords, or great men, should choose stewards and trustees to manage their estates for the best advantage, as usually they do; and after they felt and tasted the sweets of their trust, they should enter into a combination, and resolve and agree amongst themselves, that now, having the sole disposal of their lords' estates, that they would not be put out of their stewardship until they themselves pleased: do you think that they that did thus trust these good stewards were obliged by their stewards' resolution? Doubtless, no: but if, at any time afterwards, their lords should appoint other stewards; doubtless, they ought to officiate, and the others to shift for themselves, except they liked to entertain them the second time; and whether this be not the present case in hand, and these as much a parliament as the other stewards, is the query.

10. Whether this Parliament (if it needs must be so called), with seventy more gentlemen for a senate, be not like to infringe the people's rights; and give less satisfaction, than one single person with a parliament? The first reason is, This parliament of fifty or sixty, or thereabouts, and seventy more besides, have every one of them a long train: there is never a one but is a file-leader; that is, hath, at least, six or ten at his heels, to be provided for one way or other; and all hungry as hawks, ready to catch at any thing; and nothing will serve but the blood of the people, for they must be fed with something.

2. *Reason.* It is against the standing rules of reason, the professed principles of the army, for any power or authority to have the militia, and the command of the people's purses, which this parliament or people hath; which is both destructive and pernicious; though the command of the people's purse was never desired or practised by a single person: and whether a government, settled by parliament, under one head, to execute the laws of the government so made by parliament, be not more pleasing and rational than to have a body consisting of so many heads, which is monster-like? The people, generally, doubtless, had rather have their laws executed by one person, which they love and honour, than to have a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men equal, or worse than themselves, to domineer over them, as it is too apparent they were accustomed to do. Besides, you will find, in case of any exorbitancy in a government, that one for his trust is sooner dealt with than many.

11. Whether the 'Good Old Cause,' so much talked of, be not generally mistaken? For what is this cause so much magnified, but that which you have possessed and enjoyed as free in this Protector's time, as in the Long-parliament; nay, and more also by far? Now let us first inquire what it is. If first, the basis of all our fierce and fiery contests with all sorts, as well the pulling out the Long-Parliament themselves, as against the king and bishops, was not for liberty of conscience, and for a toleration of men of different minds in God's worship and service? Let every man examine the times, the army's declaration, and the course of things every year since the first beginning, and you will find the kindle-coal of all differences was in this; that sometimes prelacy, and then presbytery, both in England and Scotland, had an itch to be beating their fellow-servants; and to ward the dint of their blow, presently we still betook ourselves to our arms; if you will say the liberties of the people was a part and a principal one too. It is true it was, I believe, not only pretended, but intended also. But the people are the most proper judges: he that is beaten, is best able to judge of the blows; and he that is diseased of the gout, or the like, he is most sensible of ease, when he hath it: so the people, if their verdict may pass, Whether the executive power in this Protector, or in committees of Parliament, be best? It is too apparent, if the people (whose servants these gentlemen pretend to be) might speak and be heard; they would neither give them meat, drink, nor lodging for their work; but would be as bad as a high court of justice, I fear.

A Letter to the Lord Fairfax, and his Council of War, with divers Questions to the Lawyers and Ministers: Proving it an undeniable Equity, That the common People ought to dig, plow, plant, and dwell upon the Commons, without hiring them, or paying Rent to any. Delivered to the General and the chief Officers, on Saturday, June 9. By Jer-rard Winstanly, in the Behalf of those who have begun to dig upon George-hill in Surrey.¹

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[Quarto; containing sixteen pages.]

To the Lord Fairfax, General of the English Forces, and his Council of War.

SIR,

OUR digging and plowing upon George-hill in Surrey is not unknown to you, since you have seen some of our persons, and heard us speak in defence thereof; and we did receive mildness and moderation from you, and your council of war, both when some of us were at White-hall before you, and when you came in person to George-hill, to view our works: we endeavour to lay open the bottom and intent of our business, as much as can be, that none may be troubled with doubtful imaginations about us, but may be satisfied in the sincerity and universal righteousness of the work.

We understand that our digging upon that common is the talk of the whole land; some approving, some disowning: some are friends, filled with love, and see the work intends good to the nation, the peace whereof is that which we seek after; others are enemies filled with fury, and falsely report of us, that we have intent to fortify ourselves, and afterwards to fight against others, and take away their goods from them, which is a thing we abhor: and many other slanders we rejoice over, because we know ourselves clear; our endeavour being no otherwise, but to improve the commons, and to cast off that oppression and outward bondage, which the creation groans under, as much as in us lies, and to lift up and preserve the purity thereof.

And the truth is, experience shews us that in this work of community in the earth, and in the fruits of the earth, is seen plainly a pitched battle between the lamb and the dragon, between the spirit of love, humility, and righteousness, (which is the lamb appearing in flesh,) and the power of envy, pride, and unrighteousness, (which is the dragon appearing in flesh): the latter power striving to hold the creation under slavery, and to lock and hide the glory thereof from man; the former labouring to deliver the creation from slavery, to unfold the secrets of it to the sons of men, and so to manifest himself to be the great restorer of all things. And these two powers strive in the heart of every single man, and make

¹ [George-hill, or St. George's Hill, the site of one of Julius Cæsar's camps, is situated in the parish of Walton upon Thames, in the county of Surrey. Of the transactions alluded to in the present tract, no mention is made in the county-histories. A similar piece is, however, noticed by Gough, intitled, 'The true Levellers' Standard; or the State of Community opened and presented to the Sons of Men: By William Everard; on beginning to plant and manure the waste land upon George-hill, &c.' 1649. 4to. Brit. Topog.]

single men to strive in opposition, one against the other; and these strivings will be till the dragon be cast out, and his judgment and downfall hastens a-pace; therefore let the righteous hearts wait with patience upon the Lord, to see what end he makes of all the confused hurlyburlies of the world.

When you were at our works upon the hill, we told you, many of the country-people, that were offended at first, begin now to be moderate, and to see righteousness in our work, and to own it; excepting one or two covetous free-holders, that would have all the commons to themselves; and that would uphold the Norman tyranny over us, which by the victory that you have got over the Norman successor, is plucked up by the roots, therefore ought to be cast away. And we expect, that these our angry neighbours, (whom we never wronged, nor will wrong,) will in time see their furious rashness to be their folly, and become moderate; to speak and carry themselves like men rationally, and leave off pushing with their horns like beasts: they shall have no cause to say we wrong them, unless they count us wrongers of them, for seeking a livelihood, out of the common-land of England, by our righteous labour; which is our freedom, as we are Englishmen, equal with them; and rather our freedom than theirs, because they are elder brothers and freeholders, and call the inclosures their own land; and we are younger brothers, and the poor oppressed, and the common-lands are called ours, by their own confession.

We told you, upon a question you put to us, that we were not against any that would have magistrates and laws to govern, as the nations of the world are governed; but, as for our parts, we shall need neither the one, nor the other, in that nature of government: for as our land is common, so our cattle is to be common, and our corn and fruits of the earth common, and are not to be bought and sold amongst us, but to remain a standing portion of livelihood to us, and our children, without that cheating intanglement of buying and selling, and we shall not arrest one another. And then, what need have we of imprisoning, whipping, or hanging laws, to bring one another into bondage? And we know, that none of those that are subject to this righteous law dares arrest or enslave his brother for, or about the objects of the earth; because the earth is made by our Creator, to be a common treasury of livelihood to one equal with another, without respect of persons.

But now, if you that are elder brothers, and that call the inclosures your own land, hedging out others, if you will have magistrates and laws in this outward manner of the nations, we are not against it; but freely, without disturbance, shall let you alone: and if any of we commoners or younger brothers, shall steal your corn or cattle, or pull down your hedges, let your laws take hold upon any of us that so offends. But while we keep within the bounds of our commons, and none of us shall be found guilty of meddling with your goods, or inclosed properties, unless the spirit in you freely give it up; your laws then shall not reach to us, unless you will oppress or shed the blood of the innocent: and yet, our corn and cattle shall not be locked up, as though we would be proprietors in the middle of the nation. No, no; we freely declare, that our corn and cattle, or what we have, shall be freely laid open, for the safety and preservation of the nation; and we, as younger brothers, living in love with you our elder brothers: for we shall endeavour to do, as we would be done unto; that is, to let every one enjoy the benefit of his creation, to have food and raiment free, by the labour of his hands from the earth.

And as for spiritual teachings, we leave every man to stand and fall to his own master: if the power of covetousness be his master or king, that rules in his heart, let him stand and fall to him; if the power of love and righteousness be his master or king, that rules in his heart, let him stand and fall to him: let the bodies of men act love, humility, and righteousness, one towards another, and let the spirit of righteousness be the teacher, ruler, and judge, both in us and over us: and by thus doing, we shall honour our Father, the spirit that gave us our being; and, we shall honour our mother, the earth, by labouring her in righteousness, and leaving her free from oppression and bondage. We shall then honour the higher powers of the left-hand man, (which is our hearing, seeing, tasting, smelling, feeling,) and walk in the light of reason and righteousness, that is the

king and judge that sits upon this five-cornered throne; and we shall be strengthened by those five well-springs of life, of the right-hand man, (which is, understanding, will, affections, joy, and peace,) and so live like men, in the light and power of the Sun of Righteousness within ourselves feelingly. What need, then, have we of any outward, selfish, confused laws made, to uphold the power of covetousness; when we have the righteous law written in our hearts, teaching us to walk purely in the creation?

Sir; The intent of our writing to you, is not to request your protection, though we have received an unchristian-like abuse from some of your soldiers; for, truly, we dare not cast off the Lord, and make choice of a man or men to rule us. For the creation hath smarted deeply for such a thing, since Israel chose Saul to be their king: therefore, we acknowledge before you, in plain English, that we have chosen the Lord God Almighty to be our king and protector.

Yet, in regard you are our brethren, as an English tribe, and for the present are owned to be the outward governors, protectors, and saviours of this land; and whose hearts we question not, but that you endeavour to advance the same King of Righteousness with us; therefore, we are free to write to you, and to open the sincerity of our hearts freely to you, and to all the world. And, if after this report of ours, either you, or your forces (called Soldiers), or any that own your laws of propriety (called Freeholders), do abuse or kill our persons; we declare to you, that we die, doing our duty to our Creator, by endeavouring, from that power he hath put into our hearts, to lift up his creation out of bondage; and you and they shall be left without excuse in the Day of Judgment, because you have been spoken to sufficiently.

And, therefore, our reason of writing to you is this; in regard some of your foot-soldiers of the general's regiment, under captain Stravie, that were quartered in our town, (we bearing part therein as well as our neighbours, giving them sufficient quarter, so that there was no complaining,) did, notwithstanding, go up to George-hill, where was only one man and one boy of our company of the diggers. And, at their first coming, divers of your soldiers, before any word of provocation was spoken to them, fell upon those two; (beating the boy, and took away his coat off his back,) and some linen and victuals that they had, (beating and wounding the man very dangerously,) and fired our house. Which we count a strange and heathenish practice, that the soldiery should meddle with naked men, peaceable men, countrymen, that meddled not with the soldiers' business, nor offered any wrong to them in word or deed; unless, because we improve that victory which you have gotten, in the name of the commons over king Charles, do offend the soldiery. In doing whereof, we rather expect protection from you than destruction. But, for your own particular, we are assured of your moderation and friendship to us, who have ever been your friends in times of straits; and that you would not give commission to strike us, or fire or pull down our houses, but you would prove us an enemy first.

Yet, we do not write this, that you should lay any punishment upon them; for that we leave to your discretion; only we desire, in the request of brethren, that you would send forth admonition to your soldiers, not to abuse us hereafter, unless they have a commission from you; and truly, if our offences should prove so great, you shall not need to send soldiers for us, or to beat us, for we shall freely come to you upon a bare letter. Therefore, that the ignorant, covetous freeholders, and such of your ignorant soldiers, that know not what freedom is, may not abuse those that are true friends to England's freedom, and faithful servants to the creation; we desire that our business may be taken notice of by you, and the highest council, the parliament; and if our work appear righteous to you, as it does to us, and wherein our souls have sweet peace, in the midst of scandals and abuses: then, in the request of brethren, we desire we may enjoy our freedom, according to the law of contract between you and us; that we, that are younger brothers, may live comfortably in the land of our nativity, with you the elder brothers; enjoying the benefit of our creation, which is food and raiment, freely by our labours; and that we may receive love, and the protection of brethren from you, seeing we have adventured estate and persons with you, to settle the land in peace; and that we may

not be abused by your laws, nor by your soldiers, unless we break over into your inclosures, as aforesaid; and take away your proprieties, before you are willing to deliver it up. And if this you do, we shall live in quietness, and the nation will be brought into peace; while you, that are the soldiery, are a wall of fire round about the nation, to keep out a foreign enemy; and are succourers of your brethren, that live within the land, who endeavour to hold forth the Sun of Righteousness in their actions, to the glory of our Creator.

And you and the parliament, hereby, will be faithful in your covenants, oaths, and promises to us, as we have been faithful to you and them, in paying taxes, giving free-quarter, and affording other assistance in the public work; whereby we, that are the common people, are brought almost to a morsel of bread: therefore we demand our bargain, which is freedom with you in this land of our nativity. But, if you do slight us and our cause, then know we shall not strive with sword and spear, but with spade and plough, and such like instruments, to make the barren and common lands fruitful; and we have, and still shall commit ourselves and our cause unto our righteous King, whom we obey, even the Prince of Peace, to be our protector; and unto whom you likewise profess much love, by your preaching, praying, fastings; and in whose name you have made all your covenants, oaths, and promises to us. I say, unto him we appeal, who is and will be our righteous judge; who never yet failed those that waited upon him, but ever did judge the cause of the oppressed righteously.

We desire that your lawyers may consider these questions, which we affirm to be truths; and which give good assurance, by the law of the land, that we that are the younger brothers, or common people, have a true right to dig, plow up, and dwell upon the commons, as we have declared.

1. Whether William the Conqueror came not to be king of England by conquest, turned the English out of their birth-rights, burned divers towns, whereof thirty towns were burned by him in Windsor Forest; by reason whereof all sorts of people suffered, and compelled the conquered English, for necessity of livelihood, to be servants to him and his Norman soldiers?

2. Whether king Charles was not successor to the crown of England from William the Conqueror? And whether all laws, that have been made in every king's reign, did not confirm and strengthen the power of the Norman conquest; and so did, and do still hold the commons of England under slavery to the kingly power, his gentry, and clergy?

3. Whether lords of manors were not the successors of the colonels and chief officers of William the Conqueror, and held their royalty to the commons by lease, grant, and patents from the king; and the power of the sword was and is the seal to their title?

4. Whether lords of manors have not lost their royalty to the common-land, since the common people of England, as well as some of the gentry, have conquered king Charles; and recovered themselves from under the Norman conquest?

5. Whether the Norman conqueror took the land of England to himself, out of the hands of a few men, called a parliament; or from the whole body of the English people? Surely he took freedom from every one, and became the disposer both of inclosures and commons: therefore every one, upon the recovery of the conquest, ought to return into freedom again, without respecting persons; or else what benefit shall the common people have, that have suffered most in these wars, by the victory that is got over the king? It had been better for the common people there had been no such conquest: for they are impoverished in their estates by free-quarter and taxes, and made worse to live than they were before. But, seeing they have paid taxes, and given free-quarter, according to their estates, as much as the gentry to theirs; it is both reason and equity, that they should have the freedom of the land for their livelihood, which is the benefit of the commons, as the gentry have the benefit of their inclosures.

6. Whether the freedom, which the common people have got by casting out the kingly power, lie not herein principally; To have the land of their nativity for their livelihood,

freed from the entanglement of lords, lords of manors, and landlords, which are our task-masters? As, when the enemy conquered England, he took the land for his own, and called that his Freedom; even so, seeing all sorts of people have given assistance to recover England from under the Norman yoke; surely all sorts, both gentry in their inclosures, and commonalty in their commons, ought to have their freedom, not compelling one to work for wages for another.

7. Whether any laws, since the coming in of kings, have been made in the light of the righteous law of our creation, respecting all alike; or have not been grounded upon selfish principles, in fear or flattery of their king, to uphold freedom in the gentry and clergy, and to hold the common people under bondage still, and so respecting persons?

8. Whether all laws, that are not grounded upon equity and reason, not giving an universal freedom to all, but respecting persons, ought not to be cut off with the king's head? We affirm, they ought. If all laws be grounded upon equity and reason, then the whole land of England is to be a common treasury to every one that is born in the land; but, if they be grounded upon selfish principles, (giving freedom to some, and laying burthens upon others,) such laws are to be cut off with the king's head; or else the neglecters are covenant, oath, and promise-breakers, and open hypocrites to the whole world.

9. Whether every one without exception, by the law of contract, ought not to have liberty to enjoy the earth for his livelihood, and to settle his dwelling in any part of the commons of England, without buying or renting land of any; seeing every one, by agreement and covenant among themselves, have paid taxes, given free-quarter, and adventured their lives to recover England out of bondage? We affirm, they ought.

10. Whether the laws, that were made in the days of the kings, do give freedom to any other people, but to the gentry and clergy? All the rest are left servants and bondmen to those task-makers; none have freedom by the laws, but those two sorts of people; all the common people have been, and still are, burdened under them. And, surely, if the common people have no more freedom in England, but only to live among their elder brothers, and work for them for hire; what freedom, then, have they in England, more than we can have in Turkey or France? For, there, if any man will work for wages, he may live among them; otherwise not: therefore consider, whether this be righteous, and for the peace of the nation, that laws shall be made to give freedom to impropiators and freeholders; whereas the poor, that have no land, are left still in the streights of beggary, and are shut out of all livelihood, but what they shall pick out of sore bondage, by working for others, as masters over them; and, if this be not the burthen of the Norman yoke, let rational men judge. Therefore take not away men, but take away the power of tyranny and bad government (the price is in your hand), and let no part of the nation be wronged, for want of a representative.

And here now we desire your public preachers, that say they preach the righteous law, to consider these questions, which confirm us in the peace of our hearts; that we, that are the common people born in England, ought to improve the commons, as we have declared, for a public treasury and livelihood; and that those that hinder us are rebels to their Maker, and enemies to the creation.

First, We demand, Yea or No, Whether the earth, with her fruits, was made to be bought and sold from one to another? And whether one part of mankind was made a lord of the land, and another part a servant, by the law of creation before the fall?

I affirm (and I challenge you to disprove), that the earth was made to be a common treasury of livelihood for all, without respect of persons, and was not made to be bought and sold: and that man-kind, in all his branches, is the lord over the beasts, birds, fishes, and the earth; and was not made to acknowledge any of his own kind to be his teacher and ruler, but the Spirit of Righteousness only his maker, and to walk in his light, and so to live in peace; and this being a truth, as it is, then none ought to be lords or landlords over another, but the earth is free for every son and daughter of mankind to live free upon.

This question is not to be answered by any text of Scripture, or example since the fall; but the answer is to be given in the light of itself, which is the law of righteousness; or that word of God that was in the beginning, which dwells in man's heart, and by which he was made; even the pure law of creation, unto which the creation is to be restored.

Before the fall, Adam, or the man, did dress the garden, or the earth, in love, freedom, and righteousness, which was his rest and peace; but when covetousness began to rise up in him, to kill the power of love and freedom in him, and so made him (man-kind) to set himself one man above another, as Cain lifted up himself above Abel; which was but the outward declaration of the two powers that strive in the man Adam's heart: and when he consented to that serpent, covetousness; then he fell from righteousness, was cursed, and was sent into the earth to eat his bread in sorrow. And from that time began particular propriety to grow in one man over another; and the sword brought in propriety, and holds it up, which is no other but the power of angry covetousness; for Cain killed Abel, because Abel's principles, or religion, were contrary to his. And the power of the sword is still Cain killing Abel, lifting up one man still above another. But Abel shall not always be slain, nor always lie under the bondage of Cain's cursed propriety, for he must rise; and that Abel of old was but a type of Christ, that is now rising up to restore all things from bondage.

Secondly, I demand, Whether all wars, bloodshed, and misery came not upon the creation, when one man endeavoured to be a lord over another, and to claim propriety in the earth one above another? Your Scripture will prove this sufficiently to be true. And whether this misery shall not remove (and not till then), when all the branches of man-kind shall look upon themselves as one man, and upon the earth as a common treasury to all, without respecting persons; every one acknowledging the law of righteousness in them and over them, and walking in his light purely? Then cast away your buying and selling the earth with her fruits; it is unrighteous, it lifts one above another, it makes one man oppress another, and is the burthen of the creation.

Thirdly, Whether the work of restoration lies not in removing covetousness, casting that serpent out of heaven (man-kind), and making man to live in the light of righteousness, not in words only (as preachers do), but in action, whereby the creation shines in glory? I affirm it.

Fourthly, Whether is the King of Righteousness a respecter of persons, yea, or no? If you say No; then who makes this difference, that the elder brother shall be lord of the land, and the younger brother a slave and beggar? I affirm, it was and is covetousness since the fall, not the King of Righteousness before the fall, that made that difference; therefore, if you will be preachers, hold forth the law of righteousness purely, and not the confused law of covetousness, which is the murderer. The law of righteousness would have every one to enjoy the benefit of his creation; that is, to have food and raiment by his labour freely in the land of his nativity; but covetousness will have none to live free, but he that hath the strongest arm of flesh: all others must be servants.

Fifthly, Whether can a man have true peace by walking in the law of covetousness and self, as generally all do; or by walking in the law of universal righteousness, doing as he would be done by? I affirm, there is no true peace, till men talk less, and live more actually in the power of universal righteousness. Then, you preachers, lay aside your multitude of words, and your selfish doctrines; for you confound and delude the people.

Sixthly, Whether does the King of Righteousness bid you love or hate your enemies? If you say, 'Love them;' then I demand of you, Why do some of you, in your pulpits, and elsewhere, stir up the people to beat, to imprison, put to death, or banish, or not to buy and sell with those that endeavour to restore the earth to a common treasury again? Surely, at the worst, you can make them but your enemies; therefore love them, win them by love, do not hate them, they do not hate you.

Seventhly, Whether it be not a great breach of the national covenant to give two sorts of people their freedom; that is, gentry and clergy, and deny it to the rest? I affirm, it

is a high breach; for man's laws make these two sorts of people the antichristian task-masters over the common people: the one forcing the people to give them rent for the earth, and to work for hire for them; the other, which is the clergy, forcing a maintenance of tithes from the people: a practice, which Christ, the Apostles, and Prophets, never walked in; therefore, surely, you are the false Christs, and false prophets, that are risen up in these latter days.

Thus I have declared to you, and to all in the whole world, what that power of life is, that is in me; and, knowing that the Spirit of Righteousness does appear in many in this land, I desire all of you seriously, in love and humility, to consider of this business of public community, which I am carried forth in the power of love, and clear light of universal righteousness, to advance as much as I can; and I can do no other, the law of love in my heart does so constrain me: by reason whereof I am called fool and madman, and have many slanderous reports cast upon me, and meet with much fury from some covetous people; under all which my spirit is made patient, and is guarded with joy and peace. I hate none, I love all, I delight to see every one live comfortably, I would have none live in poverty, streights, or sorrows; therefore, if you find any selfishness in this work, or discover any thing that is destructive to the whole creation, that you would open your hearts as freely to me, in declaring my weakness to me, as I have been open-hearted, in declaring that which I find and feel much life and strength in. But if you see righteousness in it, and that it holds forth the strength of universal love to all, without respect to persons, so that our Creator is honoured in the work of his hand; then own it, and justify it, and let the power of love have his freedom and glory.

JERRARD WINSTANLY.

The reformation, that England now is to endeavour, is not to remove the Norman yoke only, and to bring us back to be governed by those laws, that were before William the Conqueror came in, as if that were the rule or mark we aim at: No, that is not it; but the reformation is according to the word of God, and that is the pure law of righteousness before the fall, which made all things, and unto which all things are to be restored; and he, that endeavours not that, is a covenant-breaker.

This letter, with the questions, was delivered by the author's own hand to the general and the chief officers; and they very mildly promised, they would read it, and consider of it.

An humble Declaration of the Apprentices and other young Men of the City of London, who were Petitioners for Peace; shewing the Causes of their Petitioning, and the Passages concerning it. Together with a true Copy of their Petition, as it was delivered to both Houses of Parliament; disclaiming those in Print, which were without their Knowledge.

Nulla salus bello; pacem te poscimus omnes.

Printed at London, 1642.

[Folio; containing eight pages.]

WE the Apprentices, and other young men, in and about the city of London, having lately engaged ourselves in a petition for peace, and thereunto subscribed; do now, for the satisfaction of all, who are desirous for peace, and to be informed of the truth of our proceedings, as also for the clearing ourselves from those malicious calumnies, that either are or shall be cast upon us; humbly and truly inform, and declare to all the world, that that which first gave life, and quickening to our undertaking of this petition, was the glory of God, and the peace and happiness of our king, parliament, and kingdom, and for no by-respect, or ill design whatsoever.

The contents of which petition follow, *verbatim*, viz.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, in the High Court of Parliament now assembled.

The humble Petition of divers Apprentices, and other young Men, in and about the City of London.

In most humble manner sheweth,

THAT your former gracious acceptation of petitions from persons of as mean quality as ourselves; your late kind embracement of that petition from our masters, and others of eminent quality; together with your constant endeavours for a pacification, for which we present our humble thanks; hath conceited us, though, in regard of our present condition, not so much considerable, to address ourselves also, in all humility, to this honourable assembly, whom we conceive the only means, under God, for our redress; beseeching you to persist, as you have honourably begun, in working a period of these ruining distractions.

And though the present calamity doth not so immediately reflect upon your petitioners: yet we, considering the loss of so many of our fellows' lives, the daily hazard the rest are exposed to, and foreseeing the face of our own ruin, in our masters' present condition, as also prizing our parents' and friends' lives and livelihoods, as dearly as our own; hold ourselves engaged by the laws of conscience and nature, to be no less solicitous, for the bleeding condition of this church and state; in regard, though servants we are subjects, and humbly conceive ourselves to be concerned herein.

We come, therefore, in the still voice, to embowel our grievances and zealous desires before you; not presuming to dictate to your grave judgments, but humbly desiring you

to pardon our boldness, in petitioning, and the errors of our petition, if any be: and unanimously beseech you to consider these present distractions, the continual and increasing violations of our religion by papists and sectaries, the breach of our known laws, the invasion of the subjects' liberties, and general decay of trade.

Reflecting also, with serious thoughts, upon these inevitable dangers, that now hover over our heads; ushered in by a civil, unnatural, and bloody war, whose effects are the impartial destructions of Christians, the effusion of much innocent blood, the impoverishing and dispeopling of the kingdom, and exposing the body of the state, to the merciless tyranny of famine, sickness, and invasion, the fore-runners of an universal confusion.

All which, better known to your apprehensions, we humbly desire you to ponder, and to prosecute your pious intentions for peace; leaving no just way unattempted which may conduce to the settlement of these differences, that the undiscerning sword be not umpire to decide controversies, of so near concernment: neither give audience to any incendiaries of this present war, whose only aim, we fear, is to prey upon the lives and livings of his majesty's loyal subjects; that the Gospel of peace need not be maintained by war; but that the cemented joints of the church and state may hold firm the bond of unity; to the glory of God, the good of his majesty, the preservation of parliaments, the only happiness of this kingdom, and enablement for a supply, for the necessities of our distressed brethren in Ireland.

And your petitioners, as in all duty bound, shall daily pray for a blessing upon your consultations.

To which we have subscribed our hands and hearts, each ready to sacrifice his life for accomplishment thereof.

Of which petition we dispersed several copies; for no other cause, but to procure subscriptions with the more convenience. But, by what means we know not, there was a very false copy printed, and entitled ours; but so different from the true petition, both in matter and expressions, that had it not been for the title, we could not believe it had at all concerned us.

This we conceive, was a great wrong to us, and did indeed discourage some of us, from our intended presenting of our petition. But yet, at last, we poising both, preferred the glory of God, and peace of this church and state, before any thing that might discourage or dishearten us.

Whereupon all agreed upon Monday, January the second, for our day of delivery, and accordingly set forth notes, desiring all the subscribers to meet at the Piazzas in Covent-Garden, in complete civil habit, without swords or staves. Upon which day, and at which place, there met a very considerable number of us, and (which in modesty we would not say of ourselves, but that we are scandalously and falsely traduced by others,) did demean and behave ourselves very civil and orderly.

But it fell out, that without our knowledge or consent, there thrust in among us a papist; which we being informed of, presently expelled him our company, to avoid all cause of scandal upon our intentions.

After this comes one, and began to sing a ballad in dishonour to the parliament; but we presently discarded him also, with manifest expression of our great dislike of his doings.

This done, a lieutenant to a troop of horse came to us, to know the intent of our appearance; being before informed, (as he told us,) that we had pistols about us, which was altogether false.

And then at the appointed time we repaired to Westminster, into the Palace-Yard, and were presently called before captain Harvey, who attended there with his troop; and by him, after some small discourse between us, twenty of us were admitted to the house of lords; the rest, by his direction, immediately and quietly retreated to White-Hall gate, waiting the return of their fellows.

We, coming to the house, were bold to acquaint the ever-honoured earl of Pembroke with our desires; who was pleased to impart them to the house. But by reason of a conference of both houses, as we conceive, the lords sent us a note, by Mr. Maxwell, to this effect:

‘The lords have formerly expressed their dislike of coming in multitudes to the parliament, and they take notice of a great multitude that came, this morning, towards the parliament: which manner of coming with petitions, they are yet unsatisfied withal. But, if you will choose a few of you, and come some other day, they will receive your petition.’

Upon this, in obedience to their lordships’ directions, we for that time departed; having appointed twenty of us to deliver our petition on the next day. But we retiring homewards, it was told us, that some of our company tarried at White-Hall gate, and stopped some of the lords’ coaches, crying for peace. Upon this we wrote a note to captain Harvey, subscribed by the twenty deliverers, and by three of them delivered to him, wherein we expressed our thanks for his courtesy shewed to us: and that we were informed, that divers who pretended to be of our mind, tarried behind, we know not for what design: and that, if they did any action which was unlawful, we disclaimed it; desiring to steer all our actions by the known laws of God and man; and therefore, if any thing were done to the contrary, we desired it might be suppressed, that it might not be a scandal to our intentions, nor a hindrance to the answer of our petition. Which we presented to the captain; who did accept it, and approve of our carriage, and behaviour therein.

This was the passage of that day.

On Tuesday, the twenty appointed to deliver the petition met, and went to the house with it; and while they were waiting at the door for admittance, there was one in a minister’s habit, did with much boldness and confidence, (but withal, as falsely and causelessly,) affirm to some lords of the house, that we intended to plunder houses in Covent-Garden, and that some of our company motioned it; which seemed very strange to us, knowing it to be altogether false. But yet upon some examination of the matter, it fell out, that some such words had fallen from a soldier, not of our company, perhaps incited to it; who, as we are credibly informed, is now in custody for it. And the informer hereof, being convinced by his own conscience and our arguments, did at last recant it, and desire our favourable opinion of him. Some other false suggestions were urged against us and our petition, by some either mis-informed or ill-affected persons. But it pleased God to make them appear, to the honourable house, to be false and frivolous.

But after all these winds and storms, came a still voice, and gave us admittance to the lords; who being entered, delivered our petition. And the earl of Manchester declared to us, “That the house was content to accept of our petition, and that they would give us their answer in due time.”

From thence we went to the honourable house of commons, where we found a most ready, and favourable, and (for aught we could conceive) a general consent to accept of our petition. And after reading thereof Mr. Speaker did declare, “That the pleasure of the house was to accept our petition, and that they would take it into their serious consideration.”

We returned our humble thanks, and departed.

We desire now to clear ourselves from many false aspersions that are cast upon us. Concerning the matter of our petition, it being in substance for nothing but peace, and aiming at the advancement of God’s glory, and the quiet of the church and state, it is, we conceive, good and lawful; yet there want not those who speak against the very subject of it, peace. But we wonder not much at them; they being such as are made complete soldiers on the sudden, and suck their whole subsistence, and fix their hopes to repair their breaches and decays, upon the ruin of others; fearing that the settling of our trades will be the decay of theirs. And to leave nothing unattempted, which may discourage us, and others, from prosecuting hereof, they have studied new sophistry, to prove peace to be no peace; and under pretence, that we ‘Peace-petitioners’ (as they mockingly call us) do oppose

truth, they do indeed beat down both. Whereas any man, that is not purblind with prejudice and faction, may discern that the parliament, the supreme court of judicature, and centre of wisdom and piety, will never consent to a peace, that shall war with truth; they being twins of the commonwealth, and inseparable. And we should argue ourselves very unadvised, which therein we hope we are not, to petition for a thing, which no colour of reason tells us we shall obtain.

And for those complete soldiers, whose very prayers (if they use any) are but alarms to battle; they must give us leave (though, we hope, not without ground, as they do) to pass our censure upon them; and therefore we are bold to tell them, we think they lay their foundation for war, on these two grounds, which they make use of for reasons, *Dulce bellum inexpertis, & dulce lucrum expertis*. But the time may come, that they may find it better to hearken to the blessed accents of peace, than to have bullets whisper destruction in their ears.

And though we for several considerations were not, or not suffered to be, of that number, who have exposed their persons to the fury of war; yet, as they bleed outwardly, we bleed within for the distempers of this church and state: and to shew our ardent zeal for the good of both, we dare banish his soul, whose blood shares of so much cowardice, to retreat at the thought of death; if it might conduce to a happy union of the king and parliament, and the welfare of this late flourishing nation.

Concerning our manner of delivery of our petition, it was generally conceived to be (as we hope) civil, humble, and warrantable; striving, what in us lay, the appearance of tumults, mutinies, force, or violence; habiting ourselves with no weapons offensive nor defensive, but our innocence and the uprightness of our designs; that all occasion of offence might be taken off.

Our number is not certainly known to us; but though great, it is warranted (as we under correction conceive) both by precept and precedent: the honourable Mr. Nathaniel Fymes, upon the like occasion, having delivered, in answer to Lord Digby's speech, "That a multitude, being grieved, may petition; and that it is fit for all subscribers to be present, lest their hands be supposed counterfeit." And the lords and commons were pleased to declare, in their remonstrance of the nineteenth of May, 'That the number makes not an assembly unlawful, but when the end or manner of their carriage makes it so; and that they knew no reason, why it should be more faulty in the citizens to come to the parliament, than the resort of great numbers, every day in the term, to the ordinary courts of justice.'

We confess (as some have objected) there are some clerks and journeymen amongst us; but, being young men, they come under the name of petitioners. Besides, the one being generally scholars, and seen in the laws, giving great sums of money to their masters, and men's sons of good rank, and living by peace; and the other waiting for peace, being newly come to provide for themselves; we conceive are as much concerned herein as the rest.

Nor are we of the ribaldry of the city, (as some blackmouths have uncharitably belched out against us,) yet, in such a multitude, the city being exhausted of many of our fellows, it is not to be expected that all should be wise, learned, or rich; nor can we see any reason why a poor or illiterate man, being injured, should not seek for redress of his grievances, as well as a rich or learned.

And, though a multitude, we humbly conceive ourselves no tumults. As for that mis-carriage at Whitehall-gate, if any were; though greater have been than that is reported to be; we gave no direction for doing it, nor do we commend, much less justify it. But, however, we hope, that particular crimes shall not be imputed to a general cause, nor hinder a general good. Nor, if the major part of them that accompanied us, had committed any outrages, (in regard they had divested themselves of their power, and laid it on the twenty, who are the representative body of the petitioners,) it would be but hard justice to make them liable to the offences of others; nor ought it to be, we hope, at least, in a candid, or but indifferent construction, a scandal upon the petitioners, or crime upon the petition.

Concerning our preposterous delivery of the petitions, we desire the house's favourable construction : for, in that we presented it first to the house of lords, it was not for want of due honour or respect to the house of commons, but our want of experience in parliament-courses ; which we hope may satisfy that honourable house.

All which we thought good to declare ; that the world may know, that endeavouring for peace is a work acceptable, we hope, to God, his majesty, the parliament, and kingdom ; though, we believe, some, not altogether for a good conscience-sake, do oppose us. But we esteem their words as no slander, because they are nothing else : and, that posterity may know, that we, by seeking peace, are servants, as to private and particular men, so to the general and public good.

The Earl of Strafford's Letter to the King, to pass the Bill¹ occasioned by the Tumult of the Apprentices. Taken from the original Copy.

London, printed for Thomas Burrell, 1680.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

May it please your Majesty,

IT hath been my greatest grief, in all these troubles, to be taken as a person which I should endeavour to represent and set things amiss between your majesty and your people ; and to give counsels tending to the disquiet of your three kingdoms.

Most true it is, that this mine own private condition considered, it had been a great madness ; since, through your gracious favour I was so provided, as not to expect, in any kind, to mind my fortune or please my mind more, than by resting where your bounteous hand had placed me.

Nay, it is most mightily mistaken. For unto your majesty it is well known, my poor and humble advices concluded still in this, that your majesty and your people could never be happy till there were a right understanding betwixt you and them ; no other means to effect and settle this happiness but by the council, and assent of the parliament ; or to prevent the growing evils upon this state, but by entirely putting yourself in your last resort upon the loyalty and good affections of your English subjects.

Yet, such is my misfortune, this truth findeth little credit ; the contrary seemeth generally to be believed, and myself reputed as something of separation between you and your people : under a heavier censure than which, I am persuaded, no gentleman can suffer.

Now, I understand the minds of men are more incensed against me, notwithstanding your majesty hath declared, that in your princely opinion, I am not guilty of treason ; nor are you satisfied in your conscience to pass the bill.

This bringeth me into a very great streight: here is before me the ruin of my children

¹ [The bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford has a place in Vol. V. page 527. The whole proceedings are to be found in our large historical works ; where the present instance of noble magnanimity shines conspicuous.]

and family, hitherto untouched, in all the branches of it, with any foul crimes: here is before me the many ills which may befall your sacred person, and the whole kingdom, should yourself and the parliament part less satisfied one with the other than is necessary for the preservation of king and people: here are before me the things most valued, most feared by mortal men, life or death.

To say, Sir, that there hath not been a strife in me, were to make me less than (God knoweth) mine infirmities give me.

And to call destruction upon myself and young children, were the intentions of my heart, at least have been innocent of this great offence, may be believed will find no easy content to flesh and blood.

But, with much sadness, I am come to a resolution of that, which I take to be the best becoming me; to look upon that which is most principal in itself, which, doubtless, is the prosperity of your sacred person and the commonwealth, infinitely before any man's private interest.

And, therefore, in few words, as I put myself wholly upon the honour and justice of my peers so clearly, as to beseech your majesty might please to have spared that declaration of your's on Saturday last, and entirely to have left me to their lordships; so now, to set your majesty's conscience, &c. at liberty, I do most humbly beseech you, for the preventing of such mischief as may happen by your refusal to pass the bill, by this means to remove (praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but I confess) this unfortunate thing forth of the way; towards that blessed agreement, which God, I trust, shall for ever establish betwixt you and your subjects.

Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing mind there is no injury done: and as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world: so, Sir, I can give up the life of this world with all cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your excellent favour; and only beg that, in your goodness, you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor son and his sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate father shall appear more or less guilty of his death. God long preserve your majesty!

Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful subject and servant,

STRAFFORD.

Tower, May 4, 1641.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech: Or, his Funeral Sermon, preached by himself on the Scaffold on Tower-hill, on Friday the Tenth of January, 1644; upon Hebrews xii. 1, 2. Also, the Prayers which he used at the same Time and Place, before his Execution. All faithfully written by John Hinde, whom the Archbishop beseeched that he would not let any Wrong be done him by any Phrase in false Copies¹.

Licensed and Entered according to Order.

London; printed by Peter Cole, at the Sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhill, near the Royal-Exchange, over-against Pope's-Head-Alley, 1644.

[Quarto; containing twenty pages.]

HEBREWS xii. 1, 2.

‘ Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto JESUS the Author
‘ and Finisher of our faith; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross,
‘ despising the shame, and is set down at the right-hand of the throne of GOD.’

Good People,

YOU will pardon my old memory, and upon so sad occasions as I am come to this place, to make use of my papers: I dare not trust myself otherwise.

Good People,

This is a very uncomfortable place to preach in, and yet I shall begin with a text of Scripture in the twelfth of the Hebrews:

‘ Let us run with patience the race that is set before us; looking unto JESUS the
‘ Author and Finisher of our faith; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the
‘ cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right-hand of the throne of GOD.’

I have been long in my race, and how I have looked unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my faith, is best known to him. I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the cross, a death of shame; but the shame must be despised, or there is no coming to the right-hand of God. Jesus despised the shame for me; and, God forbid, but I should despise the shame for him! I am going a-pace, as you see, towards the Red-Sea, and my feet are upon the very brinks of it; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the land of promise; for that was the way by which of old he led his people. But, before they came to the sea, he instituted a passover for them; a lamb it was, but it was to be eaten with very sour herbs, as in the twelfth of Exodus.

¹ [The Speech or Sermon of Archbishop Laud here printed, is authentic; though several other fictitious ones were published by the archbishop's enemies, to render his memory still more odious. Sir P. Warwick observes, that, on the day of execution, he appeared ‘ with great steadiness, gravity, and piety, to make his own funeral sermon, with less passion than he had, in former times, made the like for a friend. His speech (continues he) is well worth the reading, and his most christian deportment in laying down his life is most worthy the remembering.’ *Memoirs*, p. 171.

In the ‘ Brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the Archb. of Canterbury,’ compiled from the collections of sir F. E. H. Styles, bart. ‘ a more perfect copy of his speech than has been hitherto imprinted’ is given; and the compiler remarks, that ‘ the alterations or additions that occur in Hinde's copy were perhaps the work of those who perused his papers, and were to authorize them,’ &c.]

I shall obey, and labour to digest the sour herbs, as well as the lamb, and I shall remember that it is the Lord's Passover. I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hands which gathered them; but look up only to him who instituted the one, and governeth the other; for men can have no more power over me, than that which is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage through the Red-Sea, for I have the weakness and infirmity of flesh and blood in me; and I have prayed as my Saviour taught me, and exampled me, *ut transiret calix ista*; 'that this cup of red wine might pass away from me.' But, since it is not that my will may, his will be done; and I shall most willingly drink of this cup, as deep as he pleases, and enter into the sea, ay, and pass through it, in the way that he shall be pleased to lead me.

And yet, good people, it would be remembered, that when the servants of God, old Israel were in this boisterous sea, and Aaron with them; the Egyptians that persecuted them, and did, in a manner, drive them into that sea, were drowned in the same waters, while they were in pursuit of them: I know my God, whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from this sea of blood, as he was to deliver the three children from the furnace; Daniel iii. And I most humbly thank my Saviour for it; my resolution is now, as theirs was then. Their resolution was, they would not worship the image, which the king had set up; nor shall I, the imaginations, which the people are setting up; nor will I forsake the temple and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calves, in Dan and in Beth-el.

And I pray God, bless all this people, and open their eyes, that they may see the right way: for, if it fall out, that the blind lead the blind, doubtless, they will both fall into the ditch. For myself, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many ways, by thought, word, and deed; and therefore I cannot doubt, but that God hath mercy in store for me, a poor penitent, as well as for other sinners. I have, upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my heart; and yet, I thank God, I have not found any of my sins that are there, any sins now deserving death by any known law of this kingdom; and yet, thereby, I charge nothing upon my judges, (I humbly beseech you, I may rightly be understood, I charge nothing, in the least degree, upon my judges,) for they are to proceed by proof, by valuable witnesses, and in that way, I, or any innocent in the world, may justly be condemned. And, I thank God, though the weight of the sentence lie very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank Christ for it) I ever was in my life. And though I am not only the first archbishop, but the first man, that ever died in this way; yet some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means. For Elfegus was hurried away, and lost his head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury, in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows; and long before these, St. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples great and good, and they teach me patience; for I hope, my cause in heaven will look of another dye, than the colour that is put upon it here upon earth: and some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men, in their several generations; but also, that my charge (if I may not be partial) looks somewhat like that against St. Paul, in the twenty-fifth of the Acts; for he was accused for the law and the temple, that is, the law and religion: and like that of St. Stephen, in the sixth of the Acts, for breaking the ordinances, which Moses gave us; which ordinances were law and religion. But, you will say, Do I then compare myself with the integrity of St. Paul, and St. Stephen? No, God forbid! far be it from me: I only raise a comfort to myself, that these great saints and servants of God were thus laid up in their several times. And it is very memorable, that St. Paul, who was one of them, and a great one, that helped on the accusation against St. Stephen, fell afterwards into the self-same accusation on himself; yet, both of them great saints and servants of God. Ay, but, perhaps, a great clamour there is, that I would have brought in popery: I shall answer that more fully, by-and-by; in the mean time, you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself, in the eleventh of John, If we let him alone, all men will believe on him; *et venient Romani*, 'and the Romans will come,' and take away both our place, and

the nation. Here was a causeless cry against Christ, that the Romans would come: and see how just the judgment of God was; they crucified Christ, for fear lest the Romans should come, and his death was that that brought in the Romans upon them; God punishing them with that which they most feared: and, I pray God, this clamour of *Veniunt Romani* (of which, I have given, to my knowledge, no just cause) help not to bring him in; for the pope never had such a harvest in England, since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the sects and divisions that are amongst us: in the mean time, 'by honour' and dishonour, by good report and evil report; as a deceiver, and yet true,' am I now passing out of this world.

Some particulars, also, I think not amiss to speak of. And first this I shall be bold to speak of the king, our gracious sovereign; he hath been much traduced by some, for labouring to bring in popery; but, upon my conscience, (of which, I am now going to give God a present account) I know him to be as free from this charge, I think, as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant; according to the religion by law established, as any man in the kingdom; and that he will venture his life, as far and as freely, for it: and I think, I do or should know both his affection to religion, and his grounds upon which that affection is built, as fully as any man in England.

The second particular is, concerning this great and populous city, which God bless! Here hath been, of late, a fashion taken up to gather hands; and then go to the honourable and great court of the kingdom, the parliament, and clamour for justice; as if that great and wise court (before whom, the causes come which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do justice, but at their call and appointment: a way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck innocent blood upon their own heads, and perhaps, upon this city also; which God forbid! And this hath been lately practised against myself²; God forgive the setters of this; with all my heart, I beg it: but many well-meaning people are caught by it. In St. Stephen's case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him; (Acts vi.) and Herod went just the self-same way; for when he had killed St. James, he would not venture upon St. Peter too, till he saw how the people took it, and were pleased with it; in the twelfth of the Acts. But take heed of having your hands full of blood; in the first of Isaiah: for there is a time best known to himself, when God, among other sins, makes inquisition for blood; and, when inquisition is on foot, the Psalmist tells us, (Psalm ix.) that God remembers, (that is not all,) that God remembers, and forgets not (saith the prophet) the complaint of the poor: and he tells you, what poor they are, in the ninth verse; the poor, whose blood is shed by such kind of means. Take heed of this, 'It is a fearful thing (at any time) to fall into the hands of the living God;' in the twelfth of the Hebrews: but it is fearful, indeed, and then especially, when he is making his inquisition for blood; and therefore, with my prayers to avert the prophecy from the city, let me desire, that this city would remember the prophecy that is expressed; Jeremiah xxvi. 15.

The third particular is this poor church of England, that hath flourished and been a shelter to other neighbouring churches, when storms have driven upon them. But alas! now it is in a storm itself, and God knows whether, or how it shall get out: and which is worse than a storm from without, it is become like an oak, cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body; and that, in every cleft, profaneness and irreligion is creeping in apace; while (as Prosper says) men that introduce profaneness are cloaked with a name of imaginary religion: for we have, in a manner, almost lost the substance, and dwell much, nay, too much a great deal, in opinion; and that church, which all the Jesuits' machinations, in this part of Christendom, could not ruin, is now fallen into a great deal of danger, by her own.

The last particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I shall hasten to go out of this miserable world,) is myself; and, I beseech you, as many as are within hearing, observe

² [At this place, the following words are inserted in the 'Brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the Archb. of Canterbury,' with a remark, that they are left out in the speech published by Hinde—'the magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from parish to parish without check.']

me. I was born and baptized in the bosom of the church of England, as it stands yet established by law; in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that profession of the Protestant religion here established I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God; least of all in matter of religion: and therefore I desire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the Protestant religion established in England, and in that I come now to die. What clamours and slanders I have endured, for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of this church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt. Now, at last, I am accused of high-treason in parliament; a crime which my soul ever abhorred. This treason was charged upon me to consist of two parts; an endeavour to subvert the laws of the realm, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant religion established by those laws. Besides my answers, which I gave to the several charges, I protested my innocency in both houses. It was said, prisoners' protestations at the bar must not be taken *de ipso*. I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my protestation, not at the bar, but to my protestation at this hour and instant of my death; in which (as I said before) I hope all men will be such charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble my religion. I do therefore here protest, with that caution that I delivered before, without all prejudice in the world to my judges, that are to proceed *secundum allegata & probata*, and so to be understood, I die in the presence of Almighty God, and all his holy and blessed angels; and I take it now on my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of the laws of the realm, nor never any change of the Protestant religion into popish superstition! And I desire you all to remember this protest of mine, for my innocency in these, and from all manner of treasons whatever.

I have been accused likewise as an enemy to parliaments. No, God forbid; I understood them, and the benefits that come by them, a great deal too well to be so: but I did, indeed, dislike some misgovernments (as I conceived) of some few one or two parliaments; and I did conceive humbly that I might have reason for it; for, *Corruptio optimi est pessima*; 'there is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing in itself:' for, the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And this being the highest and greatest court, over which no other can have any jurisdiction in the kingdom; if by any way a misgovernment (which God forbid!) should any ways fall upon it, the subjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy: and therefore God preserve them, and bless them, and direct them, that there may be no misconceit, much less misgovernment, amongst them. I will not enlarge myself any further; I have done. I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies, or others, whatsoever they have been, which have any ways prosecuted me in this kind: and I humbly desire to be forgiven first of God; and then of every man, whether I have offended him or no, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord, do thou forgive me; and I beg forgiveness of him; and so I heartily desire you to join with me in prayer.

The Bishop of Canterbury's first Prayer on the Scaffold.

O ETERNAL God, and merciful Father! look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies; look upon me, but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the cross of Christ; look upon me, but not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ; that so the punishment, that is due to my sins, may pass away, and go over me. And, since thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great instant full patience, proportionable comfort, a heart ready to die for thine honour, and the king's happiness, and this church's preservation; and my zeal to these (far from arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin, human frailty excepted, and all incidents thereunto, which is yet known of me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer. I say, in this particular of treason; but, otherwise, my sins are many and great; Lord, pardon them all, and those especially, whatsoever they be, which have drawn down this present judgment upon me; and when

thou hast given me strength to bear it, then do with me as seems best in thy own eyes, and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me, and that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more than miserable kingdom. I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for myself. ● Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of repentance to all people that have a thirst for blood; but, if they will not repent, then scatter their devices so, and such as are, or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of religion; the establishment of the king, and his posterity after him, in their just rights and privileges; the honour and conservation of parliaments, in their ancient and just power; the preservation of this poor church in her truth, peace, and patrimony; and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient laws, and in their native liberties: and, when thou hast done all this in mere mercy for them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with religious dutiful obedience to thee, and thy commandments, all their days. So, Amen, Lord Jesus, and I beseech thee receive my soul to mercy! Our Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. Amen.

When he had finished his prayer, he gave his paper to Dr. Sterne³, saying, "Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your fellow-chaplains, that they may see how I am gone out of the world; and God's blessing and his mercy be upon them." Then, turning to master Hinde, he said, "Friend, I beseech you hear me; I cannot say I have spoken every word, as it is in my paper; but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well as I could: but, I beseech you, let me have no wrong done me."

Hinde. "Sir, you shall not; if I do any wrong, let it fall on my own head. I pray, God have mercy on your soul."

Cant. "I thank you. I did not speak with any jealousy, as if you would do so; but I spoke it only as a poor man, going out of the world: it is not possible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phrase may do me wrong. I did think here would have been an empty scaffold, that I might have had room to die. I beseech you, let me have an end of this misery, for I have endured it long."

When room was made, he spoke thus: "I will pull off my doublet, and God's will be done, I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to send me out, than I am willing to be gone."

Sir John Clothworthy⁴. "What special text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure?"

Cant. "*Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.*"

Sir John Clothworthy. "That is a good desire; but there must be a foundation for that desire, as assurance."

Cant. "No man can express it; it is to be found within."

Sir John Clothworthy. "It is founded upon a word though, and that word would be known."

Cant. "That word is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that alone."

And turning to the executioner, he gave him money, saying, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me in mercy."

The executioner desiring him to give some sign, when he should strike: he answered, "Yes, I will; but let me fit myself first."

Then, kneeling down on his knees, he prayed thus:—

³ [One of the chaplains sent by the commons to attend the archbishop.]

⁴ ['A fire-brand brought from Ireland, by the earl of Warwick, to increase the combustions in this kingdom.' *A Brief Relation, &c. ut supra.*]

The Bishop of Canterbury's last Prayer on the Scaffold.

LORD, I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must pass through the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee; but it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere 'shadow of death,' a little darkness upon nature; but thou, by thy merits and passion, hast broke through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with peace, and with plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ's sake, if it be thy will.

And when he said, "Lord, receive my soul!" which was his sign, the executioner did his office.

A brief Relation containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, against the Government of this Nation, by a King or a single Person; to convince Men of the Danger and Inconveniency thereof. Urged by him to many of the Army, at St. Albans, Windsor, and Whitehall, a little before the King was beheaded, and at several other Places. Published for the Good and Information of Parliament, Army, and People.

Printed, January, 1658.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

To the Reader.

Reader,

OF what opinion or judgment soever you are, let not your headiness, or prejudicate opinion, hinder you from considering what is here declared, (the substance and truth whereof is well known to some, in city, army, and country,) for thine and thy posterity's good, welfare, and preservation. But beg of God wisdom, and he will shew thee the mystery of iniquity, when it is going to be settled by a law; and will cost thee hot service, and sorrow of heart, to redeem thyself and country; and it may be, when thou wouldst redeem it, it will be too hard for thee.

The consideration of the obstruction that probably this true relation will meet with from all fawning courtiers and deceived Englishmen, had almost prevented its prosecution; but, remembering that nought but the awaking of my dear slumbering countrymen from that drowsy state, that, for some days, they have seemed to lie in; which, if persisted

in, will give too great an opportunity to the common enemy to effect his will on us all; I was encouraged to proceed; trusting the Lord, who has, and will deliver the innocent from the calumnious aspersions of court-parasites. And, therefore, without any other apology, I shall proceed to the arguments themselves; which I shall deliver, if not in the absolute terms, yet in the genuine sense.

1. **I**MPRIMIS, Because it is possible, yea, and more than ordinarily probable, that a single person, in a short time, will work over his council to his own will, though illegal; either in conferring places of honour and profit on them and their friends, or else in terrifying them by threats.
2. Because that a single person, being raised to such a state, is subject to wax wanton and to forget; or, rather, neglect the commonalty; in providing for a few that will be at his beck, ready to fulfil his pleasure.
3. Because that, notwithstanding for a time he may carry matters fair, and do some good things, Jehu-like, until he has gotten an interest in the affections of the people; but then, forgetting, or, rather, slighting what he formerly pretended too, instead of countenancing of justice, and endeavouring reformation, it is possible he may become a favourer of iniquity; nay, (said he,) a settler of a court, or nursery of whores, rogues, bawds, and such like persons; as was evidently seen in former days at Whitehall.
4. Because, if he cannot accomplish his design on his council, but they discover his wickednesses and abominations, and oppose him, on the behalf of their country, he will be ready and apt secretly to confederate, and make leagues with other princes; and so let in a foreign enemy, rather than be kept within the bounds of law and justice; as we have seen in the (late) king, who has brought in Irish and Scots, and also sent letters patents, with letters of credence to three foreign princes, inviting them to come into England.
5. Because, if the chief governor, king, or single person should become an idiot; then nought but a continual charge, upon the good people, could be expected; even robbing them of their substance, until they are made so poor, as not to be able to oppose an enemy; which, so soon as understood, will sufficiently encourage a foreign enemy, to make an invasion upon us.
6. Because the government, by one single person, is far more chargeable to the people; which, in the laying aside of, the people will soon become sensible by the lessening of their charge. For that revenue, which was to uphold one man, and spent in voluptuousness by him, being brought into the public treasury, will help to defray much of the charge that otherwise must fall on the people. Nay, (said he,) whosoever shall go about to settle the government in one person, will make themselves so odious, that the people will be ready to knock them on the head: for, when once the family of the Stuarts is gone, if you establish one man in the government, in a little time he will become master of the nation's treasure; and at his first coming to the place, will most eagerly desire monies, to buy this bauble for one, and that toy for another; and, after a little while, when he hath tasted the sweetness and deliciousness thereof, will, to maintain the same, become a purchaser of lands with the people's monies, until they are become so poor, that they shall be necessitated to be his vassals, and consequently, slaves for ever; for, as the first doth, so a second, and a third will do after him, until the good people be utterly undone.
7. Because, the government being placed in one person, he will be subject to judge of himself as above law, and without the reach of any law; and, by violence, tyrannize over whom he pleases; commanding one man to prison, and monies from another; and, possibly, both money and liberty from a third; &c. the refusing of which arbitrary commands or actions will expose men to his mercy, which will be no less than cruelty.
8. Because that the abominations and wickedness of a court have been (and, is justly feared, will be) so great, that both the person himself, and his council about him, will

always, for to uphold his voluptuousness, be ready to erect new monopolies; granting patents to his lords, &c. to get money from the people, for to maintain their pomp and pride; and thereby keep the people in such servitude, that in a little time they will be out of a capacity to gain justice on any of the courtiers: and then the citizen must wait for his money, when his commodity is sold; and scarce dare ask, and not dare arrest a courtier for what he oweth, for fear of his master. And the countryman's hedges will be broken down, his corn trampled on, and spoiled, or eaten by the game; and to complain of which, will be accounted a crime little less than treason.

These and such are the things you must expect, (said he,) if you set up one single person; and who would be so mad, God having so signally witnessed against the king and house of lords? The much blood that hath been shed, and the vast treasure expended, and the controversy decided on our parts, witnesseth aloud against it. Further, (said he,) I am confident, that whoever they be, that shall go about to settle a court in this nation, God will destroy and bring to nought, and confusion will be to them and their posterity; and (said he) if ever I should go about any such thing, I desire God would never bless me, nor mine. He farther declared, that God had borne witness against the parliament, for that they were intending to make peace with the late king, and to settle him; telling some members of the then parliament and army, when they spoke of settling the government in one single person, that God would destroy them; some for going about to settle iniquity by a law, and others for not protesting against them, and for not declaring their protest to the good people of England.

And thus now, gentle reader, thou hast the substance of some of the reasons urged by the late lord protector against monarchy; though suddenly he leaped into the same himself. But now it may be said, these reasons are not sufficient to prove the same. Whether they are or not, I shall not now dispute; but that it may appear to be probable, I present these ensuing queries.

Upon the whole, I query, whether any man upon rational grounds can expect, that the present protector, or single person pretending to government, should be more honest, righteous, and just, than his deceased father was?

But more particularly upon the Arguments.

1. I would query, first, whether the late protector did not work over his council to some things illegal?

2. Whether kings formerly, and the protector lately, did not wax wanton; and, providing for some few of their creatures, neglect the commonalty?

3. Whether our late experience of a single person cannot testify, that though for a small time he seemed to favour honest men and things; yet, when he thought himself seated, whether, I say, he did not then slight both them and it, and become a favourer of the contrary? And whether our late court did not shew more growth and increase of rogues, bawds, and whores, than all the time of our government by a commonwealth?

4. Whether a confederacy has not been made abroad, with our secret enemies at home; that so a single person might the better suppress those that see the wickedness of his designs?

5. Whether the single person now pretending to government, though the son of a subtle man, be a wise man, fit to dispose of commonwealth treasure?

6. Whether the good people of this nation be not very sensible of the expensiveness extraordinary of a single person, more than of a commonwealth? And whether they do not find a want of that vast treasure expended upon baubles, toys, and trifling gewgaws? such as we of late have had too much cause to speak of. And whether the cause of the people's poverty has not been by means of purchasing lands to the family of the late protector, as well as High-Spaniola business?

7. Whether the late person set up, did not judge himself above law? And whether he

did not tyrannize over men's persons, restraining both them and their liberty? And whether the mercy he has pretended to, in the execution thereof, has not been very cruelty?

8. Whether the late single person, to uphold his and his courtiers' voluptuousness, has not been ready to uphold what monopolies he found on foot; and likewise to devise new ways to the same purpose? And whether the citizen has not had experience of court-payment; and the countryman, though sad, of the spoiling of his fences, and destroying of his crop; by them that belong to the court? And that they please to call their 'game.' And, if these be the beginnings, what will the end be? And therefore, for a closure, I must say, What shall we say or do, more than the king protector has said and done?

Now to conclude: I humbly present to consideration, whether, upon a diligent, serious weighing of the present action, and past management of state-affairs, of some, being lawyers, &c. raised from a low estate to sit in council, and become great favourites at court; it may not be found, and clearly seen, that they have a design to bring in Charles Stuart? For, if first they bring in a single person, and grant that; the next dispute will be, whether the one family, or the other, has most right? And who has most interest, Charles or Richard, I think, asketh no long time to answer. Farther, I would add, Whether it be not more likely to attain to the practice of that golden rule, 'Do as you would be done to,' under the government of a commonwealth, in which law-makers are liable to be judged by the law made; rather than under a monarchical government, where or in which one, if settled, is above law, and accountable to none? Who, though never so wicked and unjust, cannot be removed, but by an extraordinary providence; as was the case of the late king and protector.

Now, whereas it is endeavoured, by some court-parasites, to insinuate into the people, that that which the commonwealth-party aims at, is an involving of the nations in blood and confusion; I would meekly tender, whether their deportment and behaviour, under the almost insupportable burden of the tyranny of late times, in which their rights and liberties have lain bleeding, hath given any just cause of suspicion? or rather, whether their patience has not manifested, their hope hath been and still is in God; from whom, by the means of a lawful free parliament, they only expect deliverance? be not a vindication sufficient, not only from what is now suggested against them, but also from that old brand, that the late protector, in a letter to the late king, while at Hampton-Court, gave them, *viz.* Levellers; and that their work would be to kill the king, and levy all men's estates; by which means he effected his end, *viz.* an incensing of the people and the other part of the army against them. Which when he had done, he easily carried on his wicked designs, which since have come to public view; for a deliverance from which are the hearty prayers of all true Englishmen.

A Copie of a Letter lately sent by a Gentleman¹, Student in the Lawes of the Realme, to a Frende of his, concernyng D. Storie.

[Black Letter. Octavo; containing twenty-two pages.]

ACCORDING to your request, you shal hereby understand what you may truly saye and avowe upon such questions as it seemeth you have harde, of the late execution of D. Storie, who suffred at Tiburne the first of June last.

It is notorious howe evyll and unloyally he behaved hym selfe here in Englande before he departed the realme, and howe earnest a persecutor afterward he was of all the good subjectes of Englande; havynge cause to be in the Lowe-Countreys, both before the arrest made of late by the duke of Alva, as sence that tyme, a multitude of honest marchaunts knowe it, both Englyshe and others; and a great number have felt it, by imprisonment, procured by hym, and by seasyng and confiscatyng of their goodes; so that there is no doubt to be made, but that he was, to his power, as earnest an enemy to the state of Englande, his naturall countrey, and the queenes majesties good subjectes, as any man borne in this realme coulde be. Neverthelesse, because at the place of his execution before his death, he used long and many speeches, to move some of simple understanding, or that dyd not knowe his rancor and malice agaynst the queenes majestie, and the state of this realme; and for that it was not then convenient, nor at least coulde be imagined aforehande, that he woulde have used suche speeches at that tyme; and so he was suffred to speake altogether without contradiction, whereby the trueth, percase, may be made to you obscure; you shall understande of what detestable crymes he was gyltie, and therewith shoulde have ben particulerly charged at tyme of his arraignment in the Kynges-benche; but that he craftyly and traytorously, knowyng by his examination wherewith he was to be charged, and howe much he hym selfe had confessed in the Towre; and, beyng wrytten in certayne leaves of paper, had subscribed with his owne hande wrytyng; refused to have any tryall made thereof: alleaging, that he ought not to answer, nor woulde answer, because he was subject to the kyng of Spayne, and not subject to the queenes majestie, and the crowne of Englande. And so, although he was charitably, earnestly, and reasonably required at his arraignment, to answer to the matters wherewith he was charged by indytement, as a borne subject of this realme; yet he woulde not, but traytorously refused to answer thereto, in such sort, as if he had been indyted of felonie, as he was of hygh-treason, he should, for his not answeyng, have suffred the payne of pressing to death; which maner of judgement is not used in cases of treason by the lawes of the realme, but was adjudged gyltie of the treasons conteyned in the indytement, as of necessitie and justice he ought to be: for other judgement coulde not be geven. And so, by justice of lawe, he was judged to the death which he suffred. But, for that it may serve to the satisfaction of all men, to consyder howe farre he was gyltie of the treasons conteyned in his indytement, hereafter foloweth a true, juste, and playne report of the matters, both wherof he was accused and examined, and which also he did confesse in the Towre.

He was to be charged, that he dyd traytorously conspire agaynst the queenes majestie, with one Prestall, an Englyshe man; who was a fugityve, and principall devisor of the first treason intended by the young Pooles xi yeres past, and therof was indyted and outlawed:

¹ Vide Oldys' Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets, No. 4. [Vide also Vol. III. p. 100.]

and afterwarde, of late tyme, he practised an other great treason with certayne persons, wherof one disclosed the same to the duke of Norfolke, who also verye duetifullye revealed the same to the queenes majestie; whereupon the sayde Prestall, beyng sought for to be apprehended, fledde into Scotlande; where also he joynd hymselfe with the Englyshe rebelles, and there attempted sundry treasons against her majestie; and from thence he fledde into Flaunders. With this maner of traytor had this *D. Storie* a continuall intelligence to further his treasons; insomuche as he sayde, (not long before he came into Englande, to one that for dueties sake disclosed it, and is redy to prove it,) that Prestall shoulde, or it were long, be the leader of xl thousand men into Englande, agaynst that woman whiche toke upon her to be queene: and sayde the same *Storie*, "I woulde to God she were in the bottome of the sea;" with other vile and reprochfull wordes, not meete to be reported. With which traytorous speeches he should have ben charged, yf he woulde have abyden tryall accordyng to the lawes of the realme.

The sayde *Storie* sayde also, in the presence of two persons of English byrth, (who were redy to have charged hym therewith, yf he woulde have stande to tryall,) that he had written letters to Bruxels, that yf the matters conteyned therein shoulde be revealed, where he shoulde be charged therewith, he shoulde be hanged, drawen, and quartered. And immediatly after this speech he went to Bruxels with Prestall, where he and Prestall were rewarded with money; and there Prestall declared to certayne persons, (redy also to have avowed the same,) that he had opened his whole purposes to *D. Story*; whereto *D. Story* was sworne to kepe the same secrete. But, of the thynges intended by Prestall and *Story* at that tyme, neyther of them woulde be then knowen: but yet Prestall affirmed, that he had an art to poyson any body a-farre of, beyng not present with them, and that none coulde do it but he. And to shew some taste of their mischiefes, a gentleman belonging to Courteville, a secretarie to the duke of Alva, tolde an Englyshe man (redye also to avowe the same) that *D. Story* and Prestall were about such matters, and such vyle treason, (as the saide partie sayde,) that no man coulde devise worse; and that *D. Story* was such a wicked man, as could not be found the like; and that he thought verily they were about murdring of some great persons in Englande.

The sayde *Story* also receaved certayne letters from Prestall out of Scotland, being written in Scottyshe, whiche are also to be seene; and myght have ben shewed at the arraignment, yf he woulde have ben tryed. Which letters *Story* translated into Latin, and caryed the same to Bruxels; by whiche it was required, that meanes should be made to the duke of Alva, to sende into Scotland certayne horsmen, and a number of dagges, to make an entry and invasion into Englande, with the Scottes: and by the same letter Prestall wrote, that the thyng, whiche he tolde *D. Story* in secrete, woulde cost a thousande markes; and that yf the regent and the foolyshe boy, the young kyng, were dispatched and dead, the Scottyshe queene were a marriage for the best man lyvyng. Al which wordes are conteyned in the letter, translated by *D. Story*.

The sayde *Story* beyng at Bruxels, and receavyng a letter from olde Norton, (a very olde rebell,) beyng arryved at Antwerpe; dyd sollicite certayne of the counsell about the duke, for money for the reliefe of the same Norton, and his company; and wrote to hym to comfort hym by expresse wordes, that whereas he and his company were before but worshipfull, nowe they were an honourable state, and had wonne double honor, and perpetuall fame, for their late enterprise in Englande; and that he woulde come shortly, to geve them their welcome to Antwerpe: and immediatlye he procured, that one *D. Saunders*, with certayne Englyshe fugityves harboured in Lovain, went to Antwerpe to the rebelles, and there *Saunders* made to them a solemne long oration in prayse of their actes.

Story also declared in Antwerpe, (in presence of such as shoulde have avowed it at his arraignment, yf he woulde have denyed it,) that the rebellion shoulde be renewed in Englande, and that, at the same instant also, Irelande shoulde rebell; whereof he sayde he was well assured by advertisement from an Iryshe bishop, that hadde scaped out of the Tower

of London; and that, at the same instant also, the Scottes shoulde, with an ayde out of Fraunce, invade Englande, and set up the Scottyshe queene.

The sayde Story also used commonly this maner of prayer after his meates, (whereof there are divers persons redy to witnes the same, that have hearde hym; and lastly, even in the hoy wherein he was before he came last into Englande, in the presence of divers persons;) that yf the queenes majestie, whom he woulde never tearme, but by the name of Dame Elizabeth, that tooke uppon her to be queene, woulde not speedily turn to queene Marie's religion; he prayed that she myght be overcome with sworde and fyre, and all that woulde take her part.

And though he myght have ben charged with sundry other traytorous and haynous conspiracies in the Lowe-Countreys, and with aydyng of the rebelles there; whereof out of the saide Lowe-Countreys advertisement was geven by sundry of good credite; yet of set purpose no more is above recited, but suche thynges only, as wherwith he shoulde have ben charged openly by witnesses, at his arraignment; who, yf he woulde have denyed the same, shoulde have avowed the whole to his face, and in the hearyng of the jury, that shoulde have tryed hym. And howe many of the thynges before recited are to be judged true and probable, it is to see by these thynges folowyng, whiche are worde by worde extracted out of his owne confessions, subscribed with his owne hande, and uttered upon interrogatories, without any maner of torture, or offer of torture; although at the place of execution he used speeche to the contrary, very untruly, as the worshipfull persons that examined hym can well testifie; which were, sir Thomas Wroth, knight; maister Wilbraham, then recorder of London; and maister Peter Osborne, the tresorers remembrancer in the Exchequer; and so can also the lieuetenaunt of the Towre, as touchyng any torture.

Extracted out of D. Stories Confessions.

ix. December. 1570.

JOHAN STORY, the day and yere above written being examined, saith, that John Prestall dyd wryte a letter to the sayde John Story, of three sydes of a sheete of paper, (as he remembreth) and directed to the sayde Story; which letter was inclosed in a letter, wrytten to one Hamelton, a Scot, that lay at Bruxels, for hym to peruse and seale the same, and then to delyver it to the sayd Story. And the same letter the sayde Hamelton read, and sealed it up, and told this examinat the effect thereof; and he bad hym open it, and reade it; and so the sayde Hamelton dyd, untill he came to a word, *boy* or *chylde*, (meanyng the king of Scottes,) to be made away; as the said Story tooke it.

xii. December. 1570.

Item, He sayth, that Hamelton tolde hym, that Prestall had written, that the matter which Prestall had tolde Story and the sayd Hamelton, that an Englyshe man nowe in Irelande coulde do, woulde not be done without a great summe of money, whiche matter was to make the kyng of Scottes away: for Prestall had told this examinat and Hamelton, that the Scottes woulde hardlye be reduced to obedience, as long as the queene of Scottes was without an husbände; and no man of estimation woulde have her, so long as the boy lyved; and yf he were dead, he hoped the emperour's brother woulde have her, and wyshed he myght be an entreater in that matter. And further Prestall said, that the said man, nowe in Irelande, had tolde the Pooles and hym, the very month, the daye, and houre, that the queene of Englande shoulde be in hazarde of her lyfe; and that the same Englyshe man coulde dispatch the king of Scottes for money. And beyng asked what the same Englyshe man's name was? Story sayth of trouth he knoweth not, but hath forgotten it; yet Prestall told it him: but whither he is in Irelande, or of what estate, degree, or condition he is of, he knoweth not. And further, that Prestall tolde him, he

coude do much with that Englyshe man in Irelande; wherein this examinat discouraged hym. And the sayde Story sayth, he thynketh of his conscience that Prestall would do all the harme that he coude to this realme of Englande. And further sayth, that Prestall tolde hym, he woulde take any thyng in hand to invade Englande; so he might have good assistance, and not to be used as an underlyng. But Prestall never tolde hym by what device Englande shoulde be invaded.

And more he sayth, that Jenny and Markenfelde hath made suite to Courteville, and to Northcarne, (as Northcarne's secretarie tolde hym,) for the reliefe of the Nortons and Nevyls; and after this, Courteville called this examinat, wyllyng hym to byd Markenfelde to come to hym that day, at two of the clocke; and then this examinat prayed, that yf he shoulde come about the money, for the reliefe of the Nortons, and others; that then one Parkar myght be payed for theyr charges, and so it myght be delyvered to Parkar.

He sayth, he wrote a letter to the elder Norton from Bruxels, and shewed the sayde elder Norton, that he woulde be glad to do for hym, even the best that lay in the sayde Storie's power to do; and that he woulde rather stay his owne suites to the duke, then not to do the best he could for hym; and this was all the effecte of his letter to the sayde eldest Norton: but afterwarde he called to remembrance, he wrote unto him, that he was glad that he and his company were so well come into the Catholyke realme, and safely arryved there. He sayth, he doth not remember that he wrote to the sayde Nortons, and the reste, that whereas they were before but worshipfull, they were nowe worthy double honor; but he sayth it may be he dyd write so, because he thought so: and thynkes he dyd wryte unto them, that he woulde come shortly to Antwerpe, and geve them their welcome; because he meant so to do.

After Markenfelde, and Jenny came over, and one Leedes with hym, and first they came to Parkar's house, where the sayde Jenny declared openly at the boorde, in the presence of this examinat and others, the order of the sayde late rebellion. And hereupon this examinat made reporte to Northcarne's secretarie, that the sayde Jenny was a frende to the Catholykes, and the earles, and is a very trusty frende, and hath ventured his lyfe for the Catholykes. But afterwarde, this examinat perceavyng the contrary of Jenny by a Scotte, he gave Northcarne's secretarie warning to take heede of Jenny.

Shortly after this, the sayde Story came to Antwerpe to Parkar's house; where, syttyng at dynner, the sayde elder Norton and some other of his company came in from the church, and one saide, "this is Norton;" and thereupon this examinat rose, and gave hym place, and bad him welcome; and so the elder Norton sate downe in the said Storie's place.

After old Norton shyfted his lodging, and this examinat, with one Shawe (Norton's sonne in lawe,) went to the sayde olde Norton's lodging to dyner, and there dined with hym; and that day all their talke was of the suspition that Norton had of Jenny's firste commyng to the rebelles in Englande, from the earle of Sussex; and so he tooke hym styl but a spye, and to cover hym selfe with, to the duke, with labouryng for them.

He sayth that he hearde, by Markenfelde's report, that the sayde Nortons and Nevyls, and their company, had two-hundred crownes geven them from the duke, at their first commyng; and shoulde have two-hundred crownes more afterwarde.

More he sayth, that before the duke's last commyng to Antwerpe, the saide Story and sir James Shelley, beyng at Lovain, were there sent for to come to D. Saunders, to heare a certayne booke read, (of the reasons that the bull late sent over into Englande should be obeyed, as he suspected,) and thither the sayde Story promised to come, but that after noone he was dryven to go to Bruxels; and so sir James Shelley went thither, and brought worde to this examinat, being with one Leedes at dyner, that yf he had come, he shoulde have hearde goodly reasons, that he would have wel lyked, about the booke that Saunders had made.

Further, the sayde Story doth say, that he was never sworne to king Philip, nor to the duke of Alva, nor never by any meanes was made kyng Philippe's subjecte or denizen,

or otherwyse naturalized to be kyng Philippe's subject, but remaynes only styll a subject to the queene of Englande.

Thus subscribed (though he sayd otherwyse at Tyborne,)

JOHN STORY.

xx. December, 1570.

The sayde John Story, this xx. day of December, beyng examined, sayth, that about two yeres sence he dyd deale by wrytyng with Courteville; shewyng unto hym, that the Catholykes in Englande dyd dayly decay, and the scismatykes dyd there daylye encrease; and therefore, yf the king of Spayne had any meanyng to wryte to the queene of Englande, or otherwise to helpe to restore religion in Englande, he shoulde do it betyme, or els it woulde be to late. And eyther he dyd wryte further, or sayde by mouth to the sayde Courteville, that yf the kyng of Spayne dyd but come into the Low-Countreys out of Spayne, with a number of shyppes; the Catholykes of Englande would thynke, as this examinat thought, that he were come to restore religion, and would take the kyng of Spayne's part. And the said Story confesseth, that he wrote to Courteville, that if about the realme of Englande there might go a number of shyppes, as men went about Jerico, then the Catholykes of Englande woulde take courage to prepare entry for them that went so about with the said shyppes. To which ende of entry by the kyng of Spayne's power into England, the saide Story dyd write to Courteville many tymes by his letters and perswasions therein; hopying thereby, that either the king of Spayne woulde write to the queene of Englande to restore the Catholyke religion, or els woulde make some entry into Englande, and refourme religion, according as he was bounde by his title of 'Catholyke King,' as the sayde Story thought.

Further the sayde Story sayth, that John Prestall, at such tyme as he talked with Hamelton and this examinat about the death of the kyng of Scottes, as is aforesayde; when Prestall had tolde hym, as aforesayde, that the Englyshe man that fledde into Irelande, had tolde the sayde Prestall of the tyme and houre the queene's majestie should be in peryll of her death, as is aforesayde; then Prestall sayd, that yf the sayde Englyshe man in Irelande myght be plyed, he could bryng the queene's hyghnes to death in deede; and sayde he thought surely he coulde do it: and then this examinat sayde, that was to be done by necromancie.

Subscribed,

JOHN STORY.

It is here to be consydered also, howe lykely it is, that the thynges whiche he spake at Tiborne for his purgation were true; when at the same tyme he woulde have had (by his earnest speeches then used) all the hearers beleve, that he used never any crueltie, in queen Marie's time, against any that were then burnt for religion; but, as he sayde, he dyd but only chyde them; and that he was no cause of the death of any, but that the bishoppes dyd procure the sentences of death. And howe untrue this speeche of his was in that behalfe, as to excuse hym selfe; a number of witnesses lyvyng, that manifestly saw his extreme cruelties, and some that felt thereof, are very plenteous. And what his hart was towards the queene's majestie, may playnly appeare by his traytorous wordes in the parliament house, where he sayde, "that yf his counsel had ben folowed, the root should have ben stryken downe, and not the branches."

And howe horrible, traytorous, and monstrous a meanyng he had, to refuse to answere at his arraignment, by refusyng his naturall alleageaunce to the queene's majestie and this crowne, (from which no lawe in the worlde coulde separate hym) and by avowyng that he was a subjecte to the kyng of Spayne, it may appeare, in that he sayde at his arraignment, for defence of his traitorous refusall of his obedience: "that kinges were chosen at the first by the people for their necessitie, and not the people for their kynges; and therefore the people myght leave their kynges, when they hadde no more neede of them." And so the conclusion (in his opinion) served for hym, that he myght refuse his naturall liege lady and queene; and so, consequently, by that monstrous reason, all kynges may

be deprived of their subjectes, or of as many as woulde enter into that traytorous and monstrous error, at their pleasure: a thyng, of it selfe, worthy of some monstrous death, accordyng to the monstrousnes of the treason.

Otherwyse, to remember the unworthynes of this D. for his long lewde lyfe in all tymes past, is not convenient; because he is dead: of whom also nothyng should be now in this sort written, but that by his craftye traytorous doynges at his arraignment, and by his untruethes uttered at his death, trueth it selfe shoulde take harme by mistakyng and mis-reportyng: and only in favour of trueth have I collected the premisses, and for no other purpose; and so, I pray you, use it accordyng as you shal thynke meete. For al those thynges, which are before recited, are manifestly to be proved, partly by the very wrytynges extant, and in no worde altered; and the rest by sufficient witnesses, whereof I have hadde good regarde, even for the truethes sake; knowyng that Almyghtie God is the avenger of all untrueth.

4 Junii, 1571.

God save the Queene!

A short View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, late Provost of Eaton-College.

London, printed for William Sheares, 1642.

[Quarto; containing thirty pages.]

I Determine to write the life, and the end, the nature, and the fortunes of George Villiers, late duke of Buckingham; which yet I have not undertaken out of any wanton pleasure in mine own pen; nor, truly, without often pondering with myself before-hand what censures I might incur: for I would not be ignorant, by long observation, both abroad and at home, that every-where all greatness of power and favour is circumvested with much prejudice. And that it is not easy for writers to research with due distinction, as they ought, in the actions of eminent personages, both how much may have been blemished by the envy of others, and what was corrupted by their own felicity; unless, after the period of their splendour, (which must needs dazzle their beholders, and, perhaps, oftentimes themselves,) we could, as in some scenes of the fabulous age, excite them again, and confer awhile with their naked ghosts. However, for my part, I have no servile or ignoble end in my present labour, which may, on either side, restrain or embase the freedom of my poor judgment: I will, therefore, steer as evenly as I can, and deduce him from his cradle through the deep and lubric ways of state and court, till he was swallowed in the gulf of fatality.

I find him born in the year of our Saviour 1592, on the 28th of August, at Brooksby in Leicestershire; where his ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of four-hundred years, (rather without obscurity, than with any great lustre,) after they had long before been seated in Kinalton in the county of Nottingham: he was the third son of George Villiers, knight, and Mary, late countess of Buckingham, and daughter to Anthony Beaumont, of Coleorton, esq. Names on either side well known of ancient extraction.

And yet I remember there was one, who, in a wild pamphlet which he published, besides other pitiful malignities, would scarce allow him to be a gentleman. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his first rudiments, till the years of ten; and, from thence, sent to Billisden school in the same county, where he was taught the principles of musick, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his father died. Then his beautiful and provident mother (for those attributes will not be denied her) took him home to her house at Goodby, where she had him in especial care: so as he was first, as we may say, domestic favourite. But finding him, as it should seem, by nature, little studious and contemplative; she chose rather to endue him with conversative qualities and ornaments of youth, as dancing, fencing, and the like; not, without aim perchance, even then, though far off, at a courtier's life: to which lessons he had such a dexterous proclivity, as his teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness; to the end that his brothers, who were under the same training, might hold pace with him. About the age of eighteen he travelled into France, where he improved himself well in the language, (for one that had so little grammatical foundation,) but more in the exercises of that nobility, for the space of three years; and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms; the ordinary disease of travellers. After his return, he passed again one whole year, as before, at Goodby, under the wing and counsels of his mother; and then was forward to become a suitor, at London, to sir Roger Ashton's daughter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to king James, and master of his robes: about which time, he falls into intrinsical society with sir John Graham, then one of the gentlemen of his majesty's privy-chamber; who (I know not upon what luminaries he espied in his face) dissuaded him from marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woo fortune in court; which advice sunk well into his fancy: for, within a while, the king had taken, by certain glances (whereof the first was at Apthorpe in a progress) such liking of his person, that he resolved to make him a master-piece; and to mould him, as it were, Platonically to his own idea. Neither was his majesty content only to be the architect of his fortune, without putting his gracious hand likewise to some part of the work itself: insomuch as it pleased him to descend and to veil his goodness, even to the giving of his aforesaid friend, sir John Graham, secret directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then, as yet, in some possession of the king's heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous, than a favourite, especially towards the waining-time and suspicion of satiety; so as many arts were used to discuss the beginnings of new affliction: which lie out of my road, being a part of another man's story. All which notwithstanding, (for I omit things intervenient,) there is conveyed to Mr. Villiers an intimation of the king's pleasure to wait, and to be sworn his servant: and, shortly after, his cup-bearer at large; and, the summer following, he was admitted in ordinary. After which time favours came thick upon him (liker main showers, than sprinkling drops or dews,) for, the next St. George's-day, he was knighted, and made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; and, the very same day, had an annual pension given him, for his better support, of one-thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At New-year's-tide following, the king chose him master of the horse. After this, he was installed of the most noble order. And, in the next August, he created him baron of Whaddon, and viscount Villiers. In January of the same year, he was advanced earl of Buckingham, and sworn here of his majesty's privy-council; as if a favourite was not so before: the March ensuing, he attended the king into Scotland, and was likewise sworn a counsellor in that kingdom, where (as I have been instructed by unpassionate men) he did carry himself with singular sweetness and temper; which I held very credible, for it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one¹ of their own, to study a moderate style amongst those generous spirits. About New-year's-tide, after his return from thence, (for those beginnings of years were very propitious unto him; as if kings did choose remarkable days to inaugurate their favours, that they may appear acts as well of the times, as of the

¹ [Carr, E. of Somerset.]

will,) he was created marquis of Buckingham, and made lord admiral of England, chief justice in Eyre of all the parks and forests on the south-side of Trent, master of the King's-bench office (none of the unprofitablest places), head-steward of Westminster, and constable of Windsor-castle.

Here I must breathe a while, to satisfy some that, perhaps, might otherwise wonder at such an accumulation of benefits; like a kind of embroidering, or listing of one favour upon another. Certainly the hearts of great princes, if they be considered, as it were, in abstract, without the necessity of states and circumstances of time; being besides their natural extent, moreover, once opened and dilated with affection; can take no full and proportionate pleasure in the exercise of any narrow bounty. And, although at first they give only upon choice and love of the person, yet, within a while, themselves likewise begin to love their givings, and to foment their deeds, no less than parents do their children: but let us go on.

For these offices and dignities already rehearsed, and these of the like nature, which I shall after set down in their place, were (as I am ready to say) but the facings or fringes of his greatness, in comparison of that trust, which his last most gracious master did cast upon him, in the one and twentieth year of his reign; when he made him the chief concomitant of his heir-apparent, and only son, our dear sovereign.

Now being in a journey of much adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacy) had been before not communicated with any other of his majesty's most reserved counsellors at home; being carried with great closeness, liker a business of love than state; as it was in the first intendment. Now, because the whole kingdom stood in a zealous trepidation of the absence of such a prince, I have been the more desirous to research, with some diligence, the several passages of the said journey, and the particular accidents of any moment in their way. They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tuesday, the eighteenth of February, from the marquis's house of late purchase, at New-hall in Essex; setting out with disguised beards, and with borrowed names of Thomas and John Smith: and then attended with none, but sir Richard Graham, master of the horse to the marquis, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the river against Gravesend, for lack of silver they were fain to give the ferry-man a piece of two-and-twenty shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness, that so good gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrel beyond sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the town, with what had befallen him; who sent presently post for their stay at Rochester, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the hill beyond that city, they were somewhat perplexed, by espying the French ambassador, with the king's coach and others attending him; which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach post-hackneys to leap hedges. At Canterbury, whether some voice (as it should seem) was run on before, the mayor of the town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh horses, in a blunt manner; alledging first a warrant to stop them from the council; next from sir Lewis Lewkner, master of the ceremonies; and lastly, from sir Henry Manwaring, then lieutenant of Dover-castle. At all which confused fiction, the marquis had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a secret view (being admiral) of the forwardness of his majesty's fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow seas. This, with much a-do, did somewhat handsomely heal the disguisement. On the way afterwards, the baggage-postboy, who had been at court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was easily shut. To Dover, through bad horses and those petty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found sir Francis Cottington, then secretary to the prince, now baron of Hanwart, and Mr. Endimion Porter, who had been sent before, to provide a vessel for their transportation. The foresaid knight was enjoined, for the nearness of his place, on the prince's affairs; and for his long residence in the court of Spain, where he had gotten singular credit, even with that cautious nation, by the temper of his carriage. Mr. Porter was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confi-

dence to his highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful instrument for his natural skill in the Spanish tongue. And these five were, at the first, the whole parade of this journey. The next morning, (for the night was tempestuous,) on the sixteenth of the foresaid month, taking ship at Dover, about six o'clock, they landed the same day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon; reaching Monstreuel that night, like men of dispatch; and Paris the second day after, being Friday the twenty-first: but about three posts before, they had met with two German gentlemen, that came newly from England, where they had seen at Newmarket the prince and the marquis taking coach together with the king, and retained such a strong impression of them, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by sir Richard Graham, who would needs persuade them they were mistaken; which in truth is no very hard matter: for the very strangeness of the thing itself, and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a prince and favourite, so suddenly metamorphosed into travellers, with no greater train, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his five senses. And this I suppose (next the assurance of their own well resolved carriage against any new accident) to have been their best anchor, in all such encounters. At Paris the prince spent one whole day, to give his mind some contentment; in viewing of a famous city and court, which was a neighbour to his future estates; but for the better veiling of their visages, his highness, and the marquis, bought each of them a perriwig, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. Of the king they had got sight, after dinner, in a gallery where he was solacing himself with familiar pleasures: and of the queen's mother, as she was at her own table; in neither place descried, no not by mons. Cadinet, who saw them in both; one that hath been lately ambassador in England. Towards evening, by a mere chance, in appearance, though underlined with a providence, they had a full sight of the queen Infanta, and of the princess Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies, at the practice of a masquing-dance, which was then in preparation: having overheard two gentlemen, who were tending towards that sight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the duke De Mont Bason, the queen's lord-chamberlain; out of humanity to strangers, when divers of the French went by. Note here, even with a point of a diamond, by what oblique steps and imaginable preparatives, the High Disposer of princes' affections sometimes contrives the secrets of his will: for by this casual curiosity it fell out, that when afterwards the marriage came in motion, between our sovereign lord and the aforesaid most amiable princess, it must needs be (howsoever unknown) no small spur to the treaty, that she hath not before been altogether a stranger to his eye.

From the next day, when they departed at three o'clock in the morning, from Paris, being the twenty-third of February, were spent six days to Bayonne, the last town of France; having before, at Bourdeaux, bought them five riding-coats, all of one colour and fashion in a kind of noble simplicity; where sir Francis Cottington was employed, in a fair manner, to keep them from being entertained by the duke De Espernon; telling him they were gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little courtship, who, perchance, might otherwise (being himself no superficial man in the practices of the world) have pierced somewhat deeper than their outside.

They were now entered into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their inns. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage; if I may insert it by the way among more serious. There was near Bayonne a herd of goats with their young-ones; upon which sight, the said sir Richard Graham tells the marquis, he would snap one of the kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging: which the prince over-hearing, "Why, Richard, (says he,) do you think you may practise here your old tricks again upon the borders?" Upon which words they first gave the goat-herd good contentment; and then, while the marquis and his servant, being both on foot, were chasing the kid about the stack, the prince from horseback killed him in the head, with a Scottish pistol. Let this serve for a journal parenthesis; which yet may shew how his highness, even in such slight and sportful damage, had a noble sense of just dealing.

At Bayonne, the count De Gramont, governor of that jealous key, took an exquisite

notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, that he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth, than their habits bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass. And, four days after, they arrived at Madrid, being Wednesday, the fifth of March. Thus have I briefly run over transcursions, as if my pen had been posting with them: which done, I shall not need to relate the affluence of our nobles and others from hence into Spain, after the voice of our prince's being there had been quickly noised, and at length believed; neither will I stay to consider the arts of Rome, where now all engines were whetted, (though by the Divine blessing very vainly,) when they had gotten a prince of Great-Britain, upon 'Catholic ground,' as they use to call it.

This, and the whole matter of negotiation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the apprehensions on both sides, the appearance on neither; and, in sum, all the circumstances and respect of religion and state, intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a royal history, or a council-table, than a single life; yet I cannot omit some things which intervened, at the meeting of two Pleiades, methinks, not unlike that, which astrologers call, a conjunction of planets, of no very benign aspect, the one to the other: I mean the marquis of Buckingham, and the conde D'Olivares. They had some sharper, and some milder differences, which might easily happen, in such an intervention of grandees; both vehement on the parts which they swayed. But the most remarkable was upon a supposition of the condee's, (as fancies are cheap,) that the marquis had intimated unto her some hopes of the prince's conversion; which coming into debate, the marquis so roundly disavowed this gilded dream, as Olivares alledged he had given him *la Mentida*, and thereupon forms a compliment to the prince himself: which Buckingham denying, and yet Olivares persisting in the said compliment, the marquis, though now in strange hands, yet seeing both his honour and the truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replied with some heat, that the condee's asseveration, would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himself tied, in terms of a gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative, in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the harshest point that occurred between them; which that it went so far, was not the duke's fault, (nor his fault, neither, as it should seem,) that it went no farther.

There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The conde D'Olivares tells the marquis of a certain flying noise, "That the prince did plot to be secretly gone." To which the marquis gave a well-tempered answer: "That though love had made his highness steal out of his own country, yet fear would never make him run out of Spain, in other manner than should become a prince of his royal and generous virtues." In Spain they staid near eight entire months: during all which time, who but Buckingham lay at home under millions of maledictions? Which yet, at the prince's safe arrival in the West, did die and vanish here and there into praises and eulogies, according to the contrary motion of popular waves. And now, to sum up the fruit of the journey; discourses ran thus among the clearest observers: it was said, "That the prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his religion, had, by the sight of foreign courts, and observations of the different natures of people, and rules of government, much excited and awaked his spirit, and corroborated his judgment." And, as for the marquis, there was notice taken of two great additions which he had gained: first, he was returned with increase of title; having there been made duke, by patent sent him, which was the highest degree whereof an English subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though closer; for, by so long, and so private, and so various consociation with a prince of such excellent nature, he had now gotten (as it were) two lives in his own fortune and greatness; whereas, otherwise, the state of a favourite is at the best but a tenant at will, and rarely transmitted. But, concerning the Spanish commission, which in public conceit was the main scope of the journey, that was left in great suspense, and, after some time, utterly laid aside; which threw the duke amongst free wits (whereof we have a rank soil) under divers censures. The most part were apt to believe, that he had brought down some deep distaste from Spain, which exasperated his counsels; neither were there

wanting some others, that thought him not altogether void of a little ambition to shew his power, either to knit, or dissolve. Howsoever, the whole scene of affairs was changed from Spain to France; there now lay the prospective; which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of state being ever attributed to the powerfulest under princes, (as the manner is, where the eminency of one obscureth the rest,) the duke became suddenly and strangely gracious among the multitude, and was even in parliament highly exalted; so that he did seem, for a time, to have overcome that natural incompatibility, which, in the experience of all ages, hath been noted between the vulgar and sovereign favour.

But this was no more than a mere bubble or blast, and like an ephemeral fit of applause; as shortly will appear in the sequel and train of his life. I had almost forgotten, that after his return from Spain, he was made lord-warden of the Cinque-Ports (which is, as it were, a second admiralty), and steward likewise of the manor of Hampton-Court; dignities and offices still growing, of trust or profit, and the king now giving, not only out of a beneficent disposition, but a very habitual and confirmed custom. One year, six months, and two days after the joyful reception of the prince his son from Spain, king James (of immortal memory among all the lovers and admirers of divine and human sapience) accomplished at Theobalds his own days upon earth: under whom the duke had run a long course of calm and smooth prosperity; I mean long for the ordinary life of favour; and the more notable, because it had been without any visible eclipse or wane in himself, amidst divers variations in others.

The most important and pressing care of a new and vigorous king was his marriage, for mediate establishment of the royal line; wherein the duke having had an especial hand, he was sent to conduct hither the most lovely and virtuous princess Henrietta-Maria, youngest daughter to the great Henry of Bourbon; of whom his majesty (as hath been said) had an ambulatory view in his travels, like a stolen taste of something that provoketh appetite. He was accompanied with none of our peers, but the earl of Montgomery, now lord-chamberlain; a noble gentleman, of trusty, free, and open nature, and truly no unsuitable associate; for that he himself likewise, at the beginning of king James's reign, had run his circle in the wheeling vicissitude of favour.

And here I must crave leave, in such of high quality, or others of particular note, as shall fall under my pen, (whereof this is the first,) not to let them pass, without their due character, being part of my professed ingenuity.

Now this embassy, though it had a private show, being charged with more formality than matter, (for all the essential conditions were before concluded,) could, howsoever, want no ornaments or bravery to adorn it; among which, I am near thinking it worthy of a little remembrance, that the duke, one solemn day, gorgeously clad in a suit all overspread with diamonds; and having lost one of good value, (perchance as he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty motion,) it was strangely recovered again the next morning, in a court full of pages. Such a diligent attendant was fortune every-where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair discharge, all civil honours having showered on him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action: a breach first with Spain, and not long after with France itself, notwithstanding so strait an affinity so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other; as if indeed, according to that pleasant maxim of state, kingdoms were never married. This must of necessity involve the duke in business enough to have overset a lesser vessel; being the next commander, under the crown, of ports and ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those overtures of public employment; for at the parliament at Oxford, his youth, and want of experience in maritime service, had been somewhat shrewdly touched, even before the sluices and flood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open; so as, to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his majesty's untroubled and serene commands, even in a tempestuous time. Now the men fell a-rubbing of armour, which a great while had lain oiled; the magazines of

ammunition are viewed; the officers of remains called to account, frequent councils of war; as many private conferences with expert seamen, a fleet in preparation for some attempt upon Spain.

The duke himself personally employed to the states-general: and with him joined in full commission the earl of Holland, a peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable virtue for public use. These two nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their ships were foundered, arrived the fifth day at the Hague in Holland. Here they were to enter a treaty, both with the States themselves, and with the ministers of divers allied and confederate princes, about a common diversion, for the recovery of the Palatinate; where the king's only sister's dowry had been ravished by the German eagle, mixed with Spanish feathers; a princess resplendent in darkness, and whose virtues were borne within the chance, but without the power of fortune. Here, it were injurious to overslip a noble act in the duke, during this employment; which I must, for my part, celebrate above all his expences: there was a collection of certain rare manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of Erpenius, the most excellent linguist; these had been left to the widow of the said Erpenius, and were upon sale to the Jesuits at Antwerp; licorish chapmen of such ware. Whereof the duke getting knowledge, by his worthy and learned secretary, Dr. Mason, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor widow for them five-hundred pounds; a sum above their weight in silver, and a mixed act, both of bounty and charity, the more laudable, being much out of his natural element. These were they, which, after his death, were as nobly presented, as they had been bought, to the university of Cambridge, by the duchess-dowager, as soon as she understood (by the aforesaid Dr. Mason) her husband's intention; who had a purpose likewise, as I am well instructed, to raise in the said university, whereof he was chancellor, a fair case for such monuments, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts of his own charge; perchance in some emulation of that famous treasury of knowledge at Oxford, without parallel in the Christian world.

But let me resume the file of my relation, which this object of books, best agreeable to my course of life, hath a little interrupted. The aforesaid negotiation, though prosecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a month before the duke's return from his eccentricity, (for so I account favourites abroad;) and then at home he met with no good news of the Cadiz attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had spent much solicitude, *ex officio*, yet it principally failed, as was thought, by late setting out, and by some contrariety of weather at sea; whereby the particular design took vent before-hand; a point hardly avoidable in actions of noise, especially where the great Indian key to all cabinets is working.

Not long after this, the king, pondering in his wisdom the weight of his foreign affairs, found it fit to call a parliament at Westminster: this was that assembly, where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the duke's case, from the most exalted, as he had been, both in another parliament, and in common voice before, to the most depressed now; as if his condition had been capable of no mediocrities. And it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshly returned out of the Low-Countries; out of a meritorious employment, in his inward conceit and hope; which being the single example, that our annals have yielded, from the time of William de la Pool, duke of Suffolk, under Henry the Sixth, of such a concurrence of two extremes, within so short time, (by most of the same commenders and disprovers, like the natural breath of man, that can both heat and cool,) would require no slight memorial of the particular motives of so great a change, but that the whole case was dispersed by the knights of shires, and burgesses of towns, through all the veins of the land; and may be taken by any at pleasure, out of the parliament-registers. Besides that, I observe it not usual amongst the best patterns, to stuff the report of particular lives, with matters of public record, but rather to dive (as I shall endeavour, before I wipe my pen,) into secret and proper afflictions: howsoever somewhat I must note in this strange phaenomenon.

It began from a travelled doctor of physick, of bold spirit and of able elocution; who,

being returned one of the burgesses, which was not ordinary in any of his coat, fell by a metaphorical allusion, translated from his own faculty, to propound the duke as a main cause of divers infirmities in the state, or near that purpose: being sure enough so seconds, after the first on-set, in the lower house. As for any close intelligence, that they had beforehand, with some in the higher, though that likewise was said, I want ground to affirm or believe it more than a general conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongst those that were nearest the object, which we see so familiar, both in natural and moral causes. The duke's answers to his impeachments, in number thirteen, I find very diligently and civilly couched; and though his heart was big, yet they all savour of an humble spirit one way, equitable consideration, which could not possess every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter, that in the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure and white, and fine meal, but must needs have withal among it a certain mixture of padar and bran, in this lower age of human fragility. Howsoever this tempest did only shake, and not rend his sails: for his majesty considering that almost all his impeachments were without the compass of his own reign; and moreover, that nothing alledged against him had, or could be proved by oath, according to the constitution of the house of commons, which the duke himself did not forget in the preface of his answers: and, lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity and observance abroad, (where he was chief in trust, and in the participation of all hazards,) found himself engaged in honour, and in the sense of his own natural goodness, to support him at home, from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimony of divers important imputations; whereof the truth is best known to his majesty while he was prince.

The summer following this parliament, after an embark of our trading ships, in the river of Bourdeaux, and other points of sovereign affront, there did succeed the action of Rhee; wherein the duke was personally employed on either element, both as admiral and general, with hope, in that service, to recover the public good-will, which he saw (by his own example) might quickly be won and lost. This action, as I hear, hath been delivered by a noble gentleman of much learning and active spirits, himself the fitter to do it right, which, in truth, he greatly wanted; having found more honourable censure² even from some of the French writers, than it had generally amongst ourselves at home. Now, because the said work is not yet flowing into the light, I will but sweep the way with a few notes; and these only touching the duke's own deportment in that island, the proper subject of my quill: for, in the general survey of this action, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if fortune had meant we should be quickly friends again; wherein let their names, that were bravely lost, be rather memorised in the full table of time: for my part, I love no ambitious pains in an eloquent description of miseries. The duke's carriage was surely noble throughout to the gentlemen of fair respect; bountiful to the soldier, according to any special value which he espied in any; tender and careful of those that were hurt; of unquestionable courage in himself; and rather fearful of fame, than danger. In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the succours, which he expected, did fail him: but the less he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsically, according to the nature of suppressed passions. For certain it is, that to his often-mentioned secretary, Dr. Mason, whom he laid in a pallet near him, for natural ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate eruptions, protesting, that never his dispatches to divers princes, nor the great business of a fleet, of an army, of a siege, of a treaty, of war, of peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his repose, as a conceit, that some at home, under his majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him: but whom he meant I know not, and am loth to rove at conjectures.

Of their two forts he could not take the one, and he would not take the other; but, in

² [Opinion, judgment.]

the general town, he maintained a seisure and possession of the whole, three full months and eighteen days; and at the first descent on shore, he was not immured within a wooden vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long-boat, where succeeded such a defeat of near two-hundred horse; and these not, by his guess, mounted in haste, but the most part gentlemen of family, and great resolution; seconded with two-thousand foot, as (all circumstances well balanced on either side) may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest impressions in ancient time. In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conscience; having brought off that with him to camp, perchance, too much from a court, where fortune had never deceived him. Besides, we must consider him yet but rude in the profession of arms; though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cause. At his return to Plymouth, a strange accident befel him; perchance not so worthy of memory for itself, as for that it seemeth to have been a kind of a prelude to his final period.

The now lord Goring, a gentleman of true honour and of vigilant affections for his friend, sends to the duke, in all expedition, an express messenger, with advisement to assure his own person, by declining the ordinary road to London; for that he had credible intelligence of a plot against his life to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the court. The duke, meeting the messenger on the way, read the letter; and smothering it in his pocket, without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forwards: his company being about that time not above seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence than with ordinary swords. After this, the duke had not advanced three miles before he met with an old woman near a town in the road, who demanded, Whether the duke was in the company? And, bewraying some especial occasion to be brought to him, was led to his horse's side, where she told him, that in the very next town where he was to pass, she had heard some desperate men vow his death; and, thereupon, would have directed him about by a surer way. This old woman's casual access, joined with that deliberate advertisement which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenor of the said letter and all the circumstances, with his company; who were jointly upon consent, that the woman had advised him well. Notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved to wave his way upon this reason, perhaps more generous than provident; that, if (as he said) he should but once by such a diversion make his enemy believe he was afraid of danger, he should never live without. Hereupon his young nephew, lord-viscount Fielding, being then in his company, out of a noble spirit, besought him, that he would, at least, honour him with his coat and blue ribband through the town; pleading that his uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole family, was, of all things under heaven, the most precious unto him: and undertaking so to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern him from him; and so he should be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which sweet proposition, the duke caught him in his arms and kissed him; yet would not, as he said, accept of such an offer in that case from a nephew, whose life he tendered as much as himself: and so liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good-will. After some short directions to his company how they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no sooner entered into the town, but a scrambling soldier clapped hold of his bridle, who thought it was in a begging, or, perchance, somewhat worse, in a drunken fashion; yet, a gentleman of his train, that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving, by the premisses, it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his horse, and, with a violent rush, severed him from the duke; who, with the rest, went on quickly through the town: neither, for aught I can hear, was there any further inquiry into that practice; the duke, peradventure, thinking it wisdom not to reserve discontentments too deep. At his return to the court he found no change in fates, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many gallant gentl men; against which his friends did oppose, in their discourses, the chance of war, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time. After the complaints in parliament, and the unfortunate issue at Rhee, the duke's fame did still remain more and

more in obloquy amongst the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes: so, as he saw plainly that he must go abroad again to rectify, with his best endeavours under the public service, his own reputation. Whereupon, new preparatives were in hand, and, partly, reparatives of the former beaten at sea. And, in the mean while, he was not unmindful, in his civil course, to cast an eye upon the ways to win unto him such as have been of principal credit in the lower house of parliament; applying lenitives, or subducting from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest: amidst which thoughts, he was surprized with a fatal stroke, written in the black book of necessity.

There was a younger brother, of mean fortune, born in the county of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a soldier, and, thereby, raised to the place of lieutenant to a foot-company in the regiment of sir James Ramsey: this was the man that, closely within himself, had conceived the duke's death. But what may have been the immediate, or greatest motive of that felonious conception, is even yet in the clouds. It was said at first, that he had been stung with a denial of his captain's place, who died in England; whereof thus much indeed is true: that the duke, before he would invest him in the said place, advising first (as his manner was) with his colonel, he found him to intercede for one Powel his own lieutenant, a gentleman of extraordinary valour; and, according to military custom, the place was good, that the lieutenant of the colonel's company might well pretend to the next vacant captainship under the same regiment, which Felton acknowledged to be in itself very usual and equitable, besides the especial merit of the person: so that the afore-said conceit of some rancour harboured, upon this denial, had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a knight of the same county, whom the duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour, and the said Felton, there had been ancient quarrels not yet well healed, which might, perhaps, lie festering in his breast, and, by a certain inflammation, produce this effect; but it carries small probability that Felton would so deface his own act, as to make the duke no more than an oblique sacrifice, to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third person³: therefore, the truth is, that either to honest a deed after it was done, or to slumber his conscience in the doing, he studied other incentives; alledging, not three hours before his execution, to sir Richard Gresham, two only inducements thereof: the first, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book, written by one Eggleston⁴, a Scottish physician, which made the duke one of the foulest monsters upon the earth, and, indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Christian court, and under so virtuous a king, but of any room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the least semblance of truth: the second was the remonstrance itself of the lower house of parliament against him, which, perchance, he thought the fairest cover; so he put in the second place, whatsoever were the true motive; which, I think, none can determine, but the prince of darkness itself.

He did thus prosecute the effect: in a bye cutler's shop on Tower-hill, he bought a tenpenny knife, (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt,) and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand; for he had maimed the other. This done, he made shift, partly, as it is said, on horseback, and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth; for he was indigent and low in money; which, perhaps, might have a little edged his desperation. At Portsmouth, on Saturday, being the twenty-third of August of that current year⁵, he pressed, without any suspicion, in such a time of so many pretenders to employment, into an inward chamber, where the duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world), accompanied with men of quality and action, with monsieur De Soubise and sir Thomas Fryer; and there, a little before the duke's rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should pass through a kind of lobby between that room and the next, where were divers attending him; towards which passage, as I conceive somewhat

³ [Lord Clarendon does not license this tale.]

⁴ [Or Eglisam. Vide Vol. II. p. 69.]

⁵ [1628.]

darker than the chamber, which he avoided; while the duke came with sir Thomas Fryer close at his ear, in the very moment as the said knight withdrew himself from the duke, the assassin gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left side, leaving the knife in his body; which the duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired. Certain it is, that a good while before, sir Clement Throckmorton, a gentleman then living, of grave judgment, had, in a private conference, advised him to wear a privy coat; whose counsel the duke received very kindly, but gave him this answer, That against any popular fray, a shirt of mail would be but a silly defence; and as for a single man's assault, he took himself to be in no danger. So dark is destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident is, I must confess to me, beyond all wonder, (as I received it from a gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the duke well favoured); that within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers, no more than if it had lain in the sands of Ethiopia; whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken and to see. But it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murderer himself might have escaped; for who gave the blow none could affirm, if he had not lingered about the house below; not by any confused arrest of conscience, (as hath been seen in like examples,) but by very pride in his own deed; as if, in effect, there were little difference between being remembered by a virtuous fame or an illustrious infamy.

Thus died this great peer, in the thirty-sixth year of his age complete, and three days over; in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependence upon him: the house and town full of servants and suitors; his duchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of her bed; and the court, at that time, not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness.

I have spent some inquiry, whether he had any ominous presagement before his end; wherein though both ancient and modern stories have been infected with much vanity, yet, oftentimes, things fall out of that kind, which may bear a sober construction: whereof I will glean two or three in the duke's case.

Being to take his leave of my lord's grace of Canterbury, then bishop of London, whom he knew well planted in the king's unchangeable affection, by his own great abilities, after courtesies of courage had passed between them: "My lord, (says the duke,) I know your lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the king our sovereign; let me pray you to put his majesty in mind to be good, as I no way distrust, to my poor wife and children." At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my lord-bishop, being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him, "Whether he had never any secret bodements in his mind?" "No, (replied the duke,) but I think some adventure may kill me, as well as another man."

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the king was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed; where after much serious and private discourse, the duke, at his majesty's departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and did in like sort to his friend the earl of Holland; as if his soul had divined he should see them no more: which infusions towards fatal ends, had been observed by some authors of no light authority.

On the very day of his death, the countess of Denbigh received a letter from him; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears; and, after a most bitter passion, (whereof she could yield no reason, but, 'That her dearest brother was to be gone'), she fell down in a swoon. Her said letter endeth thus:—'I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of Heaven will bless you.'

The day following, the bishop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest

preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her; but, hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of herself; which she did with the affrightment of a dream: 'Her brother seeming to pass through a field with her in her coach; where, hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason; it was answered to be for joy that the duke of Buckingham was sick.' Which natural impression she scarce had related unto her gentlewoman, before the bishop was entered into her bed-chamber for a chosen messenger of the duke's death.

This is all that I dare present of that nature to any of judgment; not unwillingly omitting certain prognostic anagrams and such strains of fancy.

He took to wife, eight years and two months before his death, the lady Catharine Manners, heir-general to the noble house of Rutland; who, besides a solid addition to his estate, brought him three sons, and a daughter, called the lady Mary, his first-born. His eldest son died at nurse before his journey to Rhee; and the third, the lord Francis, was born after his father's death; so that neither his first, nor his last, were participant of any sense of his misfortunes, or felicities. His second son, now duke of Buckingham, was born to cheer him after his return from that unlucky voyage. For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable virtues of her person and mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love, in an act and time of no simulation, towards his end; bequeathing her all his mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal estate, together with a fourth part of his lands in jointure.

He left his elder brother of the same womb a viscount, and his younger an earl. Sir Edward Villiers, his half-brother on the father's side, he either preferred, or removed (call it how you will) from his step-mother's eye to the presidentship; where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality, and died with as much grief of the whole province, as ever any governor did before; his religious lady, of sweet and noble direction, adding much to his honour. The eldest of the brethren, and heir of the name, was made a baronet, but abstained from court; enjoying, perhaps, the greater greatness of self-fruition.

He left his mother a countess by patent in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare since the days of queen Mary. His sister of Denbigh (that right character of a good lady) he most humbly recommended to the queen; who, after a discharge of some French in her court that were to return, took her into three several places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist upon every particular branch of those private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half-blood, descending of the name of Villiers, or Beaumont, within any near degree, either matched with peers of the realm actually or hopefully, with earls' sons and heirs, or at least with knights or doctors of divinity, and of plentiful condition. He did not much strengthen his own substance in court, but stood there on his own feet: for the truth is, the most of his allies rather leaned upon him, than shoared him up.

His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of state, as his secretaries; or of office, as his steward; or of law, as that worthy knight whom he long used to solicit his causes, he left all both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame: things very seldom consociated in the instruments of great personages.

A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord-General Monk.

London; printed in the Year 1660.

[Quarto; containing eight pages.]

My Lord,

THE government of this nation, for these many years till of late, hath been mixed; partly monarchical, partly aristocratical, and partly democratical: in which the power also was fatally divided between king, lords, and commons; whereby, every state therein having distinct aims, and sometimes contrary ones, the nation was impotent and weak, and wanted that harmony which is to be found in all the parts of a well-ordered government. Yet, under this form, did England enjoy many good days, and great liberties and privileges, and also met with not a few oppressions. Those good days I cannot but assign (whether truly, or no, I leave to your lordship's sounder judgment) to the democratical part of the government; which was the constant bulwark of English liberties, and procured us those excellent laws, which our kings, by their good-wills, otherwise would never have passed; and which yet, (such is the blindness of many men) it is thought, in most good companies, we shall never be able to retain, without the restoration of monarchy. On the other side, the exorbitancies and oppressions of the late government the house of commons, in the reigns of the two late kings, imputed to the prerogative and power of the king; which at last seemed so heavy and grievous to the people, that incited by the famous Long-parliament, they took up arms against the king, to divest him of the militia, and negative voice, and some other rights he claimed; of which an English king being stripped could be nothing but an heroic monarch; and, in this sense, they fought against monarchy itself. In this war, the royalists, having lost no small quantity of their best blood, were vanquished; and with the death of the late king, monarchy itself for a time expired. And now this poor nation, not meeting with the felicity of being put immediately into the form of an equal commonwealth, yet met with the best expedient; being governed by the members of parliament that continued to sit after the king's death: who, through their wisdom, put the nation in such a posture, as was a great refreshment to the harrassed country; and through their victories, more increased our territories, and were more successful in arms, than all the martial princes that reigned in this isle since the Conquest; approving themselves to the whole world prudent, active, and courageous statesmen, and such as minded the interest of their country. What good, what benefits, what felicities might we not justly expect from these worthy patriots, but this only; namely, a good government? And if this also is not expected, it is not because their good intentions to the nation are at all questioned; but because they, being too many, are not capable of performing it. But as they were too many to frame a good government, so also they were, and still are, looked on, by wise men, as too few to make a popular council. Being but a piece of a house of commons, and necessitated to sit so many years, and to lay heavy taxes and burdens on the people; general Cromwell, during his time, turned them out of doors, and then called a select senate, which, being packed by him, plaid his game; at last resigning into his hands their power. He, rejecting the title of king, assumed to himself the government, and a greater power, than the English kings formerly had; with the consent of a great part of the people, who, like affrighted children, thought they should be safe, being hid under the gown of this great man. Yet failed he in his design of erecting a durable monarchy; who, probably, was able to have brought

to pass any thing else in this nation. With difficulty, whilst he lived, he made a shift to keep himself in the saddle, which his son lost, presently after he was mounted. The government then devolved into the hands of this present parliament; who kept it not long, before they were ejected by their army: but now again, this third time, are they risen from the dead, and restored (through the fidelity and courage of your excellency) to the exercise of their trust.

Thus hath this poor nation, within these few years, tried all sorts of government, but an equal commonwealth. We have experienced monarchy in the old line, and in the two protectors, a select senate, an oligarchy, the government of an army; what not? And have not as yet met with the ends of a good government. Like a drowning man, this nation hath laid hold of every thing that came in its way; but all things have proved but straws and helpless twigs, that will not bear it above water.

And now, sir, can any thing else save us, but an equal commonwealth? Which in truth is no more than a free and full parliament; but a free and full parliament more truly elected, and better formed. You having been bred up in the best school of experience, and being acquainted by history with ancient, and by your travels and employment, with modern patterns of government; out of which your exact judgment will readily gather whatever is excellent, or agreeable to this nation; I shall not presume to discourse particularly of the framing of a government to your excellency, whom God, I hope, hath raised to be the legislator of England. Only give me leave to remember you, that it is the judgment of the oracle in the politicks, grounded on notable examples, experience and reason, and approved by modern writers, that the legislator of a nation must be but one man; who, whatsoever extraordinary actions he attempteth, or whatsoever power he assumeth to himself for the accomplishing of so worthy an end, as the settling of a commonwealth will prove to be, deserves not only excuse, but also honour. Consider, sir, the present state of affairs, and see if you are able to discern the foot, on which our present Commonwealth, so called, now stands; so narrow is it become: or, if it hath a foot, is it not like that of Nebuchadnezzar's image, part of iron, and part of miry clay, which will not cleave together? It is already fractioned and crumbled into a small handful, which, though so small, is not well knit, but affords daily cause of jealousy; that like the little church or sect, which, consisting (as Barclay relates) of but three men, came at last to be three several churches: *Sic de angustâ ecclesiâ, et trium hominum numero definitâ, tres quoque ecclesiæ natæ sunt*; this party will break, till they have not number enough to make up a family. And do you think so weak a defence, as this party is, will be able to repel the violent rage of that increased multitude, which, like a mighty sea, threatens to overbear it? But, sir, either you look on the parliament, not only as willing, but also as able to settle us a good government; or else you would never, I conceive, stand by it, and own it. If you look on the parliament as able to perform it, we have new cause to esteem and love our country, after a more extraordinary manner; that can produce one or two-hundred able and sufficient legislators, when Rome, Sparta, Athens, or Israel, can boast of but one a-piece.

But, my lord, the opinions of so many men met together must be various; and, like a multitude of physicians, will endanger, if not destroy their languishing patient. Let England, therefore, my lord, have but one physician, and such an one as they esteem and love: which will facilitate its recovery. Your excellency, being esteemed and loved by your country, crowned with victory, celebrated for martial skill, for your undaunted courage, your politic conduct, and also having the militias of the three nations at your back, is that physician that may make us as happy, or as miserable as you please.

But, alas! whilst the ship, that we are all embarked in, is tossed in a high sea; you, sir, seem to sleep, notwithstanding the loud noise of all degrees of people, crying out to you 'Save us, or we perish.' Behold, what a chaos England, your native country, is become be you to it, as Moses was to Aaron, instead of a God; reduce the jarring elements into their places; set a new and beautiful face on your deformed country; and, by bestowing on it an equal commonwealth, make it a paradise, wherein we may pass our days happily,

and cheerfully; blessing God for so worthy and heroic a person, as you thereby will approve yourself.

England, when an equal commonwealth, will be as wise as Venice, as rich as Holland, as virtuous and military as Rome. Believe it, sir, no legislator hitherto hath had so large territories, to settle a mighty and glorious commonwealth on, as England affords. All manner of materials are made ready for erecting the most beautiful structure; there only wants an able workman. Can you see any obstacle in your way? You yourself have affirmed, that the foundation of monarchy is gone. And what nobility is there to oppose you, but a titular impotent one? What army hath England, but what is at your command? Multitudes of people, indeed, (like children, who must have a baby to play with, and something to glitter in their eyes,) cry for a king: but, when they shall once view the glory and splendour, and enjoy the felicity of an equal commonwealth, they will cry out with the ravished apostle at the transfiguration of our Blessed Saviour, 'It is good for us to be here; let us build us tabernacles.' At worst, if this kind of government prove so good for the nation, as is promised; these fond people will not, nor indeed can they, make any person more than a prince in the commonwealth.

What should hinder you then from settling such a government? or what encouragements are wanting? Do it, and you make this people glorious and blessed; you will infinitely please them, and thereby attain to the highest step of honour, becoming the founder of a potent state; a legislator, that shall be commended by a learned age; the father of your country, and *princeps perpetuus*. *Et quo sis alacrior ad tutandam rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cælo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruuntur.* *Cic. de Somn. Scip.*

The Chancellor's Examination and Preparation for a Trial¹.

Printed for W. Cademan, 1689.

[Folio; containing two pages.]

As the long imprisonment of George, lord Jefferies, the high-chancellor of England, has given him ample leisure for a full and serious consideration of his state, his examination of his fatal circumstances, and preparation for his trial, with all other necessary and due reflections, previous as well to the appearance not only before so great a tribunal here, but also a greater and more terrible one to come, have induced him to this timely provision of his last will and testament.

IN the name of Ambition, the only god of our setting-up and worshipping, together with Cruelty, Treachery, Perjury, Pride, Insolence, &c. his ever-adored angels and archangels, cloven-footed, or otherwise: *Amen*. I George, sometimes lord, but always Jefferies, being in entire bodily health (my once great heart, at present dwindled to the diminutive

¹ [A gibe upon the odious character of chancellor Jefferies. See also Vol. IV. p. 592.]

dimensions of a French bean, only excepted) and in sound and perfect memory of high-commissions, *quo-warrantos*, regulations, dispensations, pillorizations, floggations, gibbetations, barbarity, butchery, tyranny, together with the bonds and ties of right, justice, equity, law, and gospel; as also those of liberty, property, *Magna-Charta*, &c. not only at divers and sundry, but at all times, by me religiously broken: and being reminded by a halter before me, and my sins behind me, do make my last will and testament in manner and form following:

Imprimis, Because it has always been the modish departure of great men, and greater sinners, to leave some legacy to pious uses, I give and bequeath one-thousand pounds towards the building of a shrine and a chapel to St. Coleman, for the particular devotion of a late very great English zealot; for whose glory I farther order my executors to bear half charges in inserting and registering the sacred papers and memoirs of the said saint, in those divine legends, 'The Lives of the Saints;' by the hand of his reverend, and no less industrious, successor Father Peters: that so the never-dying renown of the long-swore meritorious, though unfortunate vengeance against the Northern heresy (in which once hopeful vineyard I have been no small labourer) may be transmitted to posterity by so pious a recorder.

Item, As a legacy to her late consort-majesty of Great-Britain (my sometimes royal patroness), I do bequeath two-thousand crowns to holy mother church, to purchase, through his Holiness, and the good lady of Loretto's intercession, the same benediction to the French waters of Spa, they once vouchsafed to the English ones of Bath, to give her majesty the conception of a duke of York to her prince of Wales; humbly, with my dying breath, requesting (for the future silencing of malice, and confutation of infidelity,) that her said majesty would, in due prudence, graciously please to select out, for her next labour, but half as able witnesses, and reeking spectators of her delivery, as myself: there being, in her late case, no person in the world a more experimentally substantial evidence of a male child born of the body of a queen, at full growth at eight months; when it is so notoriously known, that my own first female child, of my wife's, was at the like full growth born at five months.

Item, In tenderness and hearty good-will to my sometime friends and allies on the other side the herring pond, I think fit, as a small mite to the great cause, to order my executors, out of my late son-in-law's estate, (saved by my own Chancery-decree from the Salisbury creditors,) as much money to be remitted over to the true and trusty Tyrconnel, as will purchase new liveries of the best Irish frize, completely to rig a whole regiment of his new-raised Teagues; as also the like quantity for the rigging of another regiment of French dragoons, now sending over to his excellency's succour: his Gallic majesty having long since ordered the edict of Nants, and all other the parliamentary heretic-records of France to be given them *gratis*, to make them tailors' measures of, in imitation of the English *Magna Charta*, sometime since designed for the same use.

But, above all, to take care for my own decent funeral, lest my executors, to save the charges of Christian burial, should drop me under ground, as slovenly as my old great master, at Westminster; I think fit to order the rites and ceremonies of my obsequies as follows:

Imprimis, I desire that my funeral anthems be all set to the tune of 'Old Lilliburlero,' that never to be forgotten Irish Shibolet; in commemoration not only of two-hundred-thousand hereticks, that formerly danced off to the said musical notes, but also of the second part to the same tune, lately designing, setting, and composing by a great master of mine, and myself. The said anthem to be sung by a train of seven or eight-hundred of my own making in the West; who, in their native rags (a livery likewise of my own donation, as a dress fittest for the sad cavalcade,) will, I am assured, be no way wanting in their readiest and ablest melody, suitable to the occasion.

Item, I order two-hundred Jacobuses to be laid out in myrrh, frankincense, and other necessary perfumes, to be burnt at my funeral; to sweeten, if possible, some little stink I may, probably, leave behind me.

Item, I order an ell and a half of fine cambrick to be cut out into handkerchiefs, for drying up all the wet eyes at my funeral; together with half a pint of burnt claret, for all the mourners in the kingdom.

Item, For the more decent interment of my remains, I will and require, for the cementing of my own unhappy politic head to my shoulders again, (provided always I have the honour of the axe, as it is much questioned,) that a present of a diamond ring be made to madam Labadie, for the use of the same needle, and a skain of the same thread, once used on a very important occasion, for the quilting of a certain notable cushion of famous memory.

To conclude: For avoiding all Chancery-suits about the disposal of my aforesaid legacies, that the contents of this my last will may be made public, I order my executors to take care that this may be printed.

A brief Discourse concerning the Power of the Peers and Commons of Parliament, in Point of Judicature. Written by a learned Antiquary, at the Request of a Peer of this Realm.

Printed in the Year 1640.

[Quarto; containing twelve pages.]

SIR;

TO give you as short an account of your desires, as I can, I must crave leave to lay before you, as a ground, the frame or first model of this state.

When, after the period of the Saxon time, Harold had lifted himself into the royal seat, the great men (to whom but lately he was no more than equal, either in fortune or power,) disdaining this act of arrogancy, called in William, then duke of Normandy; a prince more active than any in these western parts, and renowned for many victories he had fortunately achieved against the French king; then the most potent monarch in Europe.

This duke led along with him, to this work of glory, many of the younger sons of the best families of Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders; who, as undertakers, accompanied the undertaking of this fortunate man.

The usurper slain, and the crown by war gained; to secure certain to his posterity what he had so suddenly gotten, he shared out his purchase; retaining in each county a portion to support the dignity sovereign, which was styled, *Dementia regni*; now the 'Ancient demesnes;' and assigning to others, his adventurers, such portions as suited to their quality and expence; retaining to himself dependency of their personal service, except such lands as, in free alms, were the portion of the church. These were styled *barones regis*, the king's immediate freeholders, for the word *baro* imported then no more.

As the king to these, so these to their followers, subdivided part of their shares into knights-fees; and their tenants were called *barones*, *comites*, or the like; for we find, as in the king's writ, in their writs, *Baronibus suis & François & Anglois*; the sovereign gifts for the most part extending to whole counties or hundreds; an earl being lord of the one, and a baron of the inferior donations to lords of townships or manors.

As thus the land, so was all course of judicature divided, even from the meanest to the highest portion; each several had his court of law, preserving still the manner of our

ancestors the Saxons, who *jura per pagos reddebant*; and these are still termed 'Court-barons,' or the 'Freeholders' Court,' (twelve usually in number) who, with the *thane* or chief lord, were judges.

The hundred was next, where the *hundredus*, or *aldermanus*, lord of the hundred, with the chief lord of each township within their limits judged: God's people observed this form, in the publick, *Centuriones & decem judicabant plebem omni tempore*.

The county, or *generale placitum*, was the next; this was so to supply the defect, or remedy the corruption of the inferior: *Ubi curie dominorum probantur defecisse, pertinet ad vicecomitem provinciarum*. The judges here were *comites*, *vicecomites*, & *barones comitatus*, *qui liberas in hoc terras habeant*.

The last and supreme, and proper to our question, was *Generale placitum apud London*, *universalis synodus*, in charters of the Conqueror; *Capitalis curia* by Glanville; *Magnum & commune concilium coram rege & magnatibus suis*.

In the rolls of Henry the Third it is not stative, but summoned by proclamation: *Edicitur generale placitum apud London*. saith the Book of Abingdon: whither *episcopi, duces, principes, satrapæ rectores, & causidici ex omni parte confluerunt ad istam curiam*, saith Glanville: causes were referred *propter aliquam dubitationem, quæ emergit in comitatu, cùm comitatus nescit dijudicare*. Thus did Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, transfer his suit against Leostine, from the county *ad generale placitum*: in the time of king Ethelred, queen Edgine against Goda, from the county, appealed to king Etheldred at London. *Congregatis principibus & sapientibus Angliæ*, a suit between the bishops of Winchester and Durham, in the time of St. Edward: *Coram episcopis & principibus regni, in præsentia regis ventilata & finita*. In the tenth year of the Conqueror, *episcopi, comites, & barones regni potestate adversis provinciis ad universalem synodum pro causis audiendis & tractandis convocati*; saith the Book of Westminster. And this continued all along, in the succeeding kings' reign, until towards the end of Henry the Third.

As this great court or council, consisting of the king and barons, ruled the great affairs of state, and controlled all inferior courts: so there were certain officers, whose transcendent power seemed to be set to bound in the execution of princes' wills, as the steward, constable, and marshal, fixed upon families in fee for many ages. They, as tribunes of the people, (or *ephorî* among the Athenians,) grown, by manly courage, fearful to monarchy; fell at the feet and mercy of the king, when the daring earl of Leicester was slain at Evesham.

This chance, and the dear experience Henry the Third himself had made at the parliament at Oxford, in the fortieth year of his reign, (and the memory of the many streights his father was driven unto, especially at Runnymede near Stanes,) brought this king wisely to begin what his successor fortunately finished, in lessening the strength and power of his great lords; and this was wrought by searching into the regality they had usurped over their peculiar sovereigns, whereby they were, as the Book of St. Albans termeth them, *Quot domini tot tyranni*: and by the weakening that hand of power which they carried in the parliaments, by commanding the service of many knights, citizens, and burgesses to that great council.

Now began the frequent sending of writs to the commons; their assent was not only used in money, charge, and making laws, for, before, all ordinances passed by the king and peers; but their consent in judgments of all natures, whether civil or criminal. In proof whereof I will produce some few succeeding precedents out of record.

When Adamor (that proud prelate of Winchester, the king's half-brother,) had grieved the state by his daring power, he was exiled by joint sentence of the king, lords, and commons: and this appeareth expressly by the letter sent to the pope Alexander the Fourth, expostulating a revocation of him from banishment, because he was a church-man, and so not subject to any censure; in this the answer is, *Si dominus rex & regni majores hoc vellent*, (meaning his revocation;) *communitas tamen ipsius ingressum in Angliam jam nullatenus sustineret*. The peers subsign this answer with their names, and Petrus de

Mountford, *vice totius communitatis*, as speaker or proctor of the commons. For by that t yle sir John Tiptoft, prolocutor, affirmeth under his arms the deed of intail of the crown by king Henry the Fourth, in the eighth year of his reign, for all the commons.

The banishment of the two Spencers, in the fifteenth of Edward the Second, *Prelati comites & barones & les autres peeres de la terre & communes de roialme* give consent and sentence to the revocation and reversement of the former sentence: the lords and commons accord, and so it is expressed in the roll.

In the first of Edward the Third, when Elizabeth, the widow of sir John de Burgo, complained in parliament, that Hugh Spencer the younger, Robert Baldock, and William Cliff, his instruments, had, by durance, forced her to make a writing to the king, whereby she was despoiled of all her inheritance; sentence is given for her in these words, *Pur ceo que avis est al evesques, counts, & barones & autres grandes & a tout communalte de la terre, que le dit escript est fait contre ley, & tout manere de raison si fuist le dit escript per agard del parliam. dampue elloques al livre a la dit Elis.*

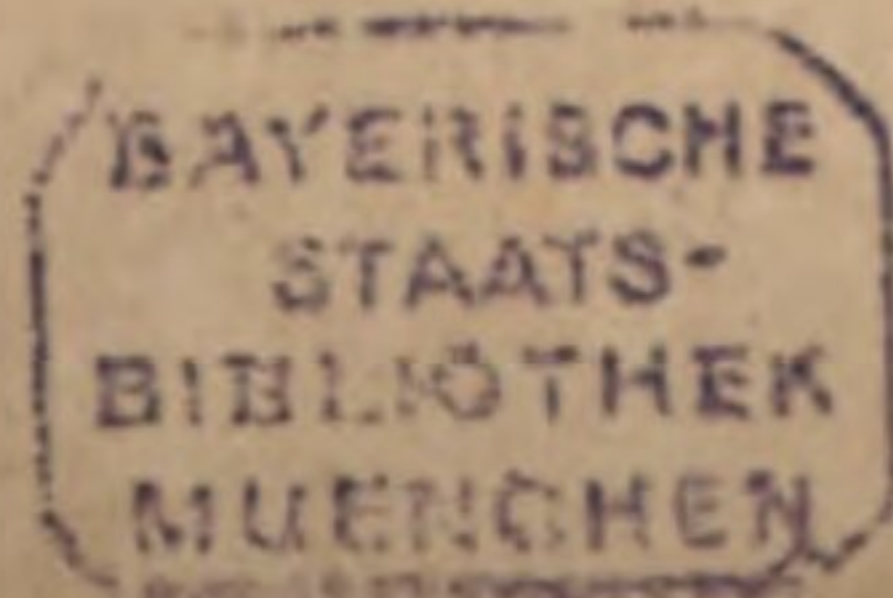
In an. 4 Edw. III, it appeareth by a letter to the pope, that, to the sentence given against the earl of Kent, the commons were parties, as well as the lords and peers: for the king directed their proceedings in these words; *Comitibus, magnatibus, baronibus, & aliis de communitate dicti regni ad parliamentum illud congregatis injunximus, ut super his discernere & judicare quod rationi & justitiæ conveniret, habere præ oculis solum Deum, qui eum concordi unanimi sententiâ tanquam reum criminis læsæ majestatis morti adjudicarent ejus sententiâ; &c.*

When, in the fiftieth year of Edward the Third, the lords had pronounced the sentence against Richard Lions, otherwise than the commons agreed; they appealed to the king, and had redress; and the sentence entered to their desires.

When, in the first year of Richard the Second, William Weston and John Jennings were arraigned in parliament, for surrendering certain forts of the king's, the commons were parties to the sentence against them given; as appeareth by a memorandum, annexed to that record. In the first of Henry the Fourth, although the commons refer, by protestation, the pronouncing of the sentence of deposition against king Richard the Second unto the lords; yet are they equally interested in it, as it appeareth by the records: for there are made proctors or commissioners for the whole parliament, one bishop, one abbot, one earl, one baron, and two knights (Gray and Erpingham), for the commons; and to infer that, because the lords pronounced the sentence, the point of judgment should be only theirs, were as absurd as to conclude, that no authority was vested in any other commissioner of Oyer and Terminer, than in the person of that man solely, that speaketh the sentence.

In 2 Hen. V. the petition of the commons importeth no less than a right they had to act and assent to all things in parliament, and so it is answered by the king; and had not the journal roll of the higher house been left to the sole entry of the clerk of the upper house, (either out of a neglect to observe due form, or out of purpose to obscure the commons right, and to flatter the power of those he immediately served,) there would have been frequent examples of all times to clear this doubt, and to preserve a just interest to the commonwealth: and how conveniently it suits with monarchy to maintain this form, lest others of that well-framed body, knit under one head, should swell too great and monstrous, it may be easily thought: for monarchy again may sooner groan under the weight of an aristocracy, as it once did; than under a democracy, which it never yet either felt or feared.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.



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